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TO VIALU  
AIRBORNE

# HERODOTUS

## BOOK I.

WITH

ENGLISH NOTES AND INTRODUCTION

BY

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In memoriam  
Chas. Hagg  
1843-1931

## P R E F A C E.

THOUGH I am fully aware of the numerous defects of this work, I venture to hope that it has one merit—that of not leaving untouched any serious difficulties of grammar and construction, which occur in the text. The text-difficulties of Herodotus are always liable to be under-estimated. His apparent simplicity of construction conceals many a pitfall, which seems sometimes to have escaped the notice of students and commentators alike. On these and other points of grammar I have given references to Madvig's *Greek Syntax*, and occasionally, when Madvig seemed too brief, to the grammars of Jelf and Donaldson. I have also made considerable use of Krüger's *Griechische Sprachlehre für Schulen*, and of Klotz's *Devarii Liber de Græcæ linguæ particulis*.

A writer so discursive as Herodotus necessarily requires a good deal of illustration. A discussion of the larger historical questions presented by his work would have made the commentary too bulky, even had I felt myself competent to deal with them; and on these I have simply referred to the histories of Grote and Curtius. The references to the former

are made to the 8 volume edition (1862), and I have added in brackets the corresponding volumes and pages in the original 12 volume edition. On other points however I have thought it right to give a considerable amount of illustration from modern sources. I have no sympathy with the point of view which attaches an educational value to the mere 'getting up' of the text of a Greek or Latin author, without caring whether any attention is paid to the truth or importance of the facts therein contained. Certainly in the case of Herodotus such an unnatural separation of form and matter would be a very grave error.

The present edition does not profess to be in any sense critical. The notices of the MSS. are taken at secondhand, except in the case of two Bodleian MSS., which do not seem to be known to the modern authorities on the text—Abicht and Stein. The variations of reading contained in the appended table are only those which affect the sense of the passages in which they occur, or exhibit some syntactical peculiarity. Such a selection of various readings may fairly perhaps be called unscholarlike and unscientific. My excuse must be that I found it necessary occasionally for the explanation of passages to refer to variations of reading, and that space was gained in the commentary by putting them all in a separate list, where the reader could judge for himself of their relative authority. I have also availed myself of the table of readings for marking the passages in which I have departed from Bähr's text.

I had originally intended to append to my remarks on the dialect of Herodotus a sketch of the principal Herodo-

tean forms, resembling those which are given in the more recent German editions. But I found that it must be of considerable length, to be of any value, and after all it seemed doubtful whether it would not be to a great extent superfluous—so full and accurate is Liddell and Scott's *Lexicon* on the dialectical forms.

In the list of editions on p. lxviii. I have mentioned the commentaries of which I have made most use. I have also endeavoured in my notes to acknowledge, as far as possible, my obligations to these and other recent authorities. It only remains for me to express my thanks to Mr R. W. Raper, Fellow and Tutor of Trinity College, Oxford, who was kind enough to look through some of the sheets, as they passed through the press, and to whom I owe some valuable suggestions.

H. G. W.

OXFORD,

*December, 1872.*



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1. The first part of the paper is devoted to a discussion of the  
2. various methods which have been proposed for the determination of  
3. the rate of reaction between a radical and a molecule. The  
4. most common method is the use of a stopped-flow apparatus,  
5. which allows the reaction to be initiated and the rate of  
6. reaction to be measured by the change in absorbance of a  
7. colored species. Other methods include the use of a laser  
8. flash photolysis apparatus, which allows the reaction to be  
9. initiated by a laser pulse, and the rate of reaction to be  
10. measured by the change in absorbance of a colored species.  
11. The second part of the paper is devoted to a discussion of the  
12. various factors which influence the rate of reaction between a  
13. radical and a molecule. These factors include the nature of the  
14. radical, the nature of the molecule, the temperature, the  
15. concentration of the reactants, and the presence of other  
16. species which may interfere with the reaction. The third part  
17. of the paper is devoted to a discussion of the various  
18. applications of the study of the rate of reaction between a  
19. radical and a molecule. These applications include the study of  
20. the mechanism of polymerization, the study of the mechanism of  
21. the reaction of a radical with a molecule, and the study of the  
22. mechanism of the reaction of a radical with a molecule.

## ON THE LIFE OF HERODOTUS.

FOR a full discussion of the numerous questions which have been raised on the life of Herodotus, the reader is referred to some of the works mentioned on pp. lxviii., lxix. It will be sufficient here to give a brief summary of the principal ascertained facts and of the points on which differences of opinion still exist.

The following is all that is known for certain about the life of Herodotus. He was born about the year 485 B.C. at Halicarnassus, a Dorian colony situated on the coast of Caria, at one time a member of the league of the Hexapolis<sup>1</sup>, and at the time of the Persian war an important town of the small vassal-kingdom ruled over by Artemisia<sup>2</sup>. The travels, which his work proves him to have undertaken, must have extended over many years of his life. He penetrated into the interior of the Persian empire, as far as Ecbatana to the north-east, and Ardericca to the south-east<sup>3</sup>. He visited Tyre and other parts of Phoenicia, and explored Egypt as far south as Elephantine<sup>4</sup>. Northwards he sailed across the Black Sea to the coast of Scythia<sup>5</sup>, and also visited Colchis, the Propontis, the Thracian Chersonese and Macedonia<sup>6</sup>. In Greece proper he stayed (amongst other places) at Athens, Thebes, Lacedaemon, Dodona, and Delphi<sup>7</sup>. To the westward he travelled as far as

<sup>1</sup> I. 144.

<sup>2</sup> VII. 99.

<sup>3</sup> I. 98. 6; 185. 3.

<sup>4</sup> II. 44. 1; 106. 1; 29. 1.

<sup>5</sup> IV. 76. 3; 81. 2; 105. 2.

<sup>6</sup> II. 104. 2; IV. 14. 1; II. 44. 4; VI. 47. 2; VII. 115. 3.

<sup>7</sup> I. 98. 8; V. 59. 1; III. 55. 3; II. 55. 5; I. 51. 1.

Cyrene, Zacynthus and southern Italy<sup>1</sup>. He joined the Athenian colony which was sent out to Thurii in Magna Graecia about 444 B.C.,—either as an original colonist or at some subsequent time. He was at Athens some time or other after the year 436 B.C., when the Propylaea of the Acropolis were commenced<sup>2</sup>. He died (probably at Thurii) not earlier than 430 B.C., and he left his work (which, like those of the other prose-writers of the time, was composed in the Ionic dialect<sup>3</sup>) in an unfinished state at his death.

The following additional particulars of his life are probably to some extent correct, and are accepted by many modern authorities. They partly rest on the authority of the lexicon compiled by Suidas<sup>4</sup>—partly are inferences from the language of Herodotus. His family was illustrious, and he was nephew (or first cousin) of Panyasis, an epic poet of some note, who composed among other works a *Heracleiad*<sup>5</sup> in fourteen books. Driven from Halicarnassus by Lygdamis (grandson of Artemisia), Herodotus took refuge in Samos<sup>6</sup>, where he seems to have had relations<sup>7</sup>. He subsequently returned to Halicarnassus and succeeded in expelling Lygdamis (probably about 449 B.C.), who had previously put Panyasis to death. His travels in Persia, Media, and Assyria were earlier than his visit to Egypt, which seems to have taken place shortly after the collapse of the revolt of Inarus against the Persian dominion

<sup>1</sup> II. 181. 7; IV. 195. 3; 99. 6.

<sup>2</sup> v. 77. 6.

<sup>3</sup> The early prose-writers were in many cases Ionians. The popularity of Hecataeus in particular probably did much to make Ionic the language of historical literature. 'The adoption of it by a native Dorian (see however pp. l., li.) was as natural in that age as the adoption of the Tuscan by a Venetian or Neapolitan man of letters in the present day.' Mure. Hippocrates (Dorian) and Hellanicus (Aeolian) also composed in Ionic.

<sup>4</sup> S. v. 'Ἡρόδοτος, Πανύσις. Nothing whatever is known about Suidas, though he is generally placed about the 10th century. The lexicon (or rather encyclopædia) was clearly based upon older works which have perished, and bears traces of having passed through many hands.

<sup>5</sup> Compare Hdt. II. 44.

<sup>6</sup> II. 148. 2; 168. 2; III. 39 foll.; 54 foll.; 60; 120 foll.; 139 foll., al.

<sup>7</sup> VIII. 132. 1.

in 455 B.C.<sup>1</sup>, and he seems to have visited Thrace before 437<sup>2</sup>. He resided for some time at Athens, where he was a friend of Sophocles<sup>3</sup>, and he died before the year 412<sup>4</sup>.

There has been much discussion on the following questions in connection with the life of Herodotus.

(1) Did Herodotus give a public recitation of any portion of his writings at Olympia or elsewhere? According to the well-known story told by Marcellinus<sup>5</sup> (date unknown) and Suidas, on one occasion, when Herodotus was giving a public recitation of his writings, the young Thucydides, who was present with his father, burst into tears, whereupon Herodotus, turning to Olorus, said, 'Olorus, thy son's nature is ripening towards knowledge<sup>6</sup>.' That Herodotus gave a public recitation of his work at the Olympic games had been previously stated by Lucian (2nd cent.), who however says nothing about Thucydides or Olorus. And the pseudo-Plutarch<sup>7</sup> reports, on the authority of Diyllus (about 250 B.C.), that a decree was passed at Athens to give ten talents to Herodotus—a gift which, it

<sup>1</sup> The language used at II. 150. 3 implies that he had been at Nineveh before he visited the lake of Moeris, and if the story of his expulsion of Lygdamis be true, it would probably have been unsafe for him to have travelled in the interior of Asia after that event. The date of the visit to Egypt is determined by the remark at III. 13. 6. Some authorities however think that the visit took place *during* the revolt, advantage being taken by Herodotus of the presence of the Athenian armament in Egypt.

<sup>2</sup> At VII. 114 no mention is made of Amphipolis, which was founded in that year.

<sup>3</sup> See the references given on p. xxxi. The beginning of a poem has been preserved by Plutarch (*Mor.* 785), who says that it is universally allowed to have been written by Sophocles:—*ῥῶδην Ἡροδότῳ τεύξεν Σοφοκλῆς ἐτέων ὧν | πέντ' ἐπὶ πεντήκοντα*. It was thus written B.C. 440, the year before the *Antigone* was brought out.

<sup>4</sup> This is an inference from the language used at VI. 98. 3; VII. 170. 5, which would hardly have been retained, had Herodotus heard of the defeat of the Athenians in Sicily.

<sup>5</sup> *Vit. Thuc.* 54.

<sup>6</sup> *ὀργῇ πρὸς τὰ μαθήματα*. For the metaphor, cf. *Hdt.* IV. 199. 2.

<sup>7</sup> *De Herod. malign.* 26.

has been argued, must have implied a previous public recitation. According to another (probably still later) story Herodotus had intended to recite his work at the Olympic festival, but put it off from day to day (till it was too late) on account of the heat of the sun :—whence was derived the proverb of putting off a thing ‘till Herodotus’ shady day’ (*εἰς τὴν Ἡροδότου σκιάν*). That the story told by Lucian cannot be true in all its details, has been conclusively shown by Dahlmann. Whether it had any foundation in fact, we have no means of knowing. It is probable that Herodotus became acquainted at Athens with Thucydides, who was about fourteen years his junior, and there is no *a priori* improbability in one or more public recitations of *portions* of the histories having been given. But critics attempt too much, when they try to determine what portions were (or might have been) thus recited.

(2) In what order did Herodotus undertake his different travels? That he had probably completed his eastern travels before his visit to Egypt, has been already stated. It seems probable also (from II. 170. 2) that he had been at Delos before his Egyptian visit, and we learn (from II. 44. 1, 4) that after quitting Egypt he went to Tyre, and subsequently to Thasos. Other passages (e.g. I. 98. 8; II. 7. 2), which have been thought to bear on the order of his travels, seem less decisive. We are probably justified in supposing that his expeditions to the east and north were undertaken from Halicarnassus or Samos, rather than from his later western home. But any connected history of his travels can be based on nothing but the merest conjecture.

(3) In what year did Herodotus die? Since the work bears many marks of incompleteness and want of revision, we may suppose that he was still engaged upon it at the time of his death. The question therefore becomes, What is the latest definite historical fact mentioned in the work? It seems to be now generally agreed that the supposed references to events as late as 408 B.C. (see I. 130. 2; III. 15. 3) are untenable.

The supposed allusion to the occupation of Decelea in 413 (see IX. 73. 3) very probably only refers to the fact that Decelea was spared when parts of Attica were laid waste in the first year of the Peloponnesian war (Thuc. II. 23), and the facts mentioned at III. 160. 3; VII. 114. 3 are indecisive, because we have no definite statement of the time at which they occurred. The language used at VI. 98 has been thought to imply that Artaxerxes was already dead when the passage was written. If this is granted, Herodotus wrote as late as 425. But the assumption is questionable. On the other hand it is quite certain that he was alive during the first two years of the Peloponnesian war, since he refers to the war and mentions one or two events which occurred in those years (see IX. 73. 3; VII. 233. 4; 137. 2, 4). We are entitled therefore to conclude that he certainly lived as late as 430, and possibly as late as 425 B.C. For any statement beyond this we have no evidence.

(4) Were the *Ἀσσύριοι λόγοι* (see I. 106. 3; 184. 1) ever written, and were they intended to form a separate treatise? If Herodotus intended to incorporate them into his work, we can hardly suppose that they were ever actually composed. But it seems more probable that he intended to make them into a separate work—probably on account of their length. Otherwise why should he have neglected such a good opportunity for inserting them, as that which presents itself at I. 106? Or why, if he had intended to insert them in a later place (e. g. after III. 160), should he have anticipated a portion of them by the description of Babylon at I. 178 foll.? Whether they were ever composed—on the assumption that they were to form a separate treatise—is uncertain. The anticipation at I. 178 foll. seems rather to imply that they were not. Still the difficulty of supposing that *Ἡσίόδος* is the true reading in Aristotle's statement about the 'Siege of Nineveh'<sup>1</sup> is even greater than that of adopting *Ἡρόδοτος*. On this point too we must be content to reserve our judgment.

<sup>1</sup> *Hist. An.* VIII. 18. See note on I. 184. 1.

Dismissing as unprofitable—because insoluble on the evidence within our reach—these disputed questions about the life of Herodotus, let us attempt from his writings, and from a consideration of the times in which he lived, to picture to ourselves the man, and form an estimate of his character.

The events of the years 480 and 479 B.C. were such as would make a powerful and lasting impression on the minds of the young generation just growing up at that time into an appreciation of the historical situation. Too young to have entered into the feelings of trouble and anxiety, with which the Athenian sympathizers of his city must have viewed the preparations for the expedition of Xerxes, Herodotus was probably old enough to have shared in the rejoicings which the overthrow of the expedition must have caused. Very possibly the earliest remembrance of his life was the news of the battle of Salamis. Halicarnassus had contributed a contingent of five ships to the Persian navy, and Herodotus has given us a lively picture of the unwillingness with which many of the Asiatic Greeks took part in an engagement, which could have no other issue, as they thought, than the final extinction of Greek freedom<sup>1</sup>. We may imagine how, when the glorious and unexpected news arrived, many a pious Asiatic Greek must have seen in the proud king's defeat (as did Themistocles<sup>2</sup>) the direct interposition of Providence, and we can hardly be wrong in attributing in some degree to these impressions of the early years of Herodotus that belief in the divine ordering of events and in the inevitable punishment of presumptuous pride, which he so continually enforces throughout his work.

The stirring events of these early years of his life would naturally have kindled his enthusiasm. We may imagine him resolving as a boy to devote his life to the description of that great war, the concluding events of which had first stimulated his imagination, and undertaking even his earliest travels with the determination of putting on record what he saw and heard. A desire to see the world was not without precedent among

<sup>1</sup> See VIII. 10. 2.

<sup>2</sup> See VIII. 109. 4.

the Greeks of his age. Hecataeus of Miletus in the preceding generation had visited Egypt<sup>1</sup>, and, although the travels attributed to the early philosophers are probably in most cases the inventions of a later time, Democritus of Abdera, as we learn from a fragment of his writings which has been preserved, prided himself upon the extent of his travels<sup>2</sup>. But the difficulties of travelling in those days can hardly be overestimated. If all travelling implies a certain amount of energy and self-reliance, the travels of Herodotus must have required all the courage and determination of an African explorer of the present day. He must often have been in danger of starvation or shipwreck—of attacks from the ‘natives’ or wild beasts. The mere difficulties of transit, and his ignorance of foreign languages<sup>3</sup>, must have often proved serious obstacles. It has been suggested that his object in travelling may have been in part commercial, and this is not impossible. Palgrave’s recent experiences in Central Arabia have shown the comparative safety of the merchant amongst uncivilized nations, where the man who professed to be travelling merely ‘for information’ would have been viewed with suspicion and dislike. But we have the testimony of Herodotus himself, that some of his journeys were undertaken simply in order to clear up points about which he was uncertain<sup>4</sup>, and we may fairly suppose at any rate that his

<sup>1</sup> II. 140. 1.

<sup>2</sup> τὰδε λέγει Δημόκριτος... Ἐγὼ δὲ τῶν κατ’ ἐμῶν τὸν ἀνθρώπων γῆν πλείστην ἐπεπλανησάμην ἱστορέων τὰ μήκιστα, καὶ ἀέρας τε καὶ γέας πλείστας εἶδον, καὶ λογίων ἀνθρώπων πλείστων ἐσήκουσα, καὶ γραμμάτων συνθέσιος μετὰ ἀποδέξιος οὐδεὶς κώ με παρήλλαξεν. Ritt. and Prell. *Hist. Phil.* 77. Contrast the boastfulness of this language with the modest silence of Herodotus. Democritus was probably born about 480 B.C.

<sup>3</sup> That he did not understand Egyptian seems certain (II. 125. 5), and his acquaintance with other languages seems to be limited to a knowledge of a few words and phrases, such as he would naturally have picked up in the course of his travels. See I. 105. 5; 110. 1; 139. 3; 172. 1; 187. 2; 192. 3; II. 2. 9; 30. 2; 105. 2; III. 88. 6; IV. 27; 59. 4; 110. 1; 117. 1; 155. 2; 192. 4; V. 9. 6; VI. 119. 4; VIII. 85. 5; 98. 3; IX. 110. 2,

<sup>4</sup> II. 44. 1; 75. 1.



commercial motives were rather ostensible than real. Probably, notwithstanding all the precautions which he may have adopted, his travels would have come to an untimely end, had not the circumstances of his birth and times been greatly in his favour. Born a Persian subject, he was entitled to claim the protection of the great king in any part of the Persian Empire. The facilities afforded to traffic in Central Asia by the civilizing influence of Darius may be seen in the description of the 'Royal Road' from Sardis to Susa<sup>1</sup>, and the security given to travellers in Egypt by the establishment of the Persian dominion is illustrated by the fact that Herodotus did not venture to trace the Nile beyond Elephantine, the last Persian outpost on the Ethiopian frontier<sup>2</sup>. Born a Greek, on the other hand, with strong national sympathies, and an ardent belief in the rights of Greek freedom and the advantages of democratical government<sup>3</sup>, he was sure of a warm welcome in all Greek-speaking countries, which had either taken part in, or sympathized with, the national struggle against Persia. The courtesy and kindness with which he was received in Greece are sufficiently attested by the unrestricted liberty which was evidently accorded to him, of examining the archives and treasures of Delphi and other Greek oracles—an indulgence not likely to have been granted to the ordinary visitors of the shrine.

The influence of his travels on his character is to be traced in the singular breadth of view and freedom from national and provincial prejudices, which pervade his work. Though 'a Greek of the Greeks,' he never allows himself to indulge in contemptuous language about the laws and lives of the 'barbarian' (and often wholly uncivilized) nationalities, of which he had had so much experience. He often praises their customs, even when they are utterly foreign to Greek ideas<sup>4</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> V. 52.

<sup>2</sup> II. 29. 1; 30. 4.

<sup>3</sup> See e.g. II. 147. 2; 172. 7; V. 78. 1; and III. 80 (compared with III. 81; 82).

<sup>4</sup> E.g. I. 137. 1; 196. 1; 197. 1.

and for the scientific and artistic products of Egyptian civilization in particular, he shows a strong admiration<sup>1</sup>, while emphatically marking (and even exaggerating) its many points of divergence from the ways of 'the rest of the world'.<sup>2</sup> He recognizes the fact that to each country its own institutions are the best<sup>3</sup>, and taking a comprehensive view of the vicissitudes of human affairs and the varying rise and fall of cities and nations, he pronounces the present smallness and unimportance of many states to be no reason for passing them over in silence<sup>4</sup>. The width of his human sympathies is especially traceable in the sentiments (of course unhistorical) which are put into the mouths of his leading barbarian characters. Herodotus does not regard practical—any more than speculative—wisdom as a Greek monopoly. Croesus, Amasis, and Artabanus are σοφισταί, as well as Solon. They have lived and suffered and learnt experience, and we may listen with respect to their views on the shortness and miseries of life, on the vicissitudes of fortune, and the dangers of excessive prosperity<sup>5</sup>. The whole narrative of the Persian war is another example of this freedom from national vanity. It might have been read without resentment by any fair-minded Persian of the day. Full justice seems to be done to the partial successes of the enemy, and to the bravery of both their troops and their generals<sup>6</sup>, and the fear of Nemesis induces Herodotus to ascribe the Persian defeat rather to the interference of the gods than to the valour or tactics of the Greeks.

His freedom from many of the local prejudices of his time is also to be referred to the influence of his travels. He is a cosmopolitan Greek. His Hellas includes Miletus and Cyrene, Sicily and Rhodes<sup>7</sup>; his horizon is not bounded by the walls

<sup>1</sup> See II. 4. 3; 35. 1; 43. 3; 109. 3; 146. 1; 148. 2; 155. 1.

<sup>2</sup> οἱ ἄλλοι ἄνθρωποι, II. 35. 2; 36. 2.

<sup>3</sup> III. 38. 2.

<sup>4</sup> I. 5. 5—7.

<sup>5</sup> See I. 207; III. 40; VII. 10; 46.

<sup>6</sup> E.g. VI. 113. 1; VII. 210. 3; VIII. 86. 3; 87; IX. 22. 2; 37. 1.

<sup>7</sup> See I. 92. 1, note.

of his own particular πόλις. Yet his sensibility to the ties of local and personal attachment does not seem to have been thereby diminished. Slight traces are occasionally to be found in his work of personal likings and dislikes, which could no doubt be explained by the history of his life, if we knew it fully<sup>1</sup>. If Samos was ever his home, he has abundantly requited its hospitality by the fulness of the account which he has given of its history and public works<sup>2</sup>. And his praises of Athens, his temporary home in after years, have subjected him to many charges of partiality and misrepresentation. It is unnecessary to refute at length the assertions of the extraordinary treatise on the 'maliciousness' (κακοήθεια) of Herodotus, which has come down to us among the reputed writings of Plutarch. Some of its illogical accusations almost suggest the belief that it was composed merely as an ironical *jeu d'esprit*. But the joke seems to be too heavy for this explanation to be possible. The mask fits too closely to enable us to catch a glimpse of the sarcastic smile beneath, and it seems more probable that the treatise is a *bona fide* expression of Boeotian resentment and jealousy, the result of the plain statements made by Herodotus about the 'Medism' of the Thebans<sup>3</sup>. The utmost that the writer succeeds in showing, is that Herodotus was careless of popularity—did not care, that is, to gain it at the expense of truth. The charges of undue prejudice against the Thebans, Corinthians, and Spartans may be rebutted by calling attention to the commendations bestowed on these states for what Herodotus deems praiseworthy in their conduct on other occasions<sup>4</sup>; the charge of

<sup>1</sup> Stein thinks that Hdt. shows a liking for the Macedonian royal family (v. 22. 1), Artabazus (VIII. 106. 1), king Pausanias (v. 32. 2), Aristides (VIII. 79. 1), Kallias (VI. 121. 2),—and a dislike for the Ionians (I. 142. 6), the Aleuadae (VII. 6. 3; 172), and Themistocles (VIII. 4. 3). But some of these instances seem rather fanciful.

<sup>2</sup> See the passages quoted in the note on p. x.

<sup>3</sup> See VII. 205. 4; 233. 2; IX. 31. 7; 41. 4; and compare *de Herod. malign.* 31.

<sup>4</sup> E.g. IX. 67. 1; v. 75. 1; 92; VII. 102. 2; 220. 1.

undue friendliness to Athens is disproved by the criticisms which he occasionally passes on its faults and follies<sup>1</sup>. If his praises of Athens really require apology, her unpopularity immediately before the Peloponnesian war would seem to be sufficient reason why her wellwishers should be anxious to call special attention to the services which she had rendered to Greece during the preceding generation.

To the stay of Herodotus at Athens the highest interest attaches, and his silence about the men whom he met there is extremely provoking. A contemporary sketch of the Athenian society of the age of Pericles would have been a literary treasure, for which we might well have been content to forego the possession of the treatise on the life of Homer, which has been fathered upon Herodotus, and is so often included in the editions of his work<sup>2</sup>. Of the Athens of Socrates we possess a vivid picture in the dialogues of Plato—our knowledge of the Athens of Pericles is based only on the comparatively untrustworthy authority of Plutarch's *Lives*, and on the scanty notices which may be occasionally found in Plato and the fragments of the philosophers. If we suppose Herodotus to have been in Athens in 445 B.C.—the year before the Thurian colony was founded—Sophocles would have been about 50—possibly engaged on the *Antigone*,—Euripides about 35, Thucydides about 26, and Socrates 24. Pericles would have been a statesman of some twenty years' standing, probably already married to Aspasia, and in intimate intercourse with his friends and instructors, Zeno the Eleatic, Protagoras the Sophist, and Damon the musician. That Herodotus was welcomed in this highly cultivated society (where his strange experiences doubtless found eager listeners) is proved by his intimacy with Sophocles, already mentioned. And there can be no reasonable doubt that he knew and admired Pericles, though we are unable to determine how far

<sup>1</sup> E.g. I. 62. 2; V. 97. 4; VI. 109. 2; VII. 133. 2.

<sup>2</sup> It is now generally ascribed either to an Alexandrian grammarian, or to an unknown author of the 2nd century A.D.

his account of the political relations existing between the Greek states, his views on the inexpediency of a despotism at Athens<sup>1</sup>, and his criticism of the Cleisthenic reforms<sup>2</sup>, may be due to actual conversations with Pericles himself. Once only does he mention Pericles by name, but it has been truly said that he there mentions him 'as if he were a god'—a supernatural being, whose first appearance on earth would naturally be heralded by a portent. 'Agariste (he says), being married to Xanthippus, and being with child, saw a vision in her sleep, and she dreamt that she brought forth a lion: and after a few days she bears Pericles to Xanthippus'.<sup>3</sup>

One other Athenian resident must be mentioned, with whom Herodotus probably came into contact, and whose influence on his writings (whether direct or indirect) is unmistakable—the philosopher Anaxagoras. Born at Clazomenae, and therefore like Herodotus only a μέτοικος, he seems, as early as 465 B.C., to have settled in Athens, where his abilities procured him the friendship of Pericles. He there became the recognized leader of that new school of scientific thought, the influence of which is to be traced in his distinguished pupils, Euripides and Socrates. The cardinal point of his philosophy is the conception of νοῦς. 'Mind' alone is separated from everything else in the universe—by the action of 'mind' on chaos the existing order of the universe is to be explained: πάντα χρήματα ἦν ὁμοῦ· εἰτὰ νοῦς ἐλθὼν αὐτὰ διεκόσμησε<sup>4</sup>. Vague as this language is, it was the first attempt to distinguish between the material and the immaterial—the first conception of an immaterial efficient cause of things, and its adoption implied a definite abandonment of the cosmogonies of the earlier mythologists. Accordingly we find Anaxagoras venturing to give an allegorical interpretation of the early legends<sup>5</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> v. 78.

<sup>2</sup> v. 66; 69.

<sup>3</sup> vi. 131. 3. Grote strangely views the story as an after-thought of the enemies of Pericles.

<sup>4</sup> Ritt. and Prell. *Hist. Phil.* 52.

<sup>5</sup> E.g. Zeus is νοῦς, Athene τέχνη, etc.

and attempting scientific explanations of physical phaenomena. The sun, which Herodotus speaks of as a god<sup>1</sup>, was pronounced by Anaxagoras to be merely 'a red-hot stone, larger than the Peloponnese'—the moon, to which Herodotus had seen so many sacrifices performed in the course of his travels<sup>2</sup>, and by the phases of which the Spartans<sup>3</sup> and Nicias<sup>4</sup> regulated their military movements, was said to be made of earth and to contain valleys and houses. It was only natural that such statements should have shocked the religious feelings of the uneducated, and hence the paradox that the first condemnation for atheism fell on the man, who has been called from a modern point of view 'the first of theists.'

At Athens, if nowhere else, Herodotus was brought face to face with this rapidly developing school of thought, and had to attempt a reconciliation between the science and religion of his times. The result, as might have been expected, was a compromise. Occasionally he seems dissatisfied with the popular polytheism. He doubts whether it is correct to attribute to the direct action of Poseidon effects which seem to him merely the result of an earthquake<sup>5</sup>, he regards the titles, forms and functions of the special gods as the creation of the early epic poets<sup>6</sup>, and in his etymology of the word *θεός* he shows a curious reproduction of the language of Anaxagoras<sup>7</sup>. Yet he attempts to trace a real connection between the religions of different nations. The Zeus-Ammon of Libya and Egypt is on his view not merely capable of identification with, but actually the same god as, Olympian Zeus<sup>8</sup>. Heracles Pan and Dionysus are real beings with distinct histories and personalities<sup>9</sup>, and the forgiveness of gods and heroes is invoked for remarks that may seem too sceptical<sup>10</sup>. A similar mixture of doubt and belief is observable in his treatment of miracles and

<sup>1</sup> II. 24. 3.<sup>2</sup> I. 131. 2; II. 47. 2; IV. 188.<sup>3</sup> VI. 106. 5.<sup>4</sup> Thuc. VII. 50.<sup>5</sup> VII. 129. 5. See also VII. 189. 3; 191. 2.<sup>6</sup> II. 53. 3.<sup>7</sup> Compare *κόσμῳ θέντες* (II. 52. 2) with the *διεκόσμησε* of Anaxagoras (I. c.).<sup>8</sup> II. 55. 4.<sup>9</sup> II. 145.<sup>10</sup> II. 45. 4.

gifts of prophecy. He cannot believe that a dove spoke with human voice<sup>1</sup>, yet he feels no difficulty in accepting and interpreting omens equally miraculous<sup>2</sup>. He pronounces the *μαρτική* of Melampus to be an artificial invention, and hints at the bribery of the Pythia<sup>3</sup>, yet he is a firm believer in the value of the art of divination and the truth of oracles. The hesitation which he displays about pronouncing against the popular mythology is partly to be attributed to a reverence for received tradition, partly to a love of mysticism and secrecy in religious observances, partly also, without doubt, to a fear of popular clamour.

If we put altogether on one side the received popular mythology, the attitude of Herodotus on religious questions becomes more definite and consistent. He believes in one God<sup>4</sup>, a Providence, which orders all things wisely, and exercises a moral government over the world. Crime never escapes the eye or the avenging arm of God. Punishment assuredly falls, if not on the guilty man himself, yet on his descendants<sup>5</sup>—often not merely on the individual, but on the nation to which he belongs<sup>6</sup>. And wrong intention is a crime as well as wrong action—it is a sin to tempt God even in thought<sup>7</sup>. Undue prosperity in particular provokes the divine wrath. Preeminence savours of presumption, and the judgments of God seek out the mightiest men, as his lightnings strike the tallest trees. The God of Herodotus is a ‘jealous’ God, who suffers none to be proud except himself<sup>8</sup>. And strive as men may to avoid offence towards him, it is not always in their power to succeed. Their circumstances (if not their characters) are predestined by a power against which it is useless to struggle<sup>9</sup>. Fate is

<sup>1</sup> II. 57. 3.

<sup>2</sup> E. g. I. 78. 1; VII. 57. 1.

<sup>3</sup> II. 49. 5; V. 63. 1; VI. 66. 2.

<sup>4</sup> ὁ θεός, τὸ θεῖον, ὁ δαίμων, τοῦ θεοῦ ἡ προνοία, θελή τύχη.

<sup>5</sup> I. 13. 4; 91. 2; VII. 137. 3.

<sup>6</sup> II. 120. 6.

<sup>7</sup> See the story of Glaucus, VI. 86.

<sup>8</sup> VII. 10. 13, 14.

<sup>9</sup> IX. 15. 7.

stronger even than God<sup>1</sup>—how much more than man! Attempts to resist the will of God or destiny, even in the pursuit of what may seem right, are punished as crimes<sup>2</sup>. Man in his ignorance must not presume to judge the ways of God<sup>3</sup>.

The terrible severity of this ultra-Calvinistic creed makes us wonder at the cheerfulness and serenity of temper which the writings of Herodotus exhibit. If he applied to himself the doctrines which he enforces in the case of Croesus, Xerxes, and the rest, he must have lived in continual fear of Nemesis—perpetually on the watch for some divine warning which might foreshadow his coming doom. Perhaps his doctrine of Nemesis is to be regarded as a philosophical tenet rather than a practical belief—an attempt to grasp that conception of ‘law’ and ‘limit’ in the universe, which was developed in the *πέρας* of the Pythagoreans and the *μεσότης* of Aristotle<sup>4</sup>. Or perhaps he felt that the obscurity and troubles of his life, the loss of his early home and his many wanderings, secured him against the envy of the divine power. At any rate his fatalism does not stifle a belief in the importance of human efforts. He thinks that wise counsel and good sense ‘as a general rule’ secure success and the divine favour<sup>5</sup>. But an undercurrent of sadness, which sometimes verges on despair, is traceable throughout his work. Life is short, yet it often seems too long. Even the happiest of men must many times wish to die rather than live<sup>6</sup>. God gives men a taste of the sweets of life<sup>7</sup>, and then dashes the cup of happiness for ever<sup>8</sup> from their lips. And worst pain of all is the wisdom which foresees evil to come, when coupled with a feeling of powerlessness to do any good<sup>9</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> I. 91. 1. It seems doubtful however whether this solitary statement is to be regarded as expressing Hdt.’s own belief.

<sup>2</sup> See II. 133.

<sup>3</sup> II. 3. 4; IX. 65. 3.

<sup>4</sup> See Grant’s edition of Aristotle’s Ethics, Essay IV., and compare Hdt.’s language at VII. 10. 13; VIII. 13. 3.

<sup>5</sup> VII. 157. 7; VIII. 60. 11.

<sup>6</sup> VII. 46. 4—6.

<sup>7</sup> γλυκὴν γεύσας τὸν αἰῶνα, l. c.

<sup>8</sup> No trace of any belief in a future state is to be discovered in his work

<sup>9</sup> ἐχθίστη δὲ ὁδύνη τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποισι αὕτη, πολλὰ φρονέοντα μηδενὸς κρα-



In his natural philosophy, it has been said that Herodotus fell below the standard of his age. That he was not on a level with the speculations of the leading philosophers of the day, may be admitted, and is probably due in part to the religious scruples which he entertained on the subject. The explanation given by Anaxagoras of the inundations of the Nile, though condemned by Herodotus as false, is certainly more plausible scientifically, than the view which he himself adopts<sup>1</sup>. Many of his meteorological conceptions appear to us extremely childish<sup>2</sup>, and the absence of definite language in his geographical descriptions<sup>3</sup> makes it impossible to construct with any certainty a map of 'the world as known to Herodotus.' Yet we cannot doubt that in his scientific views he was far in advance of the average Greek of his time. His geological speculations are often conceived in quite a modern spirit<sup>4</sup>. He ridicules the idea of a circumambient Oceanus, 'as round as if it were drawn by a pair of compasses,' and he refuses to believe the current fables about dogheaded or headless men, or men who annually become wolves<sup>5</sup>, though he does not perhaps push his incredulity as far as he might have done. The many marvels which he had seen with his own eyes make him cautious about dogmatically pronouncing anything to be impossible. He contents himself with the statement so often repeated in his work—that he 'tells the tale as 'twas told to him'<sup>6</sup>.

That the general veracity of Herodotus is not affected by these instances of over-credulity, has been universally admitted in modern, though it was denied in ancient times. Ctesias, court-physician to Artaxerxes Mnemon (about 400 B. C.),—the

τέειν, IX. 16. 8. Contrast this with Bacon's aphorism: 'scientia et potentia humana in idem coincidunt.'

<sup>1</sup> See II. 22; 24.

<sup>2</sup> II. 24; 25; III. 104. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Especially in his description of Scythia, IV. 99 foll. Compare his use of ἀντίον and κατά, noticed at I. 201. 1.

<sup>4</sup> II. 5; 10; 11; 12; VII. 129.

<sup>5</sup> IV. 36. 3; 191. 4; 105. 3, 4.

<sup>6</sup> ταῦτα εἰ μὲν ἐστὶ ἀληθέως οὐκ οἶδα, τὰ δὲ λέγεται γράφω. εἴη δ' ἂν πάν. IV. 195. 3.

author of a Persian history, some portions of which have been preserved by Photius (Lexicographer, about 850 A.D.)—seems to have been the first to set the example of calling Herodotus a liar<sup>1</sup>. Manetho, the Egyptian historian (high-priest of the temple of Isis at Sebennytus, about 300 B.C.), whose works are unfortunately lost, is said to have written a book on purpose to correct the errors of Herodotus<sup>2</sup>, and by Greek and Roman authors alike the titles of ‘fabler’ and ‘legend-writer’ have been freely applied to ‘the father of history<sup>3</sup>.’ All these attacks may readily be pardoned except that of Ctesias. That Manetho had a strong case we may well believe : he seems moreover to have attributed the mistakes of Herodotus to ignorance<sup>4</sup>. And the language of Aristotle, Cicero, and others, though a little exaggerated, cannot be said to be wholly undeserved. But there can be no doubt that Ctesias purposely brought false charges against Herodotus, in order to enhance the reputation of his own work. The cuneiform inscriptions convict him of having manipulated facts and fabricated history to suit his own ends in the most bare-faced manner<sup>5</sup>.

Whether Herodotus deserves to be called a ‘historian,’ is a mere question of words. He is not a historian in the modern sense of the term, nor does he approach so nearly to

<sup>1</sup> Photius says Κτησίας διέξεισι τὰ περὶ Κύρου καὶ Καμβύσου καὶ τοῦ μάγου Δαρείου καὶ τοῦ Ξέρξου, σχεδὸν ἐν ᾧ πασιν ἀντικείμενα Ἡροδότῳ ἱστορῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ψευστὴν ἀπελέγχων ἐν πολλοῖς καὶ λογοποιὸν ἀποκαλῶν. *Bibliothec. Cod.* LXII.

<sup>2</sup> See Kenrick, *Anc. Eg.* II. 88.

<sup>3</sup> Ἡρόδοτος ὁ μυθολόγος, Aristot. *de gen. an.* III. 5. 15 (cf. *hist. an.* III. 22. 2). ‘Apud Herodotum patrem historiae innumerabiles fabulae,’ Cic. *de legibus* I. 1; ‘Herodotum cur veraciorem ducam Ennio?’ *de div.* II. 56. ‘Herodotus homo fabulator,’ Aulus Gellius (2nd cent. A.D.) *Noct. Att.* III. 10. Ἡρόδοτος ὁ μυθογράφος, Themistius (4th cent. A.D.) 33. ἐν τοῖς πλείστοις ψευδόμενον (ἐπιδεικνύασιν) Ἡρόδοτον πάντες, Josephus *Adv. Ap.* I. 3.

<sup>4</sup> (Μανεθῶν) πολλὰ τὸν Ἡρόδοτον ἐλέγχει τῶν Αἰγυπτιακῶν ὑπ’ ἀγνοίας ἐψευσμένον. Joseph. I. c.

<sup>5</sup> See the introduction to Rawlinson’s Herodotus, ch. 3.

the modern standard, as does Thucydides. He has been well called 'the Froissart of antiquity'.<sup>1</sup> We must not expect in his pages keen historical insight, subtle tracing of hidden causes, careful sifting of conflicting testimony. Yet he has merits, in which many a historian of greater pretensions has been found wanting—diligence in collecting facts, impartiality in stating them, and an earnest desire to tell nothing but the truth. To wish that he had had higher merits than these—that he had been more of a 'historian'—would be a mistake. His discursiveness, his diffusiveness, his credulity, his discrepancies, his exaggerations—all his historical defects, in short—constitute a considerable part of the charm of his work. If Herodotus had been a Thucydides or a Macaulay, history might possibly have gained, but literature would certainly have suffered an irreparable loss.

On the last years of his life at Thurii tradition is almost silent. Apparently unmarried and childless, he must have had his interests mainly centred in his work, to which he probably made large additions after the completion of the first draft. If he died, as seems probable, not long after 430 B. C., he was happy in being taken away from the evil to come. He was spared the pain of seeing all Athenian hopes of victory collapse along with the Sicilian expedition—spared also the bitterness of the faction-fights which seem to have agitated Thurii about that time on the question of joining the Athenian alliance. He was buried, according to Suidas, in the city market-place, and the following commonplace stanza is stated on very questionable authority to have been the inscription on his tomb:—

Ἡρόδοτον Λύξεω κρύπτει κόνις ἥδε θανόντα,  
 Ἰάδος ἀρχαίης ἱστορίας πρύτανιν,  
 Δωριέων πάτρης βλαστόντ' ἀπο, τῶν δ' ἄπλητον  
 Μῶμον ὑπεκπροφυγῶν Θούριον ἔσχε πάτρην.

<sup>1</sup> De Quincy, *On Style*.

## ON THE STYLE OF HERODOTUS, WITH SPECIMENS OF EARLY GREEK PROSE- WRITING.

THE advance made by Herodotus in the history of Greek literary composition, great as it was, cannot be compared, in point of importance, with the advance made by the first writer who ventured to throw aside the fetters of metre and compose in prose. Though short prose-documents<sup>1</sup>, drawn up for some practical purpose, may be supposed to have existed very soon after the introduction of writing, it seems nearly certain that the cultivation of prose, as a branch of literature, does not date back much beyond the middle of the 6th century B.C. The general causes of the introduction of prose may be traced with tolerable accuracy<sup>2</sup>; the particular occasion is unknown<sup>3</sup>. Clearly at first the change was very gradual. The new style of composition, as we know from the fragments remaining, was applied to the same class of subjects as the old<sup>4</sup>, and dealt with them in the same way. The diction and vocabulary were almost unaltered. It was only after many successive modifications that a distinct prose-style was produced.

<sup>1</sup> See Mure, *Anc. Gr. Lit.* IV. 51.

<sup>2</sup> See Creuzer, *Die historische Kunst der Griechen*, p. 30 (2nd ed.).

<sup>3</sup> The invention of prose-writing is attributed by different traditions to Cadmus of Miletus, Acusilaus of Argos, and the elder Pherecydes. . The first of these is a mere name to us, and very possibly the result of a Milesian adaptation of the legend about the Boeotian Cadmus. Mure, l. c.

<sup>4</sup> As is also implied in the tradition that Acusilaus translated Hesiod into prose. So Creuzer says 'that man must be called the first logographer, who first narrated the legends in prose' (l. c. p. 53).

The first introduction of prose-composition in the sphere of literature may in some points be compared with the introduction of photography in the sphere of the fine arts. The discovery of an art which required less special aptitude for its practice, than that which had hitherto been the sole form of expression, opened the possibility of composition to a much wider field. A certain crudeness in the early attempts was no doubt inevitable. But it was gradually seen that exactness of expression was far more within the reach of the new arts than of the older ones. The grandeur of conception and the picturesqueness of image, which had been the characteristics of painting and poetry, were gradually seen to be more or less unattainable by photography and prose. Clearness, precision, and fidelity of detail gradually became the excellences at which the new generation of artists aimed.

We find it so difficult to conceive a state of things in which prose-literature did not exist, that we are rather apt to underestimate the difficulties which the early prose-writers must have experienced. The very same phrases and turns of expression, which in poetry would have been perfectly natural and adequate, seem harsh and lame, when no longer aided by the movement of the sonorous hexameter. The following specimens of early Greek prose<sup>1</sup> will illustrate the gradual development of the art of prose-composition, and explain some characteristics—to be afterwards noticed—of the style of Herodotus.

(1) Pherecydes of Syros (philosopher, about 560 B.C.).<sup>2</sup>

Zeὺς μὲν καὶ Χρόνος εἰς ἀεὶ καὶ Χθὼν ἦν. Χθονίῃ δὲ ὄνομα<sup>3</sup> ἐγένετο Γῆ, ἐπειδὴ αὐτῇ Ζεὺς γέρας διδοί.

<sup>1</sup> The fragments of Pherecydes are taken from Sturz, *Pherecydis Fragmenta* (pp. 40, 46, 2nd ed. 1834), those of Heraclitus from Ritter and Preller, *Hist. Philosoph.* (30, 31), the remainder from Müller, *Fragm. Hist. Graec.* Several of them are given (in Greek or English) in Mure's 4th volume.

<sup>2</sup> Not to be confused with the later historian, Pherecydes of Leros, who flourished about 450 B.C.

<sup>3</sup> The dialectical forms in this and the other fragments are quite untrustworthy. See p. xlii.

Ζὰς ποιεῖ φάρος μέγα τε καὶ καλόν. καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ ποικίλλει Γῆν καὶ Ὀγῆνον (= Ὀκεανόν) καὶ τὰ Ὀγῆνου δώματα (Ὀγενον καὶ τὰ τῶν θεῶν δώματα conj. Wakefield).

- (2) Acusilaus of Argos (λογογράφος, about 550 B.C.).

Ὀκεανὸς δὲ γαμεῖ Τηθὺν ἑαυτοῦ ἀδελφὴν. Τῶν δὲ γίνονται τρισχίλιοι ποταμοί. Ἀχελῷος δὲ αὐτῶν πρεσβύτατος, καὶ τετίμηται μάλιστα.

- (3) Hecataeus of Miletus (λογογράφος, about 510 B.C.).

Κάπρος ἦν ἐν τῷ ὄρει καὶ Ψωφιδίους κακὰ πολλὰ ἔοργεν.

Ὅρεσθεὺς ὁ Δευκαλίωνος ἦλθεν εἰς Αἰτωλίαν ἐπὶ βασιλείᾳ· καὶ κύων αὐτῷ στέλεχος ἔτεκε· καὶ ὃς ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν κατορυχθῆναι· καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἔφν ἄμπελος πολυστάφυλος· διὸ καὶ τὸν αὐτοῦ παῖδα Φύτιον ἐκάλεσε. Τούτου δὲ Οἰνεὺς ἐγένετο, κληθεὶς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀμπέλων. Οἱ γὰρ παλαιοὶ Ἕλληνες οἶνας ἐκάλουν τὰς ἀμπέλους. Οἰνέως δὲ ἐγένετο Αἰτωλός<sup>1</sup>.

- (4) Heraclitus of Ephesus (philosopher, about 500 B.C.).

Πολυμαθὴς νόον οὐ διδάσκει· Ἡσίοδον γὰρ ἂν ἐδίδαξε καὶ Πυθαγόρην, αὐτὶς τε Ξενοφάνεα καὶ Ἑκαταῖον.

τοῦ λόγου τοῦδ' ἐόντος αἰεὶ ἀξύνετοι γίνονται ἄνθρωποι καὶ πρόσθεν ἢ ἀκοῦσαι καὶ ἀκούσαντες τὸ πρῶτον· γινομένων γὰρ πάντων κατὰ τὸν λόγον τόνδε, ἀπείροισιν εἰκόασιν πειρώμενοι καὶ ἐπέων καὶ ἔργων τοιούτων, ὁκοίων ἐγὼ διηγεῖμαι, διαιρέων κατὰ φύσιν καὶ φράζων ὅκως ἔχει.

- (5) Charon of Lampsacus (λογογράφος, wrote as late as 465 B.C.).

Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ εἴκοσι τριήρεσιν ἐπλευσαν ἐπικουρήσοντες τοῖσι Ἴωσι, καὶ εἰς Σάρδεις ἐστρατεύσαντο. καὶ εἶλον τὰ περὶ Σάρδεις ἅπαντα, χωρὶς τοῦ τείχους τοῦ βασιλεῖος· ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες ἐπαναχωροῦσι εἰς Μίλητον. Καὶ λευκαὶ περιστέραὶ τότε πρῶτον εἰς Ἑλλήνας ἐφάνησαν, πρότερον οὐ γιγνόμεναι<sup>2</sup>.

- (6) Xanthus, a Lydian of Sardis (λογογράφος, contemporary with Charon).

Ἀπὸ Λυδοῦ μὲν γίνονται Λυδοί, ἀπὸ δὲ Τορρήβου Τόρρηβοι· τούτων ἡ γλῶσσα ὀλίγον παραφέρει, καὶ νῦν ἔτι συλοῦσιν ἀλλήλους ῥήματα οὐκ ὀλίγα, ὥσπερ Ἴωνες καὶ Δωριεῖς.

The shortness of many of these fragments prevents us from feeling sure that we have in all cases a perfectly fair specimen of the style of individual writers<sup>3</sup>. Yet, taken together, the

<sup>1</sup> For another fragment of Hecataeus, see note on Hdt. II. 45. 1.

<sup>2</sup> For another fragment of Charon, see note on Hdt. I. 160. 5.

<sup>3</sup> Hermogenes attributes much greater elegance to the style of Hecataeus than the existing remains would seem to warrant: πολὺ δὲ ἔχει καὶ ἡ λέξις (Ἑκαταίου) καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν λέξιν, οἷον σχήματα, κῶλα, συνθήκαι, ῥυθμοί, ἀναπαύσεις, πρὸς τὸ ἡδονὰς ποιῆσαι καὶ γλυκύτητας, οἷα εἰσιν αἱ παρὰ Ἡροδότῳ (περὶ ἰδεῶν, II. 12. 6).

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passages are sufficient to give us a fair idea of the progress made in prose composition during the 100 years (or thereabouts), over which they extend. The following points are especially noticeable:—(1) The poetical (and even metrical<sup>1</sup>) expressions, which are found in the early fragments, seem gradually to die out. In the passages quoted from Charon and Xanthus no phrase or word occurs which we might not expect to find used by Herodotus. (2) A gradually increasing facility in the construction of sentences seems traceable. Participial clauses, which are altogether absent in the earlier fragments, appear in the later ones—at first employed (e.g. in the second passage quoted from Heraclitus) with a certain amount of awkwardness, afterwards with more freedom. Yet (3) no trace is to be discovered, even in the later passages, of any complexity of structure. The narrative is carried on by the accumulation of single sentences (generally connected by conjunctive particles), each consisting of little more than a main-verb with its subject and object. The use of ‘subordinate construction’ (i.e. of dependent clauses) is not as yet fully developed. The construction employed is that which is called by the grammarians ‘paratactic’ or ‘coordinate.’

Herodotus—who stands on the border-line between this earlier semi-poetical and the later rhetorical school of composition—exhibits, as we should expect, points both of resemblance and of contrast, when compared with the *λογογράφοι*.

(1) Though we no longer find in the language of Herodotus that close approximation to poetical forms which gives the early prose-compositions an air of being translated poems, examples of poetical diction and picturesque phraseology may be found in abundance, and constitute one of the chief charms of his style. We may take as instances his personification of inanimate objects<sup>2</sup> (which sometimes involves a quaintness of

<sup>1</sup> The first passage quoted from Hecataeus contains half a hexameter, and the passage from Acusilaus ‘seems to be made up in great part of fragments of dactylic metre.’ Mure.

<sup>2</sup> E.g. *ἐπέστη ὕδριος*, I. 34. 2: *ἡ λίμνη καταβάλλει*, II. 149. 6. Com-

metaphor)<sup>1</sup>; and his use of ornamental epithets<sup>2</sup>. The frequency with which these occur, and the evident absence of any sense of incongruity in their use on the part of the writer, are to be mainly explained by the fact that the prose of Herodotus has not lost all traces of its poetical origin. Some examples however of his poetical diction may with considerable certainty be referred to a conscious or unconscious imitation by Herodotus of the epic writers. The influence of Homer on his diction is unmistakeable<sup>3</sup>. Many of his shorter dialogues, both in particular turns of expression and in their general effect, read almost like adaptations of Homeric conversations, and the number of epic phrases which he has employed is very considerable. We cannot trace with certainty the influence of any other school of poetry on his diction. The plays of Aeschylus (with which he was acquainted<sup>4</sup>) may possibly have coloured his theological views<sup>5</sup>, but they have not materially modified his style. And although some very striking correspondences exist between the language of Sophocles and that of Herodotus<sup>6</sup>, it seems more probable on the whole that Sophocles borrowed from Herodotus, than Herodotus from Sophocles<sup>7</sup>.

(2) and (3) While Herodotus shows much greater freedom and facility in the structure of his sentences than the earlier *λογογράφοι*, he still in the main may be said to reproduce the

pare the language used about the river at I. 189. 1, 2 ; and the phrase *τῶν τρεφόντων σιτίων*, II. 77. 2.

<sup>1</sup> E. g. the use of *δάκρυον* for the gum of a tree (II. 96. 1), and the use of *οἰκέει* at II. 166. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Such as *οὐρανομήκεα* (II. 138. 4).

<sup>3</sup> See p. xlviii.

<sup>4</sup> See II. 156. 7.

<sup>5</sup> The doctrine of *νέμεσις* is more directly traceable in Aeschylus than in either of the other tragedians.

<sup>6</sup> See notes I. 37. 2, 3 ; II. 35. 3, and compare III. 119. 8 with Soph. *Ant.* 905, and IV. 99. 5 with Soph. *El.* 62. The correspondence between IV. 129. 3 and *El.* 27 proves very little.

<sup>7</sup> See the discussion of this point by Hermann in Bähr's *Excursus* on III. 110.



mannerism of the Ionic school of composition. In the narrative portions of his work the 'paratactic' form of construction is that which is generally employed. It is on this account that Aristotle<sup>1</sup> has selected Herodotus as an example of the 'jointed' style of composition (λέξις εἰρομένη) in opposition to the 'periodic' style (ἡ κατεστραμμένη, ἡ ἐν τοῖς περιόδοις) of the later rhetorical schools. By this he means (as he explains) that the sentences of Herodotus are strung together in a loose and inartificial way, so that no close or finish is necessarily reached, until the whole narration has been completed<sup>2</sup>. In the commentary which follows, some examples have been noticed of the employment of 'paratactic' modes of construction, where later writers would have used subordinate clauses<sup>3</sup>. Yet it seems a mistake to classify Herodotus without qualification as a writer of the unperiodic—or, as it is sometimes called, 'sententious'—style. We may with more accuracy distinguish between three styles of composition which seem to be traceable in his writings. (α) In some few descriptive passages—probably where he is closely following, and directly influenced by, the language of the λογογράφοι<sup>4</sup>—we trace all the ultra-simplicity of statement and harshness of connection which characterized earlier essays in prose. (β) Through the greater part of the narrative his style corresponds in its main features with the fragments which we possess of Charon and Xanthus, though there is much more ease and freedom observable in the structure and combination of his sentences. (γ) In some passages, which generally occur in speeches, he becomes rhetorical. We

<sup>1</sup> *Rhet.* III. 9. 2. It is curious that another ancient critic by an inversion of metaphor should have described this same style as 'disjointed' (διηρημένη). *Demetr. de Eloc.* 12.

<sup>2</sup> λέγω δὲ εἰρομένην, ἡ οὐδὲν ἔχει τέλος καθ' αὐτήν, ἀν μὴ τὸ πρᾶγμα λεγόμενον τελειωθῇ. 1. c. 'The λέξις εἰρομένη (εἴρω, εἶριον) which may be *drawn out* like wool or thread to any length, provided the material lasts, may be illustrated by the seaman's phrase of *spinning a long yarn*.' Kenrick.

<sup>3</sup> See I. 61. 7; 173. 3; II. 93. 8.

<sup>4</sup> Notice e.g. the language at II. 71. 2, where he is supposed to be following Hecataeus.

seem in these to be able to trace the roundness and elaborateness—and even occasionally the artifices—of a sophistic ἐπίδειξις<sup>1</sup>.

The happy mean between jejuneness and turgidity, which characterizes the greater part of his work, is one point in which the style of Herodotus resembles the conversation of a well-informed and well-bred talker. Whether there is any truth in the story of the Olympic recitation, or not, his writings remind us much more of a man who is telling the story of his travels in natural unpremeditated language to a few familiar friends, than of one who is reciting a studied composition before a large audience. His redundancies<sup>2</sup> and repetitions<sup>3</sup>, his frequent ἀνακόλουθα<sup>4</sup>, his occasional use of the second person singular (with reference to the reader)<sup>5</sup>, and his invariable practice of referring to himself in the first person—so unlike the dignified reserve of Thucydides—are all illustrations of this conversational style. Some modern commentators<sup>6</sup> have seen in his redundancies and repetitions the garrulity and forgetfulness of old age. But there is a sustained strength about the work, which prevents us from believing that the greater part of it was composed when his powers had begun to decline. And though diffuse, he is rarely—if ever—prolix. When force is to be gained by brevity, he can be brief<sup>7</sup>. The redundancies of his work must be ascribed, not to the old age of the writer, but to the infancy of the age in which he wrote.

The leading characteristics of the diction and syntactical construction of Herodotus have now been stated. It remains

<sup>1</sup> See I. 207. 2, 7, 9; III. 80—82; V. 49; VII. 8—11.

<sup>2</sup> See II. 77. 7, n.

<sup>3</sup> See notes on II. 10. 3; 124. 4.

<sup>4</sup> Those of most common occurrence are the irregular use of the genitive absolute (e.g. I. 3. 3; 178. 3), and the coordination of participle and finite verb (see notes on I. 8. 2; 85. 2).

<sup>5</sup> See II. 105. 1, n.

<sup>6</sup> Notably Jäger, *Disputationes Herodoteae*, p. 17.

<sup>7</sup> Kenrick quotes in illustration of this the use of the simple words μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἐδάκρυσε (of Xerxes at the Hellespont), VII. 45.

to attempt an estimate, on more general grounds, of his merits as a writer.

The 'epic unity' of the *ιστορίαι* has become a commonplace of criticism. The feud between Greek and Barbarian, with a statement of which the narrative commences, is exemplified in turn by the conquests of Croesus and Cyrus, by the Ionic revolt and the defeats of Xerxes. The final catastrophes of Salamis, Plataea, and Mycale are viewed by the historian as possibly direct (though distant) results of the abduction of Io and the Trojan war. From beginning to end of the book the one great truth is continually illustrated, that 'pride goeth before destruction, and an haughty spirit before a fall.'

The interference with this unity of plot caused by the insertion of episodes, is rather apparent than real. The introduction of episodes is as much a characteristic of epic poetry, as is unity of design, and Dionysius of Halicarnassus supposes that the episodes of Herodotus are the result of a conscious imitation of Homer<sup>1</sup>. We shall be safer in attributing them to the fact that Herodotus in this point, as in others, was a descendant of the earlier *λογογράφοι*,—whose works were so largely devoted to mythological and geographical subjects. His purpose was not so much to write a 'history' in the modern sense of the term, as to record 'the actions and the mighty and marvellous works of men, both Greeks and Barbarians.' If his primary object was a statement of the causes which led to the Persian war, it was almost equally important in his eyes to give an account of the results of his travels. To criticise any of his episodes therefore on account of 'their frivolous character'<sup>2</sup> is an anachronism. The mere fact that a 'marvel' (or what he believed to be such) existed, was with him a

<sup>1</sup> συνειδὼς γὰρ Ἡρόδοτος, ὅτι πᾶσα μῆκος ἔχουσα διήγησις, ἂν μὲν ἀναπαύσεις τινὰς λαμβάνη, τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν ἀκροωμένων ἡδέως διατίθῃσιν, εἰάν τις ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτῶν μένῃ πραγμάτων, καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἐπιτυχάνηται, λυπεῖ τὴν ἀκοὴν τῷ κόρῳ, ποικίλην ἐβουλήθη ποιῆσαι τὴν γραφὴν, Ὁμήρου ζηλωτὴς γενόμενος. *De Thucyd. jud.* p. 771 Reiske.

<sup>2</sup> Mure, IV. 464.

sufficient justification for incorporating an account of it into his work. It is true that he occasionally seems to apologise for his digressions<sup>1</sup>, but his language implies no more than a fear that he may seem unnecessarily tedious. Whether all the episodes formed part of the original draft of the work is uncertain. That this was not the case may possibly be inferred from the fact that in one or two (but very few) passages they seem awkward and out of place in the connection in which they occur<sup>2</sup>. The introduction of one or two of the later episodes in Book IX. must be also pronounced an artistic error<sup>3</sup>, and the addition of the final chapter certainly spoils the effect of what would otherwise be the concluding picture—the victorious return of the Athenian fleet from the Hellespont. Perhaps this last part was never quite finished<sup>4</sup>. Still the episodes, taken altogether, are probably the most attractive, as well as the largest, portion of the work. Specially happy is the arrangement—whether due to the nature of the subject, or the art of the historian—by which most of the longer ones are contained in the earlier books, so that the interest in the later books centres almost entirely on the collision between Persia and Greece.

In the insertion of dialogues and speeches in his work, Herodotus followed beyond all doubt the custom of earlier *λογογράφοι*. We can hardly suppose that we should find speeches employed in the histories of both Thucydides and Xenophon, had the use of them been for the first time introduced by Herodotus. Their original employment seems to have been the result partly of the practice of the Epic poets, partly of the prevalence of public oratory in Greek social

<sup>1</sup> See II. 135. 7; IV. 30. 1.

<sup>2</sup> E.g. II. 164. 1. The examples which Mure quotes (III. 117; IV. 37; VII. 239) seem more questionable.

<sup>3</sup> Especially IX. 108—113.

<sup>4</sup> Mure thinks that the final chapter is 'intended as a sort of concluding moral commentary.' Yet we should hardly have had *καὶ κατὰ τὸ ἔτος τοῦτο* in the preceding chapter, had the book been originally intended to end as it does at present.

and political life<sup>1</sup>. The speeches and dialogues of Herodotus clearly do not lay any claim to historical accuracy, though he nowhere definitely states his position with regard to them, as Thucydides has done<sup>2</sup>. In many cases it is obviously impossible that any authority for them should have been accessible, in others the sentiments attributed to the speakers are wholly inappropriate<sup>3</sup>. Yet the style of the dialogues is perfect of its kind. They are never wearisome or insipid—always simple and natural. The conversational style which pervades the whole work almost prevents our noticing the transitions from narrative to dialogue, and the ease with which his characters are made to speak for themselves reminds us of Homer. The rhetorical style of some of the longer speeches has been already noticed. Yet even these are far more pleasing in form than the more elaborate orations of Thucydides. The characteristic differences between the speeches of the two historians have been well hit off by Marcellinus<sup>4</sup>, who calls the speeches of Thucydides ‘oratorical’ (δημηγόρια), those of Herodotus ‘dramatic’ compositions (προσωποποιΐαι). We are able to picture to ourselves the conversations of Croesus and Atyr, of Amasis and his courtiers, as fragments of a prose tragedy or comedy, whereas to find a parallel for the speeches of the Platæans and Thebans, or for the Melian controversy, we must go to the Ecclesia or the law-courts. This dramatic element in the speeches of Herodotus leads us to another point of difference between him and Thucydides. It is by their speeches and actions alone that the characters of his *dramatis personae* can be estimated. He never attempts descriptions of character. Such a dissection of dry bones would have been foreign to his temperament. But the success with which his living characters are made to tell their own tale is a mark perhaps of a higher kind of genius<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Mure, IV. 501.

<sup>2</sup> Thuc. I. 22.

<sup>3</sup> E. g. III. 80—82. Compare I. 32. 2, note.

<sup>4</sup> Vit. Thucyd. 38.

<sup>5</sup> For examples of the skill which Herodotus displays in character-drawing, see Mure, IV. 473 foll.

There are several minor characteristics of the style of Herodotus, which deserve a passing notice. (1) The gnomic vein is very distinctly traceable in his writings. A considerable collection might be made of his pithy and proverbial sayings<sup>1</sup>. (2) The exaggerations of language, in which he sometimes allows himself to indulge, are very remarkable. They occur, as a rule, in matters of small moment, and seem to be used simply for the sake of effect<sup>2</sup>. (3) He has a strong appreciation of 'smartness,' both in speech and action. The anecdotes which he tells with the greatest gusto are those which turn on some clever trick or sharp saying<sup>3</sup>. (4) His sense of the comic is unmistakeable, though its existence has been doubted. Perhaps not more than four or five passages could be cited, in which the language seems actually designed to raise a laugh<sup>4</sup>. But there is a fund of dry humour, which shows itself in little phrases and unexpected remarks<sup>5</sup>. The dryness, with which Herodotus relates the quaint customs of other nations, leaves us sometimes in doubt, whether he is laughing or not<sup>6</sup>. (5) We can detect occasionally traces of a genial sarcasm, which seldom however goes beyond the merest innuendo<sup>7</sup>. (6) Of the deeper tragic irony—so common in the plays of Sophocles—several instances may be found. Herodotus regards mankind as a blind instrument in the hands of destiny. Often the very means, which men employ to avert an evil, are represented as serving only the more surely to bring it upon them. Often the words, which they use in their blindness, are exhibited in the most pathetic contrast with the real tendencies of their actions<sup>8</sup>. (7) His power of pathos hardly requires illustration.

<sup>1</sup> E.g. I. 74. 5; III. 53. 4, 5; 36. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Thus the exaggerations at II. 35, 36 are clearly due to a wish to heighten the contrast between Egyptians and Greeks.

<sup>3</sup> E.g. I. 27. 4; 187. 6; II. 121; 133. 5.

<sup>4</sup> Rawlinson quotes III. 99. 3; IV. 61. 4; VI. 125. 5.

<sup>5</sup> See I. 36. 2; 59. 6; II. 121. 24; 147. 2.

<sup>6</sup> E.g. I. 172. 3; 215. 3.

<sup>7</sup> I. 29. 1; 147. 2; II. 143. 1.

<sup>8</sup> See e.g. the story of Adrastus, especially the language at I. 42. 2.

If the fostering of pity is to be accounted a crime, Herodotus deserves, at least as much as Homer, to be placed on Plato's *index expurgatorius*<sup>1</sup>.

It is impossible to characterise in a single phrase the merits of Herodotus as a writer. Perhaps of all the titles, which have been bestowed upon him, the vague epithet 'honey-tongued'<sup>2</sup> most adequately expresses the feeling with which we rise from a perusal of his work. The variety of his style almost defies analysis. And yet its charm has been universally recognized. The assailants of his kindliness and veracity have never ventured to attack his literary merits. The collection of passages which follows exhibits some of the more important judgments which were passed upon his writings in ancient times, and little advance has been made beyond them by modern criticism. It is somewhat singular that so few references to his work are to be found in writers of the classical period. Thucydides appears to have read it<sup>3</sup>: Aristophanes occasionally parodies passages from it (e.g. *i.* 179. 4). But no mention of Herodotus seems to occur in the extant works of Plato or the orators. Aristotle's solitary remark upon his style has been already quoted.

Alter (Herodotus) sine ullis salebris quasi sedatus amnis fluit: alter (Thucydides) incitator fertur, et de bellicis rebus canit etiam quodammodo bellicum.

CICERO, *Orator*, 13. See also *De Legibus*, *i.* 1 (pater historiae); *De Oratore*, *ii.* 13; and *Orator*, 55.

(Ἡρόδοτος) κατὰ τὴν ἐκλογὴν τῶν ὀνομάτων, καὶ κατὰ τὴν σύνθεσιν, καὶ κατὰ τὴν τῶν σχηματισμῶν ποικιλίαν, μακρῷ δὴ τινι τοὺς ἄλλους ὑπερεβάλετο, καὶ παρεσκεύασε τῇ κρατίστη ποιήσει τὴν πεζὴν φράσιν ὁμοίαν γενέσθαι.

DIONYSIUS of Halicarnassus (fl. c. 30 B.C.), *De Thucyd. Hist. judicium*, p. 865 Reiske.

τίς οὐκ ἂν ὁμολογήσειε τῆς τε αὐστηρᾶς καὶ τῆς ἡδέας ἁρμονίας μέσσην εἶναι τήνδε τὴν λέξιν. . . ἥ κέχρηται Ἡρόδοτος;

Id. *De vi dicendi in Demosth.* p. 1083.

<sup>1</sup> See Plato's *Republic*, 606 c.

<sup>2</sup> μελίγηρυς, Athenaeus, *iii.* 15.

<sup>3</sup> Thuc. *i.* 20. 4; *ii.* 97. 7. The 'Summary' of Thucydides (*i.* 89—118) forms a regular continuation of the history of Herodotus.

ἐν μέντοι τοῖς ἠθικοῖς κρατεῖ Ἡρόδοτος, ἐν δὲ τοῖς παθητικοῖς ὁ Θουκυδίδης . . . ἡδονῇ δὲ καὶ πειθοῖ καὶ χάριτι καὶ τῷ ἀφελεῖ αὐτοφυεῖ ἀβασανίστῳ, μακρῷ διενεγκόντῃ τὸν Ἡρόδοτον εὐρίσκομεν.

ID. *De vet. script. cens.* p. 425. See also *De comp. verb.* pp. 16, 133, 187; *De praecip. Hist.* pp. 767, 775; *De Thucyd. jud.* p. 826.

Densus et brevis et semper instans sibi Thucydides; dulcis et candidus et fusus Herodotus; ille concitatis, hic remissis affectibus melior, ille concionibus, hic sermonibus, ille vi, hic voluptate.

QUINTILIAN (fl. c. 80 A.D.), *Inst. Orat.* X. 1. 73. See also the passage quoted on p. liv.

Ἡροδότῳ μὲν οὖν, εἴποτε εὐφροσύνης σοι δεῖ, μετὰ πολλῆς ἡσυχίας ἐντεύξῃ. τὸ γὰρ ἀνειμένον καὶ τὸ γλυκὺ τῆς ἀπαγγελίας ὑπόνοιαν παρέξει μυθῶδες μᾶλλον ἢ ἱστορικὸν τὸ σύγγραμμα εἶναι.

DIO CHRYSOSTOM (fl. c. 100 A.D.), *Orat.* XVIII (p. 479 Reiske).

ἐν τοίνυν τοῖς καθ' ἱστορίαν πανηγυρικοῖς πανηγυρικώτατός ἐστιν ὁ Ἡρόδοτος, τὸ δ' αἷτιον ὅτι μετὰ τοῦ καθαροῦ καὶ εὐκρινοῦς πολὺς ἐστὶ ταῖς ἡδοναῖς· καὶ γὰρ ταῖς ἐννόαις μυθικαῖς σχεδὸν ἀπάσαις καὶ τῇ λέξει ποιητικῇ κέχρηται διόλου μέγεθος δὲ πολλαχού μὲν ἔχει καὶ τὸ κατ' ἐννοιαν, κατὰ μέντοι ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ τὸ πολὺ τοῦ κόσμου τὸ συναμφότερον καὶ τὴν ἡδονὴν ἔχει καὶ τὸ μέγεθος· οἱ γὰρ πλείστοι τῶν ρυθμῶν αὐτῷ κατὰ τε τὰς συνθήκας καὶ τὰς βάσεις δακτυλικοὶ τέ εἰσι καὶ ἀναπαιστικοί, σπονδειακοὶ τε καὶ ὅλως σεμνοί.

HERMOGENES (fl. c. 170 A.D.), *περὶ ἰδεῶν*, II. 12. 4.

μόνος Ἡρόδοτος Ὀμηρικώτατος ἐγένετο ;

LONGINUS (fl. c. 250 A.D.), *περὶ ὕψους*, 13. 3.

ἴσθι ὅτι μέσῳ μὲν (χαρακτῆρι) Ἡρόδοτος ἐχρήσατο, ὅς οὔτε ὕψηλός ἐστιν, οὔτε ἰσχνός, ἰσχνῷ δὲ ὁ Ξενοφών.

MARCELLINUS (date uncertain), *Vita Thucyd.* 40.



## ON THE DIALECT OF HERODOTUS.

THE causes which led the Dorian Herodotus to write in the Ionic dialect have been already mentioned<sup>1</sup>. Nor is it wonderful that the merits of his style, when contrasted with the efforts of earlier chroniclers and later imitators, should have earned for him the title of 'the best standard of Ionic'. Yet there can be but little doubt that the *dialect* of Herodotus (in contradistinction to his style) has no claim whatever to this title. The true standard of 'pure' Ionic prose may be looked for in the works (or fragments) of Pherecydes or Hecataeus or Democritus or Hippocrates—it cannot be found in Herodotus. His Muses, like the Ionic women of his time, are clothed in a garb 'of many colours'.<sup>2</sup>

This many-sided character of the dialect of Herodotus results from the introduction of (1) Epic, (2) Attic, and (3) Doric forms. It will be convenient to notice each of these separately.

(1) No one can read the works of Homer and Herodotus,

<sup>1</sup> See p. x.

<sup>2</sup> ἡ καθαρὰ τοῖσι ὀνόμασι καὶ τὸν Ἑλληνικὸν χαρακτῆρα σώζουσα διάλεκτος. ταύτην ἀκριβοῦσιν ἀμφοτέροι. Ἡρόδοτος τε γὰρ τῆς Ἰάδος ἀριστος κανὼν, Θουκυδίδης τε τῆς Ἀθίδος. Dionysius Halicarn. *de praecip. Hist.* p. 775 Reiske.

<sup>3</sup> Ἐκαταῖος ὁ Μιλήσιος, παρ' οὗ δὴ μάλιστα ὠφέληται ὁ Ἡρόδοτος, ... τῇ διαλέκτῳ ἀκράτῳ Ἰάδι καὶ οὐ μεμιγμένῃ χρησάμενος οὐδὲ κατὰ τὸν Ἡρόδοτον ποικίλῃ, ἥττον ἐστὶν ἐνεκά γε λέξεως ποιητικός. Hermogenes *περὶ ἰδεῶν*, II. 12. 6. (Ἡρόδοτος) καὶ ἄλλων διαλέκτων ἐχρήσατό τισιν λέξεσιν. *Ib.* II. 4. ὅς (Ἰπποκράτης) ἀκράτῳ τῇ Ἰάδι χρῆται· ὁ γὰρ Ἡρόδοτος συμμίσγει αὐτὴν τῇ ποιητικῇ. Bachm. *Anecd.* II. p. 367, cited by Bredow.

as we possess them at the present day, without being struck with the number of points which they have in common. Not merely do the style and syntax of Herodotus resemble to a great extent those of Homer—a fact which has already been noticed<sup>1</sup>,—but there is an equally strong resemblance between the forms of the words and the modes of inflexion &c. employed in the two works. We find a considerable number of word-forms which are almost invariably common to both. There are others which are frequently employed in the one, and are of occasional occurrence in the other. And yet we are prevented from attaching too much importance to these coincidences by the fact that there are equally characteristic dialectical divergences<sup>2</sup>. How are these correspondences to be explained? This question admits of several answers, each of which probably contains some portion of the truth.

<sup>1</sup> See p. xxxi.

<sup>2</sup> Only the barest possible outline can here be given of the main points of contact and divergence between the Homeric and the Herodotean dialects.

The two dialects (almost) invariably agree in the use of *η* for *α* (*νεηνίης*, *θώρηξ*, *τριήκοντα*, *σοφίη*, *περήσω*, *κοιλήναι*):—of *ου* for *ο*, and of *ει* for *ε* in several identical words (*μούνος*, *νούσος*, *είρομαι*, *ξεῖνος*):—of the uncontracted *ε* before *η*, *η*, *ω*, *οι* in verbs ending in *έω*, and of the uncontracted *α* in *αίρω*, *αἶδω*, *αἶθλος*.

They often agree in the use of *ευ* for *εο*, *ου* (*έμευ*, *ποιεῦντες*):—of *εη* (*εη*) for *εια* in the fem. terminations of adjs. in *us* (*βαθέη*, *δασέα*):—in the *diacresis* of diphthongs (*τείχεϊ*, *δίστοξ*, *Θρηῆξ*):—and in the forms *ιθύς* for *εὔθύς*, *σύν* for *ξύν*, *ήως* for *έως* etc. In the declension of pronouns and nouns and in the conjugation of verbs they have many forms in common which are unlike the later Attic.

They occasionally agree in the use of certain unattic verbal and prepositional forms (Hdt. has *ένέοι*, *κομβῶσι*, *εἰδόμενον*, *άξειν*, *υπείροχος*, *υπέκ*, *Παραιβάτης*):—in the use of the dat. plur. in *εσσι*, and of derivatives from the epic gen. in *ηος* (Hdt. has *δαιτυμόνεσι*, *Βασιληίδεω*): and in the *apocope* of *άνα* before *β* and *π* (*άμβώσας*, *άμπαύονται*).

The main points in which the Herodotean dialect diverges from the Homeric are the avoidance of the aspirate and of the *ν* *έφελκυστικόν*,—the constant substitution of *κ* for *π* in certain words (*κοῦ*, *κῶς*), and of *εω* for *αο* and *αω*,—the avoidance of the epic gen. in *οιο*,—and of suffixes and forms in *μι* (though more of these are to be found than in Attic).

(i) Some points of resemblance are very possibly to be attributed to the fact that there is a real affinity between the two dialects. The Greek grammarians implied their belief in this affinity by distinguishing between two forms of the Ionic dialect—the ἀρχαία Ἰάς, by which they merely meant the Epic, and the νέα, in which Herodotus wrote. Whether the Homeric dialect can without an anachronism be in any sense called Ionic, we are unable at present to determine:—the original character of the Ionic dialect and the compilation of our present Homeric text are questions which have not yet received a solution. But without venturing to regard the extant Homeric dialect as the growth of any one particular period, it is perfectly possible to maintain that the resemblances mentioned above prove the direct or collateral descent of the Ionic prose dialect from the earlier Epic. Some of the forms, which are common to the Epic and Herodotean dialects, are also to be found in the works and fragments of other Ionic writers of the age of Herodotus. These clearly must be regarded as characteristics of the Ionic dialect, and not as peculiarities of Herodotus. Unfortunately the materials which exist are not sufficient to enable us to construct with accuracy a table of the Ionicisms which are common to all the prose writers of the time<sup>1</sup>. We are often therefore unable to determine

<sup>1</sup> The fragments which survive of contemporary Ionic writers, though considerable in point of quantity, are almost worthless for determining with any fulness or accuracy the nature of the Ionic dialect of the time. The writers who quote them seem, as a rule, to have preferred to modify and alter their Ionicisms, so as to bring them more into harmony with the later forms. And there can be no doubt that the quotations given are often extremely inexact. We find however among the fragments of Hecataeus the forms καλούμενος, οὔρεα, δοκέω, and the like. The only writer of the time, whose works have been preserved *in extenso* is Hippocrates, whose text is in a very unsatisfactory state, and whose different treatises (on the assumption that they are all, or nearly all, genuine) display the most extraordinary discrepancies of idiom and style. A laborious pamphlet on the particles used by Hippocrates has been recently compiled by H. Kühlewein (*Observationes de usu particularum in libris qui vulgo Hippocratis nomine circumferuntur. Gottingae, 1870*), which well

whether an Epic form used by Herodotus is really an Ionicism or not. But we may safely pronounce many of his Epic forms to be the result, not so much of the dialect in which he wrote, as of a modification of that dialect peculiar to himself.

(ii) It is probable that some of the Epic forms which are to be found in our present texts of Herodotus were not really employed by Herodotus himself. The fluctuation of dialectical forms in the existing MSS. is so great that we cannot but suspect in some cases the hand of the corrector. An Alexandrian grammarian with a strong view about the affinity of the Epic and Herodotean dialects might well conceive it to be his duty to alter the forms in his copies of the text in accordance with his theory. In most recent editions of Herodotus many Epic forms, which appeared in the earlier editions, have been (probably rightly) removed, though some uncertainty must always attend this mode of cutting the knot<sup>1</sup>.

(iii) It has been suggested<sup>2</sup> that the points of similarity which exist in our present texts of Homer and Herodotus are mainly due to a thorough recension of the text of Homer made about the time of Herodotus. That some of the existing dialectical correspondences are the result of a modification

illustrates this. In some treatises we often find *οὐν* between preposition and verb (cf. Hdt. I. 194. 6)—most commonly (but not invariably) with an aorist—in others it does not occur once. In some *μήν* is frequently used—in others not at all. The difficulties which encompass the writings of Hippocrates have not yet been resolved.

<sup>1</sup> We may take as a good example of an epic form which has thus been removed, the declension of nouns in *-eus*. Struve (see p. lii.) found that the epic forms of *βασιλεύς* (*βασιλῆος*, *ῆι*, *ῆα* etc.) occurred in all the MSS. without variation in 65 instances; that the readings varied between *βασιλῆος*, *βασιλέος*, *βασιλέως* etc. in 252 instances; and that the form *βασιλέος* occurred without variation in 162 instances. Out of 500 instances of other nouns in *-eus* he found that the epic form only occurred in five cases, and that the MSS. were not unanimous in these. *Quaest. de dial. Herod. Spec.* II. The result of this investigation has been the adoption of the forms *έος*, *έι*, *έα* in all cases by a large majority of recent editors.

<sup>2</sup> By Paley. See *Transactions of the Cambridge Philosophical Society*, Vol. XI. Part II.; and the prefaces to Paley's editions of the *Iliad*.

of the Homeric forms is very probable. We can hardly suppose that the existing Homeric text dates in its entirety from a period long before the age of Herodotus. Nor can we doubt that minor alterations and interpolations were made even in later times. But the assumption of a late recension—so thoroughgoing and complete as seriously to modify the existing dialectical forms, and to introduce a large number of new Ionicisms, which are the main cause of the present correspondence between the Homeric and Herodotean texts—involves very great difficulties.

A brief outline must be given of this recent hypothesis, which, as its author admits, 'outstrips in boldness the speculations of Wolf and his followers.' It is maintained that the Homer of the older Greek writers, 'the Homer which Pisistratus is said to have collected and introduced into Athens,' was something quite different from the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* which we now possess: that some single<sup>1</sup> poet (probably about the time of Herodotus or Pericles) constructed our present Homer out of old Homeric materials (i.e. out of the so-called Cyclic poetry), 'largely rewriting the poems, and introducing into them, among the purposely retained archaic forms, the great mass of diction and idiom which they now present of a character unmistakeably *late*;' that he gave to these new poems two titles already known and received, *Iliad* and *Odyssey* ('the former being a complete misnomer'), and that these two works 'passed into the lists of written literature as 'Homer,' and had well-nigh eclipsed and excluded all the rest in the time of Plato.' Of the arguments by which this theory is supported it is only necessary for our present purpose to notice two of the most important—(a) the external argument derived from the quotations from Homer to be found in the earlier Greek writers, (β) the internal argument based on an examination

<sup>1</sup> Paley rightly allows that the 'one mind and one feeling' which pervade the *Iliad* make it impossible to regard it as the work of more than one poet. This argument of course applies with still greater force to the *Odyssey*.

of the diction and idioms employed in our present *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. Both these arguments have a direct bearing on questions relating to Herodotus.

(a) Of the strength of the former class of arguments the references to Homer in Herodotus may be taken as a test. He quotes or refers to Homer several times<sup>1</sup>, and it is in his works that we first read of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* by name. Were his copies substantially the same as ours? All the four<sup>2</sup> passages which he cites from the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* occur in exactly the same form in our present copies. The semi-quotation at VII. 161 is also quite reconcileable with our existing version of the *Iliad*. It is true that he makes a statement<sup>3</sup> about Homer which would scarcely be true, if he meant nothing by Homer but our *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. But no one denies that Herodotus (though pronouncing against the Homeric authorship of the *Cypria* and doubting about the *Epigoni*) attributed to Homer many poems besides the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, and his statement may fairly be regarded as a reference to one (or more) of these. It is also true that there are reasons for thinking that in one point his version of the *Iliad* differed from our own<sup>4</sup>. But if this is the case, it can hardly be held sufficient by itself to outweigh the evidence on the other side. On the whole, though it would be absurd to maintain that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* of Herodotus were in all points exactly the same as our own, it is hardly an overstatement to assert that the evidence of a general correspondence between the two is very strong indeed<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> The passages are II. 23 ; 53 ; 116 ; 117 ; IV. 29 ; 32 ; V. 67 ; VII. 161.

<sup>2</sup> Assuming the genuineness of II. 116. 4, 5.

<sup>3</sup> At II. 53 (see note).

<sup>4</sup> See II. 116. 4, note. Paley maintains that the language in the early part of this ch. implies that Hdt.'s *Iliad* differed from ours (1) in containing 'the wanderings of Paris,' (2) in not containing the *Διομήδεος ἀπιστεῖν*. See on this II. 116. 3, note.

<sup>5</sup> The other arguments for Paley's theory based on the allusions to Homer in early writers do not appear to be more conclusive. Thucydides 'alludes

(β) The argument based on 'the comparatively modern style of the diction' has been laboriously worked out. About fifty examples are given of 'characteristic words' common to Homer and Herodotus, and a long list is appended of 'more recent Ionic and Attic words'<sup>1</sup>, belonging to the later recensions and remodellings of the Homeric poems, and probably not earlier than B.C. 450.' Yet the instances, when examined, do not seem strong enough to sustain the argument based upon them. Many of the correspondences of 'characteristic words' are of such a trifling character that it is unnecessary to suppose in these cases either that the Homeric text has borrowed from the diction of the time of Herodotus, or that Herodotus has imitated Homer<sup>2</sup>. It is difficult again to see how the 'late character' of many of the forms common to the two texts can be considered to be proved. It cannot be maintained that

to the story of Charybdis in the *Odyssey*, to the return of Amphilochus and the storm which overtook the Grecian fleet on their return, a theme of the *Νόστος*, and to the oaths of the suitors. He also quotes a verse from the second book of the *Iliad* as we now have it,' though he 'assigns to Homer some verses which are now read in the Hymn to the Delian Apollo.' 'Pindar refers to persons and subjects in the Troica not less than sixty times: only four or five of these touch upon scenes in our *Iliad*.' This surely only proves that other poems existed at the time side by side with the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*,—not that these latter were different from what they are now. And the same remark applies to the fact that 'out of fifty-eight lost dramas about Troy not more than three or four contain subjects even touched upon in our *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.'

<sup>1</sup> The following are some of the 'more recent' forms and expressions which Paley specifies:—the frequent use of substantives in -οσύνη and -ύς, of adjectives in -ήμων, of genitives in -εω, of reduplicated forms of perfect (ἀραιρημένος), of future verbs in -έω (σημανέω), of the third person plural of verbs in -αται (τετάχαται), of contractions of verbs in -άω into -εον (ὀρέοντες), of many verbs in -ίξειν and -άζειν, and of the middle voice used transitively.

<sup>2</sup> E.g. οἱ ἀμφὶ Πρίαμον and οἱ ἀμφὶ Λεωνίδα, ἐπιφράσσει' δλεθρον and ἐπιφράζεται τοιάδε, κακὸν οἶτον ἀναπλήσαντες and ἀναπλήσαι κακά, νεφέλη ἐλυμένος ὦμους and οὔρος ψάμμω κατειλυμένον, Ἴλιον ἐκτῆσθαι and δπλα ἀρήϊα μὴ ἐκτῆσθαι. A list constructed on these principles might be largely increased.

because Herodotus uses certain expressions, these are therefore to be pronounced as necessarily originating in his time. However rapid the changes and modifications of structure which we may attribute to the Greek language of that time, the diction and dialect of Herodotus must still have been in most substantial points identical with what had been in use in Ionia for generations and even centuries back. Nor can we flatter ourselves that we are as yet so well acquainted with the laws of the growth and structure of the Greek language, as to be able with any certainty to determine the relative antiquity of different words *from a mere examination of their form*<sup>1</sup>. Assertions based on arguments of this kind require to be received with the greatest caution, since, owing to the scantiness of the fragments of early Greek literature which we possess, all *a posteriori* verification is impossible.

We cannot therefore suppose that the correspondences of the Homeric and Herodotean texts are to be explained by the assumption of a definite reconstruction of Homer in the time of Herodotus<sup>2</sup>. On the other hand, that some of the corre-

<sup>1</sup> Why for instance should the termination -οσύνη be pronounced to be late? That the word τοξοσύνη is later than the word τόξον is probable. But no reason can be given why τοξοσύνη should not have been used in the 8th century B. C., except that we know it to have been also used in the 5th. Surely the mere fact that the original significance of the termination has disappeared—that we are unable to see why its addition should modify the meaning of the root in the way which it does—is a proof of its antiquity. Words of late coinage explain their own meaning. This remark will apply to many other examples in Paley's list.

<sup>2</sup> The preceding remarks do not profess to be a complete answer to Paley's hypothesis. Yet many of his remaining arguments (e. g. those based on the dramatic nature and the morality of our present poems) amount to very little. And others (those numbered 14 and 15) seem to exclude one another. If instances of anticipation in the narration (i. e. of design and system) are a proof of the truth of the theory, instances of repetition and irregularity (i. e. of want of system) can hardly be cited as a proof also. And the supposed allusions to Hdt. in our present Homeric text are very vague. Speaking generally, Paley may be said to have proved that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* of the earlier writers did not hold that



spondences are the result of modifications of the earlier Homeric forms is extremely probable. We cannot put altogether on one side the influence exercised by rhapsodists and correctors on the Homeric text. Side by side with the modifications which the Greek language underwent, there must have been introduced modifications in the text of the poems, in order to make them sufficiently intelligible to the people to whom they were recited. Had it been an English custom to recite 'The Canterbury Tales' at village fairs during the 15th and 16th centuries, there can be no doubt that the text of Chaucer would have become more or less different from the form in which we now possess it. Which of the existing correspondences are to be referred to this cause we cannot now determine. But that the modification of Homeric forms is a *vera causa* there can be but little doubt.

(iv) One other cause remains which may be assigned for some of the correspondences between the Homeric and Herodotean texts, viz. that some forms and expressions were borrowed by Herodotus from the epic poets. There seems to be no adequate reason for doubting that the writings of Herodotus shew traces of a deep and prolonged study of the Homeric poems, which has reproduced itself in his diction and dialect<sup>1</sup>. As in his treatment of his theme, so in his choice of

preeminence in Epic poetry which they have acquired since. He has also shewn it to be possible that some of the forms and expressions in our present Homeric text may be more recent than has usually been thought to be the case. He has failed to prove that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* of the earlier writers were substantially different from our own, and he has attempted too much in trying to determine which of the Homeric forms and expressions are of more recent date.

<sup>1</sup> To those who hold the 'improbable' opinion that Hdt. 'purposely' borrowed from the Homeric vocabulary, Paley replies, 'that a large part of the words used in common are essentially *prose* words (as ἀλλοφρονεῖν, ἀνηκουστέιν, παραβάλλεσθαι, ἀελπτεῖν, ἀτέοντες), and therefore more likely to have come into our Homeric texts from Hdt., than the converse.' But (1) there is no reason to suppose that Hdt. 'purposely' borrowed. There may have been no conscious imitation at all. A writer saturated with Homeric phraseology would naturally and even unintentionally reproduce

language and dialectical forms Herodotus may with justice be entitled *μόνος Ὀμηρικώτατος*.

(2) The occurrence of Atticisms in the text of Herodotus does not raise such a difficult question as the point which has just been discussed. Of the instances which are to be found (either actually read in the text or occurring among the various readings) on almost every page of the work a very considerable proportion no doubt is to be ascribed to the ignorance of copyists or the perverted ingenuity of grammarians. That such corruptions existed and that such emendations were attempted in ancient times, we learn from the statement of Porphyrius quoted on p. lvi. And modern critics are to be found who would have us correct over again the supposed corrections of their Alexandrian predecessors, and reconstruct the text in accordance with a preconceived Ionic standard. A view, such as that maintained by Dindorf<sup>1</sup>, assumes that a corruption of the text is the only possible cause which can explain the occurrence of an Attic form. Yet the close relationship which we know to have existed between the old Attic<sup>2</sup> and the Ionic

it. (2) Surely this reply forgets that in the early ages of composition the distinction between prosaic and poetical diction—always rather an arbitrary one—hardly exists at all. Early prose is but little removed in diction from the poetry out of which it springs. How do we know that these were prose words then? It would be better to say that in both writers they were poetical.

<sup>1</sup> In the work mentioned on p. lii.

<sup>2</sup> Hermogenes (*de Thucyd. Histor. judicium*, 23) speaks of τὴν ἀρχαίαν Ἀτθίδα, μικράς τινας ἔχουσιν διαφορὰς παρὰ τὴν Ἰάδα. The following are some of the points in which the Attic of Thucydides agrees with the Ionic of Herodotus and differs from the Attic of later writers:—a fondness for the collocations *ρς*, e. g. ἄρσῃν (ἔρσῃν), θαρσέω (ἄρρῃν and θαρρεῖν in Plato)—and *σσ*, e. g. τάσσω and the like (τάττω in Plato)—the use of *ἐς* and *αἰεῖ* (Marcellinus says that Thucydides ὡς ἐπὶ πλεῖστον χρῆται τῇ ἀρχαίᾳ Ἀτθίδι, δταν τὴν διφθογγὸν τὴν αἰ ἀντὶ τοῦ α γράφῃ, 'αἰεῖ' λέγων. The tragedians have these forms as well as *εἰς* and *αἰεῖ*)—the use of *κλῆσαι* (Hdt. κλήϊσαι—Photius says κλῆσαι οἱ ἀρχαιοὶ λέγουσιν· οὕτω καὶ οἱ τραγικοὶ καὶ Θουκυδίδης)—the use of the Ionic genitive in some proper names (e. g. Ἀφύτιος, I. 64. 3)—a carelessness occasionally about *hiatus* (e. g. μέχρι, ἀχρι, οὕτω before

# I ON THE DIALECT OF HERODOTUS.

dialects renders the use of Atticisms by Herodotus much less strange than it would otherwise have been. The Attic of Aeschylus and Thucydides is equally with the Ionic of Herodotus descended from that earlier Ionic dialect, which has been preserved to us in the Iambics of Archilochus and the elder Simonides; and it is quite conceivable that some of the so-called Atticisms in the prose of Herodotus may be forms which the two later dialects have derived in common from the earlier one. At any rate, if we are prepared to accept the statement of Hermogenes, already quoted, that the Herodotean dialect was ποικίλη, the affinity between the old Attic and Ionic, and the residence of Herodotus at Athens, are causes quite sufficient to account for the admixture of Attic (as well as of Epic) forms in his original text.

(3) The number of Doric forms employed by Herodotus is very small. There seems in fact to be some reason for thinking that one result of the exclusion of Halicarnassus from the Dorian Hexapolis<sup>1</sup> was the gradual decay of the Doric dialect of the original settlers, and the adoption of one or other of the local varieties of Ionic<sup>2</sup>. However this may be, with the

a vowel, *μετὰ Εὐβοίας, ὑπὸ αὐλητῶν* and the like)—and the use of some uncontracted forms (e.g. *βορέας, εὐνόων, τριακονταέτης, προέγραψα* and the like). See Poppo's Thucydides, Prolegom. I. 207, foll., from which the above instances are taken. In earlier times the resemblance between the two dialects was clearly much more strongly marked. Thus in a law of Solon quoted by Lysias (*κατὰ Θεομν.* p. 118, Bekk.), where the archaic diction is retained, we have some pure Ionic forms: *δοῖαι δὲ πεφασμένως πολοῦνται* (al. *πωλοῦνται*), *καὶ οἰκῆος [καὶ] βλάβης τὴν δούλην* (Telfy conj. *τὴν διπλὴν*) *εἶναι ὀφείλειν*. Lysias adds, by way of commentary, *τὸ μὲν πεφασμένως ἐστὶ φανερώς, πολεῖσθαι δὲ βαδίζειν, τὸ δὲ οἰκῆος θεράποντος*. Schäfer thinks that instances occur of the retention of the Ionic *diacresis* (*δέεται* for *δείται*) even in Aristophanes and Xenophon, but the examples cited are so few that it is rather difficult to believe in the genuineness of the readings. See Schäfer's edition of Gregorius Corinthius, (*Lips.* 1811) p. 431.

<sup>1</sup> See I. 144.

<sup>2</sup> This is maintained by Stein, who refers in support of his view to a Halicarnassian inscription (discovered by Newton and assigned with con-

exception of such Doric forms as are common to Ionic also<sup>1</sup>, and of the retention (or substitution) of  $\bar{a}$  for  $\eta$  (and  $\epsilon\omega$ ) in several proper names<sup>2</sup>, hardly one indubitable Doricism is to be found throughout the Histories. If we are to suppose that Herodotus had spoken Doric in his early years, the completeness with which he has freed himself from provincialisms as regards the *form* of his composition affords an additional confirmation of his superiority to local prejudices and national partialities in the *matter* of his narrative.

The composite structure of the Herodotean dialect (resulting from the admixture of these Epic, Attic, and Doric forms), which has now been illustrated, leads us naturally to the conclusion that it was something *sui generis*. Attempts have indeed been made to refer it to one or other of the four sub-dialects, which Herodotus himself describes as in use among the Asiatic Ionians of his time<sup>3</sup>. Thus Suidas, who tells us that Herodotus removed from Halicarnassus to Samos, seems to draw the inference that he wrote in the Samian dialect<sup>4</sup>, and more recent authorities<sup>5</sup>, on the strength of his supposed indebtedness to Hecataeus, have assumed that his dialect corresponded to the Carian (or Milesian) variety. But the evidence attain-

siderable probability to the middle of the 5th century B. C.), in which the prevailing dialect is Ionic, though the form 'Αλικαρνατ[τεω]ν occurs once. Still the evidence seems to be hardly conclusive.

<sup>1</sup> E. g. the contraction of  $\epsilon\sigma$  into  $\epsilon\upsilon$ , examples of which are occasionally to be found in Doric. The form  $\sigma\epsilon\upsilon$  is used by Pindar,  $\delta\rho\epsilon\upsilon\nu\tau\iota$  and  $\eta\gamma\acute{\alpha}\pi\epsilon\upsilon\nu$  by Theocritus.

<sup>2</sup> E. g. Γυγάδας (I. 14. 7), τιάρας (I 32. 2); — Θήρας, Θεασίδης, Ἄγης (also Ἡγίς) names of Spartans, — Ἀριστέας, Ἀμύλλας (dat. Ἀμύλλῃ), Σίκας (gen. Σίκα). Stein, who has collected these and other examples, notices that in many of these instances the practice of Herodotus is in harmony with that of Attic writers. We also find γαμόροι (for γεωμόροι) VII. 155. 2; Νικόλας (for Νικόλεως) I 37. 3; Λακρίνης (for Λεωκρίνης) I. 152. 4; Λευτυχίδης (for Λεωτυχίδης) VI. 55. 1.

<sup>3</sup> I. 142.

<sup>4</sup> ἐν οὖν τῇ Σάμῳ καὶ τὴν Ἰάδῃ ἡσκήθη διάλεκτον.

<sup>5</sup> E. g. Jäger, *Disput. Herod.* p. 7; Kenrick, *Introduction to the Egypt of Herodotus*, p. LXII.

able does not bear out either of these theories<sup>1</sup>, and the *a priori* improbability of the adoption by Herodotus of a *purely provincial* dialect in all its *minutiae* is very great. It is safer to suppose that the dialect of the earlier *λογογράφοι* (which forms without doubt the basis of Herodotus' language<sup>2</sup>), though originally perhaps identical with the Milesian, had become in time, through the modifications of successive writers, an artificial compound, and that thus a *literary* dialect had been produced, distinct from any of the spoken varieties of Ionic, and employed more or less by all the prose-writers of the age without much regard to their place of abode or birth.

Whether the nature of this literary dialect—the pure Ionic groundwork, which Herodotus has overlaid with Epic and Attic ornamentation—can with any degree of accuracy be ascertained, is a question on which opinions are divided. It has been already stated that little or no help towards the solution of this problem can be hoped for from the extant works or fragments of contemporary Ionic writers<sup>3</sup>. But recent critics have attempted a solution from a minute study of the Herodotean text itself. This mode of investigation, commenced by Struve<sup>4</sup>, and carried on by Dindorf<sup>5</sup>, has been very

<sup>1</sup> Bähr (Vol. IV. p. 459) gives an example or two of Samian forms, which are different from those employed by Herodotus. The apparently exaggerated language which Herodotus uses when mentioning the divergences of the four sub-dialects (*ὁμολογέουσι κατὰ γλῶσσαν οὐδέν*, I. 142. 6), and the sarcastic or hostile tone which he often adopts, when naming or referring to Hecataeus (e. g. II. 21; 45. 1; 143. 1; IV. 36. 2), are very much against the view that he selected for special imitation the diction or dialect of Hecataeus.

<sup>2</sup> 'Recens Ias fundamentum Herodoteae dictionis.' Bredow.

<sup>3</sup> See p. xlii.

<sup>4</sup> *Quaest. de dial. Herod. Specimina* I. II. III. 1828. Struve only worked out three points, the use of *δοτις* and *δς*, the declension of nouns in *-eus*, and the orthography of *θῶυμα*, *τῶντό*, etc. An example of his method of investigation has been given on p. xliii.

<sup>5</sup> *Praefat. ad Herodotum*, ed. Didot. 1844. Dindorf is much more arbitrary and inconsistent than Bredow in his determination of the right Ionic forms.

greatly developed by Bredow<sup>1</sup>, whose conclusions have been almost unhesitatingly adopted by some of the more recent German editors<sup>2</sup>. A short account and criticism of his method may here be given.

Bredow's fundamental axiom—the assumption of which alone renders the adoption of the method possible—is that Herodotus never used two forms of the same word<sup>3</sup>. While allowing that in some cases Herodotus used Attic, and in other Epic forms, he refuses to admit that the 'variety' in Herodotus, to which ancient critics refer—what is called by Dionysius of Halicarnassus *ἡ τῶν σχηματισμῶν ποικιλία*—can possibly imply that he used Epic, Attic, and Ionic forms of the same word indiscriminately. This principle laid down, the method proceeds by a collection and enumeration of all the instances in which any particular word or class of words—of doubtful form—occurs throughout the work. The preponderance of MS. authority is noticed in each case, so that at last a balance can be struck, and the right form ascertained by a sort of arithmetical process. The form thus established may, according to Bredow, be safely restored even in passages where the MSS. are unanimous against it<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *Quaestionum criticarum de dialecto Herod. Libri quatuor.* 1846.

<sup>2</sup> Notably by Stein. Bähr, while altering in accordance with Bredow's views many forms in his 2nd edition (on which the text of the present edition is based), retains his independence of judgment. Thus (to take a few out of a very large number of examples) he reads *ὀρμεώμενοι* (not *ὀρμεόμενοι*) and the double forms *ἔπειτα*, *ἔπειτεν*—*θέλω*, *ἐθέλω*—*τρέπω*, *τράπω* etc.

<sup>3</sup> 'Quum minime nobis statuere liceat Herodotum idem vocabulum vocabulorumque genus modo hac modo illa forma usurpasse,' p. 87.

<sup>4</sup> An example of the application of the method will supply the place of a longer description. Thus the question is raised (p. 104), whether *τοιούτο* or *τοιούτον* is the 'right' Herodotean form. We find that in seven passages all the MSS. have *τοιούτο*, and in 25 passages the better (or the majority of) MSS. and the 'more intelligent' editors read *τοιούτο*. On the other hand, in nine places all the MSS. have *τοιούτον*. Now we know that Attic writers used *τοιούτον* (as also *ταύτὸν* and *τοσοῦτον*), and we know that Hdt. used *τῶντὸ* (not *τῶντὸν*), the MSS. being on this point almost

Bredow's method—adopted in its entirety—seems unsatisfactory for the following reasons :—

(1) No evidence whatever is adduced for the assumption of the invariability of Herodotean forms. Bredow says that the fluctuation of Homeric forms is to be explained by the exigencies of metre,—an explanation which cannot (he adds) be applied to the case of a prose-writer like Herodotus. Yet it is probable that in Greek prose, and especially in early Greek prose, recognized laws of rhythm existed, however difficult it may be for us to detect them at the present day<sup>1</sup>. And apart from any considerations of euphony, sufficient reasons may be found for variety of usage, in the length of time during which Herodotus was probably engaged on his work, in the cosmopolitan freedom from any one special dialect which his extended travels probably gave him, and in the fact that an unprinted literature allows much latitude in questions of orthography.

(2) The positive evidence (derived from the MSS.) for an absence of uniformity has some weight, though perhaps not much. Bredow points out at great length the worthlessness of the existing MSS. : yet he practically treats a majority of the MSS. as infallible.

everywhere unanimous. Hence we are justified in concluding that *τοιούτο* is everywhere the true reading, more especially because the very MSS. which have *τοιούτων* in some places have *τοιούτο* in others. The foregoing is a favourable example of the method, since the voice of the MSS. is tolerably decided, and the analogy of *τῶντδ* is certainly a strong one. Yet even here the question suggests itself :—Why should not Hdt. have used both forms ?

<sup>1</sup> Mure thinks it 'certain that, even in prose composition, the delicate ear of the Hellenes was susceptible to the nicer modifications of metrical cadence.' Bähr quotes Meierotto (*sur Herodote*, *Memoire de l'Academie royale de Berlin*, 1792, p. 596) : 'peut-on conclure qu'il suite ici une règle générale, l'usage reçu, sa langue, son dialecte, ou plutôt *ne faudra-t-il pas dire qu'il consulte son oreille et la suite ?*' So Quintilian says, 'in Herodotum omnia, ut ego quidem sentio, leniter fluunt, tum ipsa *διὰλεκτος* habet eam jucunditatem, ut *latentes etiam numeros* complexa videatur.' *Inst. Orat.* IX. 4. 18.

(3) In some cases the MS. authority is so evenly balanced that Bredow is obliged, inconsistently with his original premiss, to allow the possibility of alternative forms. Bähr fairly pushes this admission to its logical conclusion. If Herodotus may be supposed to have written *πλέειν* as well as *πλώειν*, *εἰπεῖν* as well as *εἰπαι*, and so on, why are we to deny the possibility of other alternative forms, where the verdict of the MSS. is rather more pronounced?

There are many instances, however, in which Bredow's corrections are almost certain, and their number will no doubt be increased by fresh collations of the MSS.<sup>1</sup>, minute accuracy of collation being absolutely necessary for the employment of the method. The foregoing remarks are only intended to deprecate an exaggerated idea of the value of his mode of investigation and an unqualified acceptance of its results.

After all we must be content to leave in uncertainty many questions connected with the dialect of Herodotus. That we possess his writings, as he left them, in most material points, seems certain. When compared with the doubts which exist about many of the Platonic dialogues and Aristotelian treatises, the difficulties of dialect and orthography, which beset the text of Herodotus, sink into comparative unimportance.

<sup>1</sup> See e. g. *Quaest. de dialecto Herod. specimen* 1. Gotting. 1859, by Abicht, who clears up some points about the use of contracted and uncontracted forms of verbs in *-έω*, which had been left unnoticed by Bredow.



## ON THE TEXT OF HERODOTUS.

At least thirty MSS. of Herodotus are known to be in existence, though not all of them have been collated, and some only contain portions of the work. Unfortunately with this material there is no hope of its ever being possible to restore the original text in its verbal integrity. All the evidence attainable tends to depreciate the value of the existing MSS. (1) We find that words, which occur in quotations from Herodotus made by the Greek grammarians, are not read in any of the existing MSS.<sup>1</sup> (2) We know that Aristotle had the reading *Θουρίου* (instead of *Ἀλικαρνησέως*) in the opening words of Book I. No trace of this variation of reading is now to be found in the MSS. (3) We find instances of undoubted corruptions of the text common to all the existing MSS.<sup>2</sup> (4) We are unable to discover the existence of any law among the MSS. with regard to the use of the different dialectal forms. Two MSS. which agree about a form in one passage will differ in another. The same MSS. will employ different forms of the same word within the space of a few lines. It may safely be pronounced impossible to restore with certainty the original dialect of Herodotus from a study of the existing MSS. (5) We learn from Porphyrius<sup>3</sup> (born about 230 A.D.) that

<sup>1</sup> See e.g. notes on II. 133. 4; 158. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Bähr quotes amongst others *ἀρώμενοι*, I. 27; *διεπρήστευσε*, IV. 79; *ἑσταλάδατο*, VII. 89; *ἐγκεχρημένοι*, VII. 145. Opinions may differ about some of these particular examples, but that instances are to be found is certain:—e.g. Bekker's correction *πῦρ ἀνακαλουσι* (at II. 39. 1) is certain. Yet all the existing MSS. appear to read *πυρὴν καίουσι*.

<sup>3</sup> *Quaest. Hom.* ch. 8: *ἐν τοῖς Φιλήμονος συμμίκτοις περὶ Ἡροδοτέου διορ-*

corruptions were believed by the Alexandrian grammarians to exist in the text of their day. We do not know whether we possess any of their emendations, but it is only natural that the corruptions should have largely increased in the period between their age and the tenth century A.D., the date of our oldest existing MSS. (6) All the existing MSS. are *cursives*<sup>1</sup>. They are thus liable to all the additional errors which inevitably result from the transcription of cursives from uncials by careless or ignorant copyists<sup>2</sup>.

It has been maintained that there are traces in our existing copies of two *original* (or at any rate *very early*) recensions (*διασκευαί*) of the work. It has also been maintained that all our existing copies belong to one family of MSS. merely, and that one or more other families have been altogether lost. Both views are tenable, but neither can be said to be proved. If we examine the readings of the existing MSS., as they are, without attempting to determine their ultimate source, two classes of MSS. may be readily distinguished, though there will still remain copies which cannot be assigned to either of these groups<sup>3</sup>.

θώματος ὁ γραμματικὸς διαλεγόμενος πειρᾶται καὶ Ὀμηρικὰ τινα σαφηνίζειν. *Id.* τοῦτο δὴ θεραπεύων τις οὐχ Ἡροδότου φησὶν ἀμάρτημα γεγονέναι, μᾶλλον δὲ τὸν γραφέα φησὶ διαμαρτεῖν παρεμβαλόντα τὸ ἰῶτα. πολλὰ δὲ φέρεσθαι μεχρὶ τῶν ἀμαρτήματα κατὰ τὴν Ἡροδότου συγγραφὴν. For a detailed account of the probable corruptions, *lacunae*, interpolations, glosses, and dialectical fluctuations of the existing MSS., see Bredow : *De dialecto Herodotea* pp. 11—86. 'Could the young Thucydides,' he adds, 'hear Herodotus recited now from our present texts he would weep indeed, but tears of sorrow and not of joy.'

<sup>1</sup> The characters of the Medicean are said sometimes to approximate to the uncial form.

<sup>2</sup> Uncials seldom have any accents, breathings, or stops. This fact must be borne in mind in using the appended table of readings. The variations at I. 7. 4; 116. 5; II. 31. 2; 31. 4; 174. 2 are interesting from this point of view.

<sup>3</sup> The following account is mainly taken from Abicht's monograph : *De codicum Herodoti fide atque auctoritate*. Berolini (1869?). See also *Philologus*, Vol. XII. pp. 204, 207.

1. The more trustworthy of the two classes comprises the following :—

M. *Codex Medicus*. At Florence in the Laurentian library, first collated by J. Gronovius (1675), and since by Abicht and Stein—without doubt the most valuable of the existing MSS. It is written on parchment, without any abbreviations, and in an exceedingly clear hand. In its use of the *iota ascript*, and in its omission of all punctuation or separation of words, it approximates to the uncial type. Assigned to the 10th century.

F. *Florentinus* s. *Schellershemianus*. Also at Florence. Discovered by the Baron von Schellersheim, and first collated by Schweighäuser about the beginning of the present century; since by Stein. Abicht pronounces it to be from the same (not as Schw. thought from an earlier) source as the Medicean. Written on parchment (rather carelessly in parts)<sup>1</sup>. Probably of the 10th century.

P. *Angelicanus* s. *Cardinalis Passionei*. At Rome (*S. Agostino*). First collated by Wesseling about the middle of the last century; since by Stein. Written on parchment, with the heading Ἡροδότου ἱστορίη, ἡ ἱστορία αὐτοῦ διὰ μνησῶν. About the 12th century.

K. *Askebianus* s. *Askewii*. In the public library at Cambridge. Collated by Wesseling. It does not contain the first 78 chapters of Book I., and begins with the words μάχη σφέων ἦν ἀφ' ἱππῶν (I. 79. 4). Written on silky paper 'in the small cursive hand of the 15th century<sup>2</sup>.'

N. Besides the above, Abicht includes in this class four other Florentine MSS. One of these has been collated for the first time by Stein<sup>3</sup>. Its readings appear in a majority of cases to agree with those of the before-mentioned MSS. Abicht, who looked at the readings of all four in one or two test passages, pronounces their collation to be useless.

2. The second class of MSS.—which Abicht<sup>4</sup> pronounces to be very inferior in value—includes the following :—

S. *Sancroftianus*. Formerly the property of Archbishop Sancroft, and now in the library of Emmanuel College, Cambridge. Quoted by Wess. under the title *Arch.*; afterwards collated by Gaisford. Of the 13th century.

<sup>1</sup> e.g. it reads ἀφελς for ἀφθελς, I. 19. 2; ψυχῆς for τύχης, 118. 3; δικαιώτατον for ἀδικώτατον, 129. 4; ἀριστα for ἀχάριτα, 207. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Wess. however calls it 'codex annorum ferme quingentorum.'

<sup>3</sup> He quotes no readings from it in Books VIII. and IX.

<sup>4</sup> Stein attaches more importance than Abicht to the readings of this class.

V. *Vindobonensis*. In the Imperial library at Vienna. Collated by Wesseling. Probably of the 14th century. 'Later than the latest Florentine MS.' Abicht.

The agreement of these two MSS. and their divergences from those of the former class are very striking. (1) There are several passages in which they have undoubtedly preserved the true reading, while the others are hopelessly corrupt<sup>1</sup>. (2) In an enormous number of instances (Abicht says 600) they exhibit faulty cases, numbers, genders, tenses, moods, &c. while the others are correct. (3) They omit nine passages in Book I, and one in Book VIII, which are found in all the MSS. of the former class<sup>2</sup>. These omissions (often extending over several chapters) are sometimes replaced by a short summary, and in all cases the passages are skilfully pieced together.

T. Abicht also includes in this class six Vatican MSS., one of which has been collated for the first time by Stein<sup>3</sup>. According to Abicht the agreement of this MS. with S. and V. is so complete, that the collation has been useless. But this statement is hardly borne out by the readings given in Stein's tables. The other Vatican MSS. are said by Abicht to belong to the same family.

Rom. *Romanus s. Mureti*. In the Jesuit College at Rome, inscribed *ex bibliotheca Mureti*. Discovered in 1868, and Book I. collated. It contains nearly the same *lacunae* as S. and V.; also the same fragments of I. 137—177, and many of the same corruptions. Written on parchment, and probably of the 12th century.

Vall. The MS. from which Valla made his Latin translation (1474). This is not now to be found, but to judge from the *lacunae* in Valla's translation, it must have belonged to the same family as S. and V.

3. There remain several MSS. which sometimes favour the readings of one class and sometimes of the other, or which for

<sup>1</sup> e.g. at II. 79. 2 M.F.P.K. have ἀλλα τε ἀπαξ ἃ ἐστι, S.V. ἀλλα τε ἐπ'ἀξιδ ἐστι, at II. 19. 3 M.P.K. have πέλαι, S.V.F. πελάσας.

<sup>2</sup> The passages are I. 46—52; 56—68; 77—79; 92, 3; 96—100 (summarised); 131—5; 138—178; 181—184; 186; 199; VIII. 77—84. Only the more important of these omissions are noticed in the appended table. It will be seen that in the majority of cases the passages omitted are *episodes*.

<sup>3</sup> He quotes no readings from Book v.

other reasons cannot be assigned to either class. Of these the most important is

A. or a. *Parisinus*. Collated by Gorgiades for Schweighäuser, and since by Stein. Probably of the 12th century. In the first book it almost always agrees with M.F.P.K., but more rarely in the second, and the remaining books exhibit very many of the corrupt readings of S. and V. This MS. is quoted by Wess. under the title C.

There are five other Paris MSS. (B. C. D. E. F., or b. c. d. e. f.) of no special note—the last two mere fragments.

The remaining MSS. are—

G. *Ambrosianus*, of which Stein has collated Books I. and II.

U. *Urbinas*, of which he has collated Book v.

Ven. *Venetus*, the readings of which for the first 32 chapters of Book I. appear in Wesseling's edition. Bähr classes it with the Vienna MS.

R. *Monasterii S. Remigii*. Collated by Wess. It only contains Books I, II, and III. down to ch. 70, and agrees on the whole rather more with M.F.P.K. than with S.

Eton. An Eton MS. collated to some extent by Gale. A few readings are quoted in Gaisford's edition. Of little value according to Abicht.

Br. A paper MS. in the Harleian collection of the British Museum, containing the first 91 chapters of Book I.; collated by Long.

The Bodleian Library at Oxford contains three MSS.

(1). No. 114 (*Cod. Barocc.*). On paper, of the 15th century, containing only fragments of Book I.

(2). No. 200 (*Cod. Barocc.*). Written on paper in a very clear hand, and dated 1515. It begins with ἀλλὰ θεῶν κου τις (I. 45. 3), and ends with κατάστασις τοιήδε (v. 92. 5).

(3). No. 102 (*Cod. Miscell.*). On paper. About the end of the 15th century.

None of these have apparently been collated. The present editor, after an inspection of (2) and (3), has no hesitation in assigning (3) to the same family as S. and V. Out of a considerable number of test passages examined, its readings in only one instance differed from S<sup>1</sup>. It also appears to have almost exactly the same omissions and substituted summaries in Book I. The readings of (2) corresponded with those of b. and d. in a majority of the passages examined. It has apparently the

<sup>1</sup> At I. 24. 13 it reads οὐ μέγα, where S. omits οὐ.

same omissions and summaries, and differs notably from S. in the retention of i. 56—68. Where the readings of b. and d. varied, it almost invariably followed d.<sup>1</sup>

One other MS. is sometimes mentioned, the *Codex Palatinus* (described by Kreuzer, *Meletemata*, Part i. p. 98). It contains extracts (as a rule, quite short) from various authors, and amongst others from Herodotus. Abicht pronounces it to be valueless.

TABLE OF THE MORE IMPORTANT VARIATIONS OF READING  
IN BOOKS I. AND II.

The readings before the brackets are those of Bähr's second edition (1856—61).

Where the present edition departs from Bähr's text, an asterisk is prefixed.

The readings of the MSS. are given on the authority of Gaisford—who put together the results of Wesseling's and Schweighäuser's collations, and collated S. afresh—and of Stein—who has collated M.F.P.A. afresh, and N.T.G. for the first time. Where no authority is stated for the reading of the text, it is meant that this is also the reading of the MSS., or of a considerable majority of them. The names attached to the corrections are in each case those of the *first* proposers of the emendation, so far as they can be ascertained.

This table does not include any variations of reading, the adoption of which turns wholly on questions of orthography or dialect. Many other variations, which do not illustrate any rule of syntax, and do not materially affect the sense of the passage in which they occur, have also been omitted for the sake of brevity. Nor has it been thought necessary, as a rule, to insert corrections which are pronounced unnecessary in the commentary, or which would have been so pronounced, had they been mentioned there.

BOOK I.

CH.	§	
1	2	*τῇ τε ἄλλῃ ἐσαπικνέεσθαι] e. The rest insert χώρα.
2	1	Φοίνικες] Ven. Others Ἕλληνες.
	4	τὸν Κόλχον] S.V. The rest vary between τὸν Κόλχων βασιλέα and τῶν Κόλχων βασιλέα.
3	1	οὔτε] οὐδὲ Schäfer.

<sup>1</sup> At II. 10. 3, however, it reads ἐπταστόμου with b., where d. reads πενταστόμου.

CH.	§	
7	4	ἀπ' ὅθεν] a. Others ἀπό τευ. ἀπὸ τοῦ Matthiä.
9	2	πειρώμενος λέγω λόγον] F.R. a.c. πειρώμενον λόγον (omitting λέγω) P.S.
12	3	τοῦ καὶ—ἐπεμνήσθη] Placed in brackets by Schäfer. Ven. omits Πάριος—ἐπεμνήσθη.
16	1	Σαδυνάττης] Σαρδυνάττης Br.
18	2	Σαδυνάττης γὰρ οὗτος] N. Σαδυνάττης οὗτος γὰρ M.F.G.T.
24	12	ἔτι] ὅτι Br. ('cf. ὅτινα ἐπαιτιάσθαι, II. 121. 12' Long).
	13	οὐ μέγα] οὐ omitted by F.S.V.R.a.c.
27	4	ἀρώμενοι] M.F.S.V.a.b.d.e. Ven. Br. ἀρᾶσθαι R.a.c.S.marg. ἀειράμενοι Schw. ἀρᾶσθαι Schäfer (omitting εἴχεσθαι). ἀράμενοι Reiske. αἰωρευμένους Toup. αἰωρεύμενοι Werfer.
30	4	εἵνεκεν] Placed in brackets by Stein.
32	10	ἀπηρος] Two Vat. MSS. ἀπορος d. The rest ἀπειρος.
33		ἀμαθέα] ἀμαθήs S. Vall.
41	3	πρὸς δὲ τούτῳ] πρὸς δὲ τοῦτο F.S.a.c.
42	1	ἀν ἰσχαν] P.S.R. ἀν ἔσχον d. Br. The rest ἀνισχον.
45	3	μέν νυν] μέν νιν S., which also inserts θάψαι after ἦν, and omits most of the rest of the chapter.
46	1	καταλαβεῖν] M.S. and the majority of MSS. Others καταβαλεῖν.
	2	τῶν τε ἐν Ἑλλησι] τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖσι (Δελφίσι) S.V., which omit from Διβύη to the end of ch. 52 (see 53. 1).
49		καὶ τοῦτο] καὶ τοῦτον F.a.b.c.d.
50	3	τρίτον ἡμιτάλαντον] Schw. Duo talenta cum dimidio Vall. The MSS. have τρία ἡμιτάλαντα.
53	1	τοῖσι δὲ] V. and S. have τοῖσι δὲ πεμπομένοισι κήρυξι μετὰ δώρων τοιαῦτα ἐνετέλλετο ἐρωτᾶν, εἰ.
56	3	— end of ch. 68] Omitted by S.V. (see 69. 1).
58	3	πρὸς δὴ ὧν] ὡς δὴ ὧν e.
63	4.	*ἐκαστον] Schäfer. ἐκαστον a. (with σ written above the termination of the word.) The rest ἐκαστος.
68	7	πειρώατο] Gaisford. ἐπιπειρώατο Schw. ἐπειρέοντο Stein. The MSS. have ἐπειρώατο, except c., which has ἐπειρέατο.
69	1	S. connects as follows with 56. 2: καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐξέπεμψεν ἐς Σπάρτην ἀγγέλους ἵα τε φέροντας δῶρά τε φέροντας κ.τ.λ.
73	4	ὀργὴν ἄκρος] b.d.e. Others ὀργὴν οὐκ ἄκρος.
	5	ἐβουλεύσαντο] The majority of MSS. have ἐβούλευσαν.
84	5	οὗτος] Reiske. The MSS. have αὐτός.
86	3	ἡσυχίης] M.F.K.R.a.c. λειποψυχίης V.S. b.d.e. F.marg.
	7	*κελεύειν] H. Stephens. The MSS. have κελεύει,
90	5	τούτων] b. τούτῳ F.P.K.S.d. τοῦτο a.c.R.

Ch.	§	
91	5	εἶπε τὰ εἶπε] τὰ εἶπε omitted by S.V. The first εἶπε omitted by Valck.
93	1	γῆ] γῆ ἡ Schäfer. S.b.d. omit ch. 93 and the first sentence of ch. 94.
95	3	— end of ch. 100] Omitted by S.V.b.d., which give a short summary instead.
105	5	ἡ θεὸς] Wesseling (from Longinus περὶ ὕψ., ch. 27). Most MSS. have ὁ θεός.
106	1	ἐπέβαλλον] ἐπέβαλον F. ἐπίβαλλον K. Hermann.
107	3	ὑπερθέμενος] H. Stephens. The MSS. have ὑποθέμενος.
108	6	σοι ἐωυτῷ] σοι ἐαυτῷ M.a. σοι αὐτῷ c. σὺ ἐωυτῷ K.F.S. The rest ἐωυτῷ. σεωυτῷ Schäfer.
115	4	ὄδε] F.a.c. The rest ὦδε.
116	1	*ἐλευθεριωτέρη] Portus. The MSS. have ἐλευθερωτέρη.
	5	μουνωθέντα τάδε] P.V. a.c.R. μουννοθέντα δὲ, τάδε b.d. μουνω- θένταδὲ (sic) S. μούννοθεν τάδε M.K. μουννόθεν τα ( <i>prima manu</i> ) τάδε F.
125	1	εὔρισκέ τε] K. εὔρισκε S.b. The rest εὐρίσκεται.
129	3	*τὸ πρῆγμα δὴ ἐωυτοῦ] S. τὸ πρῆγμα ἐωυτοῦ δὴ F. and proba- bly M.
	5	δεῖν] S.a.b.d. δέον M.F.K.c.
131	3	— 136. 1. incl.] Omitted by S.V.b.d., which however con- tain one or two fragments from the intervening chapters.
132	4	πάντα τὰ] Valck. The MSS. omit the article.
133	3	οὐκ ἀλέσι] So (or οὐκαλέσι) M.F.K. οὐ καλοῖσι c. οὐκ ἄλεσι (or perhaps ἀλάσι) Bekker.
134	4	τὸν λεγόμενον] Abresch. The MSS. have τῷ λεγομένῳ. τῶν λεγομένων Stein.
138	1	χρέος] From this to the end of ch. 177 omitted by S.V.b.d., with the exception of one or two short sentences.
	3	πολλοὶ ἐξελαύνουσι] πολλοὶ καὶ ἐλαύνουσι F. πάλιν ἐξελαύνουσι Coray. πολλῇ κραυγῇ ἐλαύνουσι Steger. For other correc- tions see note on passage.
140	1	ἐλκυσθῆναι] M.F.K.a.c.R. The rest ἐλκυσθῆ.
146	3	Ὀρχομένιοι] Palmer. Ὀρχομένιοι σφι Herold. The MSS. have Ὀρχομενίοισι.
	4	Ἀθηναίων] Ἀθηνέων Schäfer.
163	3	Μῆδον] Λυδὸν Wesseling.
165	4	ἀναφῆναι] ἀναφανῆναι Reiske. ἀναβῆναι Herold. ἀναπεφηνέναι Krüger.
168	4	ἐκτήσαντο] ἐκτισαν Schw. ἐκτίσαντο Larcher.
169	2	ταῦτα] ταύτᾱ Reiske.



# lxiv ON THE TEXT OF HERODOTUS.

CH.	§	
170	4	οὕτω] οὔτοι Schäfer.
174	3	Βυβασσίης] Voss. The MSS. have Βυβλεσίης. 'A facile in Δ, Σ in E abiit.' Gaisford.
181	2	ἐν τῷ μὲν τὰ βασιλῆϊα] <sup>1</sup> Gronovius. ἐν τῷ εἰεν τὰ β. F. The rest have ἐν τῷ ἦεν τὰ β.
185	1	ἀλλ' ἀλλα τε] Bekker. The MSS. omit ἀλλ'.
	3	ἐς τὸν Εὐφρήτην] Abicht says that M. omits ἐς. Gaisford notices no variation.
188	1	Λαβυνήτου] Wesseling. Λαβυρίτου S. The rest Λαβυλίτου.
	2	μούνου] μούνος S.V.b.
189	2	τοῦτο] F. The rest τούτω.
191	7	οὐδ' ἂν] F.a.c. (probably also M.K.). οὐκ ἂν d. οὐ μὰν S.b. οἱ δ' ἂν Palmer.
193	1	ὀλίγω] ὀλίγον S.
	7	ποιεῦντες] ποιεῦνται S.
196	5	ὥς γὰρ διεξέλθοι] Bergler. The MSS. have ὥς γὰρ δὴ οἱ ἐξέλθοι.
	7	οὕτω ἀπάγεσθαι] M. ἂν ἀγεσθαι F.P.K.a.c. ἀγαγέσθαι V. ἀνάγεσθαι S.b.d.
199	4	ὀδῶν] F.K.a.c. The rest ὀδόν.
204	1	πεδίου τοῦ] πεδίου τούτου τοῦ Stein.
206	2	πάντα S. πάντων b. The rest πάντως.
	3	εἰ] Two Parisian MSS. The rest ἦν (Bähr). Gaisford notices no variation from εἰ.
207	2	έόντα Schw. The MSS. have τὰ έόντα.
212	4	εἰ δὲ μὴ ταῦτα] F.S.a.c.b.d. εἰ δὲ ταῦτα οὐ. M.P.K.

## BOOK II.

1	2	ταύτης δέ] ταύτης δὴ F.M.G.
2	1	Ψαμμήτιχον] M.K.R. Ψαμμίτιχον F.a.b. Ψαμμιήχιτον V.S.
	9	πρεσβυτέρους] πρώτους V.S. Eton. b.d.
3	1	'Ηφαίστου ἐν] 'Ηφαίστου τοῦ ἐν M.F.G.T.
9	2	συντιθέμενοι οἱ στάδιοι] M.F.G. Others συντεθειμένοι στάδιοι.
10	1	έδόκεε δέ] δέ omitted by M.K.
	2	ὥστε] M.F.K.a.b.c.R. ὥς N.S.T.
	3	πενταστόμον] M.K.a.c.d. έπταστόμον S.V.R.b. F. has both readings.
12	2	καταρρηγνυμένην] M.F.G. Others κατερρηγνυμένην.

<sup>1</sup> The reading in the text, ἐν τῷ τὰ βασιλῆϊα μὲν (p. 157. l. 9), is a mistake, the result of a misprint in Bähr's edition.

CH.	§	
13	3	ἦν] F.S. The rest εἰ.
	4	*ἐπιδιδῶ...ἀποδιδῶ] Bredow. The MSS. ἐπιδιδῶ...ἀποδιδῶ.
15	1	τῇ δὲ] F.a. τῇ δὲ S. The rest τῇδε.
16	4	*τῆς Λιβύης] R. τῇ Λιβύῃ M.F.S.
17	5	ταύτῃ] F.S.a.b.c. ταύτην M.P.K.
19	5	τὰ λεγόμενα] P.S.V. τὰ λελεγμένα M.F.K.
22	2	[τόπων] ῥέων] τόπων omitted by S.V. and the Paris MSS. ῥέων omitted by F.P.K.
25	1	οὐκ ἐόντων ἀνέμων] S.b. καὶ ἀνέμων (without οὐκ ἐόντων) F.a.c.d., and apparently M.P.K.
26	1	αὐτῷ] M.K.F.a.c. Omitted by S. The rest αὐτοῦ.
28	2	ἀπηγμένα] Bredow. ἀπηγμένα S. The rest ἀπιγμένα.
30	4	ἄλλῃ] Bekker. ἄλλῃ δὲ the MSS.
31	2	τοσοῦτοι] Reiske. τοσοῦτω V.S. The rest οὔτοι.
32	4	ἣ τελευταί] Wesseling. ἣ τελευτᾶ τὰ Reiske. ἣ τελευταίη Schw. The older MSS. have ἣ τελευτᾶι, the rest ἣ τελευτᾶ, except K., which has τελεύται.
35	1	πλείστα] M.F.P.K. πλέω S.V.R.
39	1	πῦρ ἀνακαίουσι] Bekker. The MSS. have πυρὴν καίουσι <sup>1</sup> .
	3	δὲ ἐκείνη] δὲ κείνη M.F.P.K., and the Paris MSS. δ' ἐκείνου S. δὲ κεινῇ Schw.
42	7	σφι] σφισι Stein.
45	3	ὕων] οἰῶ (sic) F. ὄτων Valck.
48	2	χορῶν] M.F.P.K. χοίρων a.c.R. χαίρων S.V.
51	2	ἤδη] M.K.P.F.b.c. δὴ a.d. Omitted by S.V.
63	5	*ἀλεξόμενοι] ἀλεξομένους S.V.
64	5	γένεα] τέλεα S.d.
70	2	οἱ δὲ ἔλκουσι] Omitted by S.V.d.
71	2	ἀκόντια] Omitted by Schäfer.
75	2	ἀκανθέων] τῶν θεῶν M.F., but M. has ὀστέων in the margin.
77	7	τὰ σμικρὰ τῶν ὀρνιθίων] S.V.R., and the Paris MSS. τὰ σμ. * τῶν ὀρνίθων M.F.P.K.
79	2	ἐν ἐστί] Wesseling. The MSS. have ἐνεστί.
	3	ἐλαβον] Schw. The MSS. have ἐλαβον τὸ ὄνομα (or τοῦνομα).
81	3	καὶ Βακχικοῖσι, εἰοῦσι δὲ Αἰγυπτίοισι] Omitted by M.F.P.K.
85	1	οἰκητῶν...οἰκητῶν] S. οἰκητῶν...οἰκίων P.K. οἰκίῶν...οἰκίῶν F.
86	10	θηκαίῃ] θηβαίῃ F.K. ἐν οἰκήματι...νεκρούς is omitted by S.V.d.
87	2	τοὺς κλυστᾶρας] τοὺς omitted by S.N.T.
91	1	φεύγουσι...μηδαμὰ] omitted by S.V.
	2	αὐτοῦ] αὐτὸ S.V.d.

<sup>1</sup> πυρὴν καίουσι has been inadvertently retained in the text of the present edition.

Ch.	§	
94	2	Ἑλλησι] ἔλεσι S.
95	3	ὑπ' αὐτῷ] ὑπ' αὐτὸ F.S.V. ὑπ' αὐτὸν a.c.
97	4	οὐκ οὗτος] S.V. The rest have οὐδ' οὗτος. ἔστι δὲ οὐ τῆδε οὗτος Reiske. ἔστι δὲ οὐ οὐδ' οὕτως Coray.
99	3	τὴν Μέμφιν] S.V.R. καὶ τὴν Μέμφιν M.K.F.a.c.
	5	ὅς] ὡς M.F.K.S.V.T.G. Others ὅς.
100	1	*βίβλου] Bähr. βιβλων S. βύβλου F., the Paris MSS., and others. βύβλων Ald., Schäfer.
103	2	καὶ προσώτατα] F.P. The rest have καὶ οὐ προσώτατα.
105	3	Σαρδωνικὸν] Σαρδωνικὸν F.S.a. Σαρδιηνικὸν Dietch. Σαρδικὸν Dindorf.
110	1	μὲν δὴ οὗτος] M.F.P.K., and the Paris MSS. δὲ δὴ οὗτος S. δὲ οὗτος δὴ N.T. Others δὴ οὗτος δὴ.
113	3	ὄτευῶν] Bekker. The MSS. have ὄτεψ.
115	5	ἐκκλέψας] Omitted by S.b.d.
116	2	κατὰ γὰρ ἐποίησε ἐν Ἰλιάδι] ἐν omitted by V. ἐποίησεν Ἰλιάδα S. For corrections see note on passage.
117	1	δηλοῖ] δῆλον Valck., who also places τὸ χωρίον in brackets.
119	3	ἐπὶ Διβύης] ἰθὺ ἐπὶ Διβύης Plutarch ( <i>de Herod. mal.</i> 857 b). ἰθὺ Διβύης Valck.
121	12	ἐπαιτιᾶται] ἀπαιτιᾶσθαι S.V. ἐπαιτιᾶσαι b.d. ἐπαιτιᾶσθαι Long (cf. I. 24. 12).
	14	προσαπολέσῃ] M.F.T.a.c.G. προσαπολέσει S.b.d.
	24	προσαγαγέσθαι] M.F.K.a.c. προσαγαγέσθαι P. προσαγεῖν (sic) S.V. προσαγαγεῖν b.d.
	30	ὡς τοῦ βασιλέος] M.P.K.V.S. ἐς F.a.c.R.
123	1	ὑπ' ἐκάστων] ὑπὲρ ἐκάστων V. περὶ ἐκάστων d.
124	5	τῷ λεῶ] τῷ ἄλλῳ λαῶ M.F.P.K. The rest τῷ λαῶ.
127	3	δι' οἰκοδομημένου] Schäfer. The MSS. have διοικοδομημένου.
	4	ὑποβάς] ὑπόβασιν Reiz. ὑποβάσι Schäfer. ὑποβάσαν Schw. οἰκοδόμησε] H. Stephens. The MSS. have οἰκοδομῆς.
133	3	αὐτῷ τὸν βίον] αὐτὸν τὸν βίον M.F.P.K.V.T.G.N.b.c. Others αὐτῷ τὸν βίον.
	4	εἶναι ἐνηβητήρια] εἶναι γῆς ἐνηβητήρια Valck.
134	3	λιπομένων ἦν] Schäfer. ἦν λιπομένων S.V.R.c. ἦν λειπομένη F.P.K.b.d. Eton.
135	2	Ῥοδώπιν] Ῥοδώπιος Valck. Ῥοδώπι Schäfer.
136	4	μήτ' αὐτῷ ἐκείνῳ] S.V. The rest have μηδέ.
137	5	*γενομένων] S.V.T. The rest τασσομένων.
		*μὲν Βούβαστι πόλις] Eltz. μὲν Βουβάστι πόλις M.F.P.K. ἡ ἐν Βουβάστι πόλις S.V.R.
141	1	τῶν μαχίμων] τὸ μάχιμον οἱ τῷ μαχίμῳ οἱ τὸ τῶν μαχίμων Valck.

- CH. §
- 141 5 γυμνῶν δ' ὅλων] S.V.a.c.R. γυμνῶν ἀνόπλων M.F.P.K. γυμνῶν καὶ ἀνόπλων Wesseling.
- 143 2 ἴσταται] ἴσῃ S.V.T.a.c.
- 144 2 οἰκέοντας] S.V.d. Others οὐκ ἔοντας.
- 145 4 ἐξακόσια ἑτεα] ἐννακόσια S. ἑτεα omitted by S. and others. ἐξήκοντα ἑτεα Wesseling.
- 5 κατὰ τὰ] τὰ omitted by b.d.N.S.V.T., and by a correction in F.
- 146 2 \*[ἄλλους] ἀνδρας γενομένους] ἄλλους ἀνδρας γενομένους F. The majority of MSS. have ἀνδρας ἄλλους γενομένους. K. Hermann proposes to omit ἄλλους, as having arisen from ἀνους (i.e. ἀνθρώπους, a gloss on ἀνδρας). Wesseling reads τοὺς ἄλλους.
- 147 2 δυνώδεκα μοίρας] S.V. Most MSS. have ἐς δυνώδεκα μοίρας.
- 150 1 τὴν ἐς Λιβύην] M.F.P.K.b. τὴν ἐν Λιβύῃ V.S.a.
- 154 1 τοῖσι συγκατεργασαμένοισι] τοῖσι Κασσι τοῖσι συγκατεργασαμένοισι S. τοῖσι συγκατεργασμένοι P.
- 158 5 [ἀπαρτί]] Schäfer 'from the Scholiast on Aristoph. *Plut.* 388. All the MSS. omit it.
- 159 2 Μαγδόλφ] Μαγδώλφ M.F.a.G. Μαγδάλφ N.T.
- 160 1 [ἀνδρες]] In very few MSS. Omitted by M.F.P.K.S.V.d.
- 161 5 ἀρχῇ] S.V.a.c. ἀρχοι M.F.P.K.N.T.b.d.G.
- 165 γενοίατο] S.V.a.c.R. ἐγένοντο M.F.P.K.N.b.d.G. ἐγενέατο Wesseling.
- 168 4 [ἄλλοι]] ἄλλοι read by S.V.T. Omitted by M.F.P.K., and the Paris MSS. Schw. suggests that χίλιοι has dropped out.
- 169 3 οἰκία] οἰκεῖα S. Blakesley suggests as the true reading ἐς τὰ οἰκεῖα, ἐωυτοῦ having been originally 'written on the margin as a gloss on οἰκεῖα.'
- 172 7 ἐωυτοῦ] ἐωυτόν S.T.
- 173 1 πληθώρης] S.V. The rest πληθούσης.
- 4 ἐπεὰν δὲ χρήσωνται, ἐκλύουσι] Omitted by M.F.P.K.a.c.
- 174 2 καὶ ἡλίσκετο] Valck. καὶ ἀλίσκετο Schw. καταλίσκετο S.V. The rest κατηλίσκετο.
- 175 1 οἱ] οἶα Abresch.
- 6 καὶ ἀχθόμενον] S. Others καταχθόμενον.
- ἐνθύμον] Valck. ἐνθυμητόν Bekker. The MSS. have ἐνθυμίστόν.
- 176 2 Αἰθιοπικοῦ ἐόντες] Schw. Αἰθιοπικοῦ ἐόντος S.V.b.d. τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐόντος F.c.d. Blakesley suggests τοῦ αὐτοῦ λίθου, Αἰθιοπικοῦ ἐόντος.
- μεγάρου] μεγάλου Schäfer. *Magno illi* Vall.

# lxviii ON THE TEXT OF HERODOTUS.

CH.	§	
181	1	Κυρηναίοισι δὲ Ἀμασις] S.V.c. Κυρηναίοισι δ' ἐς ἀλλήλους M.F. and others.
	2	οἱ δ'] τοῦ S.V.T.
	5	νόψ] S.V.a.c. ρῶ F.P.b.d. ρηῶ M.K.

## LIST OF EDITIONS.

The first edition of Herodotus was the Latin Translation of Laurentius Valla. *Venice*, 1474.

The first Greek edition was that of Aldus. *Venice*, 1502. The text of this edition was based principally on the Paris MSS.

Of the numerous editions which followed these the most important were those published by

H. Stephens. In Greek and Latin. *Paris*, 1592.

J. Gronovius. In Greek and Latin. *Leyden*, 1715. This edition contains the first collation of the Medicean MS.

P. Wesseling. In Greek, with Latin notes and Valla's Translation. *Amsterdam*, 1763. Wess. collated A.B.C.K.R.S.V.

The most important editions published in the present century are those of

(1) Schäfer. *Leipzig*, 1800—3. Book IX. is wanting in this edition.

(2) Schweighäuser. *Strasburg*, 1806. *London*, 1818. With Latin notes. Schw. collated F.a.b.c.d.e.f.

(3) Gaisford. *Oxford*, 1824. With *Variorum* notes. Gaisford collated S.

(4) Bekker. *Berlin*, 1833.

(5) Bähr. *Leipzig*, (1834). 1856. With Latin notes, *excursus*, &c. by Bähr and F. Creuzer.

(6) Lhardy. *Leipzig*, 1850—2. Books I.—IV. With a German commentary.

(7) Blakesley. *London*, 1854. With an English commentary.

(8) Krüger. *Berlin*, 1855. With very brief German notes.

(9) Stein. *Berlin*, 1856—62. With a German commentary. Ditto. 2nd ed. 1864—6. This edition contains notes by Dr Brugsch on Book II.

(10) Dietsch. *Leipzig*. Vols. I. and II. 1858.

(11) Abicht. *Leipzig*. Books I.—VI. 1861—3. With a German commentary for the use of schools.

Of these the text of (3) is based on (2)—that of (4), (5), and (7) mainly on (3). (9) and (11) are based on independent collations. But a thoroughly satisfactory critical edition has not yet appeared. The commentaries of which most use has been made in the present edition are those of (5), (8),

(9), and (11). For a criticism of the more recent editions, see an article by Abicht, *Philologus*, Vol. XXI., p. 78 foll.

The best translations which have yet appeared are those of Larcher (in French, with a commentary, 1802), Isaac Taylor (1829), and Rawlinson (2nd ed. 1861). The last-named contains copious notes and appendices by the translator, Sir J. G. Wilkinson, and Sir Henry Rawlinson.

The following *subsidia* (among many that might be specified) may be recommended to the notice of students:—

Lexicon Herodoteum. Instruxit J. Schweighäuser. *London*, 1824.

Quaestionum criticarum de dialecto Herodotea Libri quattuor. Bredow. 1846.

Disputationes Herodoteae duae. Jäger. *Göttingen*, 1828.

Die Historische Kunst der Griechen. F. Creuzer. (p. 74 foll., 2nd ed.) *Leipzig*, 1845.

A critical history of the language and literature of Ancient Greece (Vol. IV). Mure. *London*, 1853.

A history of the literature of Ancient Greece. Translated from the German of K. O. Müller. (Vol. I. chs. xvii—xix). *London*, 1858.

The life of Herodotus drawn out of his book. Translated from the German of Dahlmann by G. V. Cox. *Oxford*, 1845.

The geographical system of Herodotus. Rennell. *London*, 1800.

The geography of Herodotus. Wheeler. *London*, 1854.

The early volumes of Grote's History of Greece.

Special *subsidia* for Book II.:—

The manners and customs of the Ancient Egyptians. Wilkinson. Two series, 5 vols. *London*, 1841.

Ancient Egypt under the Pharaohs. Kenrick. *London*, 1850.

The Egypt of Herodotus. Kenrick. (A Greek edition of Book II. with English notes and introduction.) *London*, 1841.

Lobeck's Aglaophamus. 1839.

## ON THE EXISTING SUBDIVISIONS OF THE TEXT.

THOUGH the oldest MSS. contain the present division of the text into nine books, named after the nine Muses, we find no trace of any such division in the work itself. Herodotus only mentions different λόγοι (I. 75. 1, n.), by the accumulation of which the work seems to have been constructed, much as we may suppose the Homeric poems to have been built up by the accumulation of different ῥαψώδαι or 'cantos,'—and with the same possibility in each case of indefinite expansion by the insertion of new episodes. The vagueness of the references (ἐν ἄλλῳ λόγῳ, ἐν τοῖσι ὀπισθε λόγοισι) prevents us from supposing that the separate λόγοι were all either numbered (we have twice ὁ πρῶτος τῶν λόγων) or named (like ἐν τοῖσι Λιβυοῖσι λόγοισι, II. 161. 3) by Herodotus. The division into books is first mentioned by Diodorus Siculus (fl. c. 8 B.C.), who says that Herodotus γέγραφε ἐν βιβλίοις ἐννέα (XI. 37), and Josephus (c. 70 A.D.) quotes Herodotus ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ τῶν ιστοριῶν (*Archaeol.* x. 1. 4), while Pausanias (c. 180 A.D.) retains the Herodotean phraseology ἐν τῷ λόγῳ τῷ εἰς Κροῖσον (III. 2. 3). The existing division was probably due to the Alexandrian grammarians (Bähr), and shews, on the whole, taste and judgment, though the clauses introduced by μέν at the end of the 7th and 8th books illustrate the difficulty of finding breaks in the narrative towards its close. The

‘Muses’ are first mentioned in connection with Herodotus by Lucian (fl. second cent. A.D.), who seems to consider the title a result of the Olympic recitation: οὐ θεατὴν ἀλλ’ ἀγωνιστὴν Ὀλυμπίων παρείχεν ἑαυτὸν, ᾄδων τὰς ἱστορίας καὶ κηλῶν τοὺς παρόντας, ἄχρι τοῦ καὶ Μούσας κληθῆναι τὰς βίβλους αὐτοῦ, ἐννέα καὶ αὐτάς (*Herod.* 1). The order in which the Muses are invariably placed is derived from Hesiod (*Theog.* 77).

The existing division into chapters, which does not appear in the MSS. or earlier editions, was first introduced by Jungermann, who published a reprint of H. Stephen’s edition (*Frankfort* 1608), and apologises in his preface for the insertion of ‘*capita* sive *tematia*.’ The first five lines of Book I. are not included in the numbering of the chapters, and form the προοίμιον of the work: cf. Dionys. Halicarn. (*de praecip. Hist.* p. 767 Reiske), τὸ γὰρ αὐτὸ προοίμιόν τε καὶ ἀρχὴ καὶ τέλος ἐστὶ τῆς ἱστορίας—words which have led some commentators to suppose absurdly that there was originally an *epilogue* to the work, which has been lost.

The numbering of the sections in the present edition has been taken, for the sake of convenience of reference, from the Oxford text published by Parker, 1856.





# BOOK I.

## SUMMARY.

B. C.		CHAPS.
	The feud between Asiatics and Europeans was of long standing, according to the Persian and Phœnician legends concerning the rape of Io, of Europa, and of Helen: but in later times was certainly caused by the conduct of Croesus, King of Lydia, towards the Greeks. Hence Hdt. narrates . . . . .	1—4 5
	The History of Lydia . . . . .	6—94
	The earlier Lydian dynasties: the story of Candaules and Gyges . . . . .	6—13
716—560	The dynasty of the Mermnadæ: the first four kings thereof, Gyges, Ardys, Sadyattes, Alyattes . . . . .	14—25
560—546	Croesus, the fifth king thereof . . . . .	26—92
	He subdues lower Asia . . . . .	26—28
	He converses with Solon . . . . .	29—33
	The retribution which befalls him: the story of Atys and Adrastus . . . . .	34—45
	He resolves to attack the Persians, and to that end proves the Greek oracles: the answers received from Delphi . . . . .	46—55
	He enquires which is the most powerful Greek state . . . . .	56
	(Digression concerning the Athenians and the Lacedæmonians: the Dorian and Ionian races . . . . .	56—58
	The state of affairs at Athens at this time: the three Athenian factions, and the despotism of Pisistratus . . . . .	59—64
	The state of affairs at Sparta at this time: the reforms of Lycurgus, and the wars with Tegea) . . . . .	65—68
	He makes an alliance with the Lacedæmonians . . . . .	69, 70
	He invades Cappadocia, and after an indecisive engagement with the Persians, returns to Sardis, where he is besieged by Cyrus . . . . .	71—80
	He asks the Lacedæmonians for help: the feud between Sparta and Argos at this time, and the battle of the three hundred . . . . .	81—83
	Cyrus takes Sardis, but spares the life of Croesus . . . . .	84—91

# SUMMARY.

B.C.		CHAPS.
	The offerings of Croesus: the marvels of Lydia, and the inventions of the Lydians. Hdt. next relates . . . . .	92—94
	The origin of Cyrus, and the early history of the Medes and Persians . . . . .	95—140
	The downfall of the Assyrian empire, and the revolt of the Medes . . . . .	95
709	Deioces becomes king of the Medes . . . . .	96—101
656—595	His successors, Phraortes, Cyaxares: the irruption of the Scythians . . . . .	102—106
	Astyages: his dream: the birth and bringing up of Cyrus . . . . .	107—122
594—560	Cyrus and Harpagus incite the Persians to revolt and dethrone Astyages . . . . .	123—130
	End of the Median and commencement of the Persian empire . . . . .	
	Persian customs and peculiarities . . . . .	131—140
	The conquests of Cyrus . . . . .	141—200
	1. In lower Asia . . . . .	141—176
546	After the subjugation of the Lydians (ch. 84) the Ionians and Æolians settled in Asia send an embassy to Cyrus, but he rejects their proposals. Description of the Ionian and Æolian settlements . . . . .	141—151
	They ask the Lacedæmonians for help, who send a message to Cyrus . . . . .	152, 153
	Lydia revolts under Pactyas, and is reconquered by Mazares, to whom Pactyas is given up by the Chians, notwithstanding the warning of the oracle of the Branchidæ to Aristodicus . . . . .	154—161
	Harpagus subdues Ionia: the Phocæans and Teians depart and found new settlements	162—170
	Harpagus subdues the Carians and Lycians	171—176
	2. In upper Asia . . . . .	177—200
538	After subduing other nations, Cyrus attacks the Assyrians of Babylon . . . . .	178
	Description of Babylon . . . . .	177—183
	Account of the two famous queens of Babylon: the works of queen Nitocris . . . . .	184—187
	Cyrus takes Babylon . . . . .	188—191
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# ἩΡΟΔΟΤΟΥ

## ἹΣΤΟΡΙΩΝ ΠΡΩΤΗ.

ΚΛΕΙΩ.

ἩΡΟΔΟΤΟΥ Ἀλικαρνησσεὺς ἱστορίας ἀπόδεξις ἦδε  
ὥς μήτε τὰ γενόμενα ἐξ ἀνθρώπων τῷ χρόνῳ ἐξίτηλα  
γένηται, μήτε ἔργα μεγάλα τε καὶ θωυμαστά, τὰ μὲν  
Ἕλλησι, τὰ δὲ βαρβάροισι ἀποδεχθέντα, ἀκλεᾶ γένηται,  
τά τε ἄλλα, καὶ δι' ἣν αἰτίην ἐπολέμησαν ἀλλήλοισι.

I Περσέων μὲν νυν οἱ λόγιοι Φοίνικας αἰτίους φασὶ I

Ἀλικαρν.] Aristotle had the reading Θουρίου in his copy of Hdt. (*Rhet.* III. 9. 2), and Plutarch (about A.D. 110) says πολλοὶ μεταγράφουσι Θουρίου. (*De Exsil.* 13.) The two readings do not necessarily imply two separate editions of the work.

ἦδε] 'You have before you the setting forth of the researches of H.' Earlier chroniclers had begun their works in a similar way:—Ἐκαταῖος ὁ Μιλήσιος ὧδε μυθέεται, Τίμαιος ὁ Λοκρὸς τὰδε ἔφα (Müller, *Fr. Hist. Gr.*). Cf. Thuc. I. 1. 1. ἱστορίην, here not distinguished from ὅψις, as at II. 99. 1, denotes the results of enquiry: cf. οὐ γὰρ ἐξέργομαι ἐς ἱστορίας λόγον, VII. 96. 2, 'I am not driven into telling the story.' The common title of the work among the Greeks was Ἡρ. ἱστορίαι.

ὥς] depends on the verbal notion in ἀπόδεξις.

τὰ γεν. ἐξ ἀνθρ.] ἐξ denotes the agent, a use almost peculiar to Ionic writers and very common in Hdt. There is no tautology in the use of τὰ γενόμενα and ἔργα. Hdt. intends to divide the subject-matter of his

narrative under two heads, (1) human actions, the ordinary subject-matter of history proper (Stein compares τὰ γινόμενα ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, used of the Sicilian expedition, Thuc. VI. 88. 7), and (2) the marvels to be found in different countries, whether natural or artificial (here esp. the latter): compare the use of ἔργον, 93. 1; II. 35. 1; 101. 1. This second branch appears mainly in the shape of digressions (προσθήκας, IV. 30. 1). See in Bk. I., chs. 93, 177—187.

τά τε ἄλλα, καὶ] Stein unnecessarily refers these words to ἱστ. ἀπόδεξις ἦδε, which virtually = Ἡρ. τὴν ἱστορίην ἀπεδέξατο, and thus takes τὰ ἄλλα in apposition. The words will refer equally well to τὰ γενόμενα, but prob. no definite substantive is meant to be supplied. The remote causes of the war (i. e. the rise and progress of the Lydian and Persian empires, and the early history of Athens and Sparta) are contained in Bks. I.—IV.; the immediate cause (i. e. the Ionian revolt) in Bk. V.

CH. I. § 1. οἱ λόγιοι] simply = 'the

γενέσθαι : τῆς διαφοράς : Τούτους γὰρ, ἀπὸ τῆς Ἐρυθρῆς  
 καλεομένης θαλάσσης ἀπικομένους ἐπὶ τήνδε τὴν θάλασσαν,  
 καὶ οἰκήσαντας τοῦτον τὸν χώρον τὸν καὶ νῦν οἰκέουσι,  
 αὐτίκα ναυτιλίῃσι μακρῇσι ἐπιθέσθαι ἀπαγινέοντας δὲ  
 φορτία Αἰγύπτια τε καὶ Ἀσσύρια, τῇ τε ἄλλῃ χώρῃ ἐσα-  
 πικνέεσθαι, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐς Ἄργος. Τὸ δὲ Ἄργος τοῦτον  
 τὸν χρόνον προεῖχε ἅπασι τῶν ἐν τῇ νῦν Ἑλλάδι καλεομένη  
 χώρῃ. Ἀπικομένους δὲ τοὺς Φοίνικας ἐς δὴ τὸ Ἄργος  
 τοῦτο, διατίθεσθαι τὸν φόρτον. πέμπτη δὲ ἡ ἕκτη ἡμέρῃ  
 ἀπ' ἧς ἀπίκοντο, ἐξεμπολημένων σφι σχεδὸν πάντων, ἐλθεῖν  
 ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν γυναῖκας, ἄλλας τε πολλὰς, καὶ δὴ καὶ  
 τοῦ βασιλέως θυγατέρα· τὸ δὲ οἱ οὖνομα εἶναι, κατὰ τὸν  
 τὸ καὶ Ἕλληνας λέγουσι, Ἰοῦν τὴν Ἰνάχου. Ταύτας  
 στάσας κατὰ πρύμνην τῆς νεὸς, ὠνέεσθαι τῶν φορτίων, τῶν  
 σφι ἦν θυμὸς μάλιστα· καὶ τοὺς Φοίνικας διακελευσαμένους  
 ὁρμῆσαι ἐπ' αὐτάς. Τὰς μὲν δὴ πλεῦνας τῶν γυναικῶν  
 ἀποφυγεῖν, τὴν δὲ Ἰοῦν σὺν ἄλλῃσι ἀρπασθῆναι. ἐσβαλομέ-  
 νους δὲ ἐς τὴν νέα, οἴχεσθαι ἀποπλέοντας ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου.

learned in legend (II. 3. 3; 77. 1). The λόγιος is thus the *ραψωδός* of prose composition and distinct from the *λογοποιός* (e. g. Hecataeus, II. 143. 1) or *λογογράφος* (Thuc. I. 21. 1), who selected a definite portion of the legends for his subject, and endeavoured to harmonize and combine.

§ 2. Ἐρυθρῆς κ. θ.] Not only what we now call the Red Sea, but also the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean (202. 8; II. 11. 1; 102. 2), in contradistinction to the Mediterranean (τήνδε τὴν θ. Cf. Lat. *nostrum mare*).

τῇ τε ἄλλῃ χ.] Bähr (2nd ed.) and Krüger following one MS. strike out χώρῃ, because τῇ ἄλλῃ is a common adverbial phrase, and the dat. after ἐσαπικν. would be 'ungrammatical.' But why should not a dat. after a verb of motion be as grammatical as ἐς with the accus. (14. 6) after a verb of rest?

§ 3. ἅπασι] 'In everything' (32. 9; 91. 7). With τῶν supply

πόλεων. For the early preeminence of Argos see Thuc. I. 9.

ἐν τῇ νῦν] i. e. it was then called by a different name: see ch. 56 foll., and Thuc. I. 3. 2.

ἐς δὴ] Notice the conversational style of the narrative implied in this very common use of δὴ (II. 105. 1, n.).

§ 4. πέμπτη δὲ κ. τ. λ.] 'It was a week's fair, closing according to the custom of Semitic nations on the sixth day.' Curtius.

τὸ δὲ οἱ οὖν.] In Hdt. though the article has lost to a great extent its demonstrative force, we still find enclitics which belong in construction to another part of the sentence inserted before the substantive, e. g. οἱ δὲ σφι βόες, 31. 3; οἱ γὰρ με παῖδες, 115. 3.

§ 5. κατὰ πρύμνην] The ship would be beached stern-foremost, whilst unloading. θυμὸς, in its Homeric sense, e. g. *πιεῖν ὅτε θυμὸς ἀνώγα* (132. 5, note).

διακελευσαμένους] δια- = 'from one to the other.' So *διαδιδόναι*.

- 2 Οὕτω μὲν Ἴουν ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἀπικέσθαι λέγουσι Πέρσαι, οὐκ 1  
 NB ὥς Φοίνικες καὶ τῶν ἀδικημάτων τοῦτο ἄρξαι πρῶτον.  
 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, Ἑλλήνων τινὰς (οὐ γὰρ ἔχουσι τοῦνομα 2  
 ἀπηγήσασθαι) φασὶ τῆς Φοινίκης ἐς Τύρον προσχόντας,  
 ἄρπάσαι τοῦ βασιλέος τὴν θυγατέρα Εὐρώπην. εἶψαν  
 δ' ἂν οὗτοι Κρήτες. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἴσα σφι πρὸς ἴσα 3  
 γενέσθαι. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, Ἕλληνας αἰτίους τῆς δευτέρης  
 ἀδικίης γενέσθαι. καταπλώσαντας γὰρ μακρῇ νηϊ ἐς Αἶαν  
 τε τὴν Κολχίδα καὶ ἐπὶ Φᾶσιν ποταμὸν, ἐνθεύτεν διαπρηξα-  
 μένους καὶ τᾶλλα τῶν εἵνεκεν ἀπικάτο ἄρπάσαι τοῦ βασιλέος  
 τὴν θυγατέρα Μήδειαν. πέμψαντα δὲ τὸν Κόλχον ἐς τὴν 4  
 Ἑλλάδα κήρυκα, αἰτέειν τε δίκας τῆς ἀρπαγῆς, καὶ ἀπαιτέειν  
 τὴν θυγατέρα. τοὺς δὲ ὑποκρίνασθαι, ὥς οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνοι Ἴους 5  
 τῆς Ἀργείης ἔδοσαν σφι δίκας τῆς ἀρπαγῆς, οὐδὲ ὦν αὐτοὶ  
 3 δώσειν ἐκείνοισι. Δευτέρῃ δὲ λέγουσι γενεῇ μετὰ ταῦτα 1  
 Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Πριάμου, ἀκηκοότα ταῦτα, ἐθελῆσαί οἱ ἐκ  
 τῆς Ἑλλάδος δι' ἀρπαγῆς γενέσθαι γυναῖκα, ἐπιστάμενον  
 πάντως ὅτι οὐ δώσει δίκας· οὔτε γὰρ ἐκείνους διδόναι.

CH. 2. § 1. Φοίνικες] Bähr is prob. right in retaining this: see below, 5. 2. But the reading Ἕλληνες has some authority and point. 'Dixerat modo scriptor in nomine cum Graecis Persas consensisse, nunc illos in reliqua narratione ab eisdem dissentire ait.' Schw.

ἄρξαι πρῶτον] A pleonasm: II. 77. 7, n.

§ 2. εἶψαν δ' ἂν] 'These would probably be Cretans,' i. e. they would prove to be so, if we knew the whole matter. The notion of the possibility of future modifications, which properly applies only to our opinions concerning past events, is transferred to the past events themselves. They were prob. Cretans, because Minos of Crete παλαιτατος ναυτικὸν ἐκτέησατο (Thuc. I. 4. 1).

§ 3. ἴσα πρὸς ἴσα] Cf. ἐν πρὸς ἐν, IV. 50. 2.

μακρῇ νηϊ] the Argo, which may fairly be called a ship of war owing

to its crew of warriors. Thuc. talks of πλοῖα μακρά in early times as distinct from triremes (I. 14. 2).

καὶ τᾶλλα] καὶ here, as often, is placed in the clause which according to our idiom would seem least to require it. So εἶπερ τις καὶ ἄλλος, Σωκράτης, instead of εἶπερ τις ἄλλος, καὶ Σωκράτης. The allusion is to the quest of the golden fleece.

§ 4. τὸν Κόλχον] i. e. the king of Colchis. Cf. τὸν Ἀράβιον, III. 8. 2; ὁ Πέρσης, VII. 116. 1.

ἀπαιτέειν] 'Asked back.' Cf. ἐκδόντες, 3. 3.

§ 5. αὐτοὶ] The nom. is used, as if οἱ δὲ ὑπεκρίναντο had preceded: II. 118. 4, n.

CH. 3. § 1. δευτέρῃ] 'A generation later.' Cf. 13. 5; 82. 6.

ἐπιστάμενον] 122. 1, note.

οὔτε] We should have expected οὐδέ. The use of οὔτε can only be explained by supposing the omission of the corresponding clause. Two opposite points of view are

οὕτω δὲ ἄρπάσαντος αὐτοῦ Ἑλένην, τοῖσι Ἕλλησι δόξαι, 2  
 πρῶτον πέμψαντας ἀγγέλους, ἀπαιτέειν τε Ἑλένην καὶ  
 δίκας τῆς ἀρπαγῆς αἰτέειν. τοὺς δὲ, προῖσχομένων ταῦτα, 3  
 προφέρειν σφι Μηδείης τὴν ἀρπαγὴν· ὥς οὐ δόντες αὐτοὶ  
 δίκας, οὐδὲ ἐκδόντες ἀπαιτεόντων, βουλοίατό σφι παρ' ἄλλων  
 4 δίκας γίνεσθαι. Μέχρι μὲν ὧν τούτου ἀρπαγὰς μούνας εἶναι 1  
 παρ' ἀλλήλων· τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου Ἕλληνας δὴ μεγάλως 2  
 αἰτίους γενέσθαι. προτέρους γὰρ ἄρξαι στρατεύεσθαι ἐς  
 τὴν Ἀσίην ἢ σφέας ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην. τὸ μὲν νυν ἀρπάζειν  
 γυναῖκας, ἀνδρῶν ἀδίκων νομίζειν ἔργον εἶναι· τὸ δὲ ἀρπα-  
 σθαισέων σπουδὴν ποιήσασθαι τιμωρέειν, ἀνοήτων· τὸ δὲ  
 μηδεμίαν ὥρην ἔχειν ἀρπασθαισέων, σωφρόνων. δῆλα γὰρ 3  
 δὴ, ὅτι, εἰ μὴ αὐταὶ ἐβουλέατο, οὐκ ἂν ἥρπάζοντο. σφέας 4  
 μὲν δὴ, τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης, λέγουσι Πέρσαι, ἀρπαζομενέων  
 τῶν γυναικῶν λόγον οὐδένα ποιήσασθαι· Ἕλληνας δὲ Λακε-  
 δαιμονίης εἵνεκεν γυναικὸς στόλον μέγαν συναγεῖραι, καὶ  
 ἔπειτα ἐλθόντας ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην, τὴν Πριάμου δύναμιν κατε-  
 λεῖν. ἀπὸ τούτου αἰεὶ ἠγήσασθαι τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν σφίσι εἶναι  
 πολέμιον. Τὴν γὰρ Ἀσίην καὶ τὰ ἐνοικέοντα ἔθνεα βάρβαρα  
 οἰκειεῦνται οἱ Πέρσαι, τὴν δὲ Εὐρώπην καὶ τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν  
 ἡγῆνται κεχωρίσθαι.

implied all through the story. διδόναι is the imperf. infin. :—‘were not giving,’ the debt being still due.

§ 3. προῖσχομένων] sc. τῶν Ἑλλήνων, the gen. abs. being used instead of the dat. So ἀπαιτεόντων below; μελλόντων, II, 151. 1. After ἐκδόντες supply Μηδείαν. Thus δόντες, ἐκδόντες correspond to αἰτέειν, ἀπαιτέειν above. The second σφι = ἐωντοῖς. Hdt. generally uses σφίσι for the direct and σφι for the indirect reflexive (86. 6, n.). At VII. 149. 2, λέγειν, σφι μὲν εἶναι, prob. σφίσι should be read (so one MS.). The whole of this opening passage has been parodied by Aristoph. (*Ach.* 523—9). Cf. 179. 4; II. 136. 7.

CH. 4. § 2. σφέας] The accus. of the reflexive pronoun instead of the nom. is common in Hdt., e. g. 5. 3; 34. 1. The subject of νομίζειν

is σφέας (the Persians). If σπουδὴν governs ἀρπασθαισέων, τιμωρέειν is added by way of explanation, but ἀρπασθ. is more prob. the gen. abs., so that τιμωρέειν depends directly on σπ. ποιήσασθαι, as if σπουδάξειν had been the verb used.

§ 3. δῆλα] So οἶδά τε, 194. 7; ἀδύνατα (also in Thuc.) 91. 1; βιώσιμα, III. 109. 1; χαλεπά, IX. 2. 2.

§ 4. βάρβαρα] This excludes the Asiatic Greeks. With οἰκειεῦνται, cf. τὴν Ἀσίην πᾶσαν νομίζουσι ἐωντῶν εἶναι Πέρσαι, IX. 116. 6. The Persians (or Hdt.) here seem to be attributing the sentiments of their own time to an earlier age. Compare the terms of the treaties towards the close of the Peloponnesian war: Thuc. VIII. 58. 2; Xen. *Hell.* v. 1. 31.

- 5 Οὕτω μὲν Πέρσαι λέγουσι γενέσθαι, καὶ διὰ τὴν Ἰλίου ἄλωσιν εὐρίσκουσι σφίσι εἶναι τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς ἑχθρῆς τῆς ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας. Περὶ δὲ τῆς Ἰούς οὐκ ὁμολογέουσι Πέρσησι οὕτω Φοίνικες. οὐ γὰρ ἀρπαγῇ σφέας χρησαμένους λέγουσι ἀγαγεῖν αὐτὴν ἐς Αἴγυπτον, ἀλλ' ὥς ἐν τῷ Ἀργεῖ ἐμίσγετο τῷ ναυκλήρῳ τῆς νεός· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔμαθεν ἔγκυος εἶναι, αἰδεομένη τοὺς τοκέας, οὕτω δὲ ἐθελοντὴν αὐτὴν τοῖσι Φοίνιξι συνεκπλῶσαι, ὥς ἂν μὴ κατάδηλος γένηται. ταῦτα μὲν 4 νυν Πέρσαι τε καὶ Φοίνικες λέγουσι. Ἐγὼ δὲ περὶ μὲν 5 τούτων οὐκ ἔρχομαι ἐρέων ὥς οὕτως ἢ ἄλλως κως ταῦτα ἐγένετο· τὸν δὲ οἶδα αὐτὸς πρῶτον ὑπάρξαντα ἀδίκων ἔργων ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας, τοῦτον σημήνας, προβήσομαι ἐς τὸ πρόσω τοῦ λόγου, ὁμοίως σμικρὰ καὶ μεγάλα ἄστεα ἀνθρώπων ἐπεξιῶν. τὰ γὰρ τὸ πάλαι μεγάλα ἦν, τὰ πολλὰ αὐτῶν 6 σμικρὰ γέγονε· τὰ δὲ ἐπ' ἐμεῦ ἦν μεγάλα, πρότερον ἦν σμικρά. τὴν ἀνθρωπητὴν ὦν ἐπιστάμενος εὐδαιμονίην οὐ 7 δαμὰ ἐν τῷ μένουσαν, ἐπιμνήσομαι ἀμφοτέρων ὁμοίως.
- 6 Κροῖσος ἦν Λυδὸς μὲν γένος, παῖς δὲ Ἀλυάττεω, τύραννος ἰ δὲ ἐθνέων τῶν ἐντὸς Ἀλυσος προταμοῦ· ὃς ῥέων ἀπὸ μεσαμ-

CH. 5. § 2. οὐκ ὁμ. Π. οὕτω] 'In this way,' i. e. in the way in which the Persians state the facts. 'We should have expected ταῦτα, as at II. 81. 3.' St.

§ 3. αἰδεομένη τ. τ.] This in meaning belongs to συνεκπλῶσαι, but it is joined in construction with ἔμαθεν, in order that the apodosis may begin with the emphatic idea, οὕτω δὲ ἐθελοντὴν, opposed to ἀρπαγῇ above. ἐθελοντὴν is prob. used adverbially, since ἐθελοντῆς seems to be always masc. Cf. ἀπριάτην, Buttm. *Lexil.*

§ 5. οὐκ ἔρχ. ἐρ.] 'I am not going to say.' (122. 3, n.). τὸν = δν. The reference is to Croesus: cf. 6. 2. ἄστεα ἀνθρ. Hom. *Od.* I. 3, πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων ἶδεν ἄστεα. Hdt. is prob. alluding to his own travels; ἐπεξιῶν implies that as he writes he revisits in thought the different cities.

§ 6. γὰρ] gives the reason for ὁμοίως σμικρὰ καὶ μεγάλα. αὐτῶν 'is less emphatic than τούτων, the contrast lying between μεγάλα and σμικρά. Cf. *ol.* II. 135. 3; 175. 1; Hom. *Il.* I. 218, ὅς κε θεοῖς ἐπιπείθεται, μάλα τ' ἐκλυον αὐτοῦ.' St.

§ 7. ἐπιστάμ. κ.τ.λ.] A favourite sentiment with Hdt. Cf. 32. 2; 207. 4.

CH. 6. § 1. τύραννος] is used to denote the unlimited power of an Oriental king, notwithstanding the hereditary succession (15. 2; 73. 3; 77. 2). At IX. 116. 1, ἐτυράννευε is used of a Persian satrap.

ἐντὸς] On this side of (cf. 174. 4), i. e. to the westward of the H. Hdt. uses the language of a man living on the western coast of Asia Minor. The river is viewed as forming part of the circumference of a circle, of which Halicarnassus or Samos would be the centre.



βρίης μεταξὺ Σύρων καὶ Παφλαγόνων, ἐξίει πρὸς βορέην  
 ἄνεμον ἐς τὸν Εὐξείνου καλεόμενον πόντον. Οὗτος ὁ Κροῖσος 2  
 βαρβάρων πρῶτος, τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν, τοὺς μὲν κατεστρέψατο  
 Ἑλλήνων ἐς φόρου ἀπαγωγὴν, τοὺς δὲ φίλους προσεποιή-  
 σατο. κατεστρέψατο μὲν Ἰωνάς τε καὶ Αἰολέας, καὶ Δωριέας 3  
 τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ· φίλους δὲ προσεποιήσατο Λακεδαιμονίους.  
 πρὸ δὲ τῆς Κροίσου ἀρχῆς πάντες Ἕλληνες ἦσαν ἐλεύθεροι· 4  
 τὸ γὰρ Κιμμερίων στράτευμα τὸ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰωνίην ἀπικόμενον,  
 Κροίσου ἐὼν πρεσβύτερον, οὐ καταστροφὴ ἐγένετο τῶν  
 7 πολίων, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς ἀρπαγῆς. Ἡ δὲ ἡγεμονίη οὕτω 1  
 περιῆλθε, εὐῶσα Ἡρακλειδέων, ἐς τὸ γένος τὸ Κροίσου,  
 καλεομένους δὲ Μερμνάδας. Ἦν Κανδαύλης, τὸν οἱ Ἕλληνες 2  
 Μυρσίλον οὐνομάζουσι, τύραννος Σαρδίων, ἀπόγονος δὲ  
 Ἀλκαίου τοῦ Ἡρακλέος. Ἀγρων μὲν γὰρ ὁ Νίνου, τοῦ 3  
 Βήλου, τοῦ Ἀλκαίου, πρῶτος Ἡρακλειδέων βασιλεὺς ἐγένετο

[Σύρων] i.e. the Cappadocians (72. 1).

[ἐξίει] This form (for ἔησι) is common in Homer (*Il.* I. 479; *XIII.* 444; *Od.* IV. 372).

§ 3. τοὺς ἐν τῇ Α.] belongs only to Δωριέας.

[Λακεδαιμονίους] Ch. 69.

§ 4. Κιμμερίων] See 15. 2; 103. 5; IV. 11.

[ἐξ ἐπιδρ. ἀρπαγῆς] 'A mere raid for plundering' (i.e. not permanent).

CH. 7. § 1. περιῆλθε] So περι-  
 ἰούσα, 120. 7; περιχωρέοι, 210. 4.  
 περι here might imply a reference to  
 the wheel of fortune (cf. κύκλος, 207.  
 4), but the phrase is often used of  
 legitimate succession (e.g. II. 120. 5),  
 in which case each monarch's reign  
 seems to be regarded as a complete  
 cycle or circle, so that the kingship  
 starts afresh at the same point with  
 his successor.

§ 2. Μυρσίλον] Below Can-  
 daules is called the son of Myrsus:  
 hence Myrsilus would seem to be a  
 patronymic of a Latin or Etruscan  
 type, like *Servilius*, *Quintilius*, &c.  
 'This single example is prob. the  
 strongest argument we possess in

favour of the Lydian origin (94. 3)  
 of the Etruscans.' H. C. R. On  
 this view however it is not easy to  
 see why Hdt. says that *the Greeks*  
 called Candaules by the name of  
 Myrsilus. We find a *Myrtilus* in  
 Greek legend (acc. to one story, the  
 son of Hermes), and Hdt. may mean  
 that the legends concerning Can-  
 daules and the Greek Myrtilus are  
 the same. The former is identified  
 with Hermes in a line of Hipponax  
 (about 546, B. C.): Ἑρμῇ κυνάγχα,  
 Μηνοιστὶ Κανδαύλα.

[Σαρδίων] Often put by Hdt. in-  
 stead of Λυδίας. So Thuc. (I. 115)  
 Πισσοῦνθη, ὅς εἶχε Σάρδεις τότε (i.e.  
 the satrapy of Lydia). 'This practice  
 was prob. an imitation of the Per-  
 sian usage, the Persian language hav-  
 ing no letter L.' St.

[Ἡρακλέος] Not necessarily the  
 Greek hero: see II. 43.

§ 3. τοῦ Βήλ., τοῦ Ἀ.] τοῦ in  
 each case belongs to the preceding  
 subst. On the supposed Semitic  
 origin of the Lydians, see Rawlinson,  
*App.* Bk. I. XI. 6; Curtius, *Hist.*  
*Greece* (E. T.) I. 76.

Σαρδίων· Κανδαύλης δὲ ὁ Μύρσου, ἕστατος. οἱ δὲ πρό- 4  
 τερον Ἀγρωνος βασιλεύσαντες ταύτης τῆς χώρας, ἦσαν  
 ἀπόγονοι Λυδοῦ τοῦ Ἀτυος· ἀπ' ὅτεν ὁ δῆμος Λύδιος ἐκλήθη  
 ὁ πᾶς οὗτος, πρότερον Μητίων καλεόμενος. παρὰ τούτων 5  
 Ἡρακλεῖδαι ἐπιτραφθέντες ἔσχον τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκ θεοπροπίου,  
 ἐκ δούλης τε τῆς Ἰαρδάνου γεγονότες καὶ Ἡρακλέος, ἄρ-  
 ξαντες μὲν ἐπὶ δύο τε καὶ εἴκοσι γενεὰς ἀνδρῶν, ἕτεα πέντε τε  
 καὶ πεντακόσια, παῖς παρὰ πατρὸς ἐκδεκόμενος τὴν ἀρχήν,  
 8 μέχρι Κανδαύλεω τοῦ Μύρσου. Οὗτος δὲ ὢν ὁ Κανδαύλης 1  
 ἠράσθη τῆς ἐωυτοῦ γυναικός· ἐρασθεῖς δὲ, ἐνόμιζέ οἱ εἶναι  
 γυναῖκα πολλὸν πασέων καλλίστην ὥς τε δὲ ταῦτα νομίζων· 2  
 ἦν γάρ οἱ τῶν αἰχμοφόρων Γύγης ὁ Δασκύλου ἀρεσκόμενος  
 μάλιστα· τούτῳ τῷ Γύγῃ καὶ τὰ σπουδαιέστερα τῶν πρηγ-  
 μάτων ὑπερετίθετο ὁ Κανδαύλης, καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸ εἶδος τῆς

§ 4. ἀπ' ὅτεν] Cf. 145. 2; 167. 4; II. 46. 4; 99. 7; 100. 3. In these and other passages *ὅστις* seems to be used as simply equivalent to *ὅς*. (Jelf says that *ὅστις* emphasises the subst. = 'that Lydus from whom.') Conversely Hdt. uses the simple relative in indirect questions (56. 2, n.).

οὗτος] 'The present people.' So ταύτας, 75. 4.

πρότ. Μητίων] Even in Homer's time the name *Lydian* is unknown.

§ 5. ἐπιτραφθέντες] sc. τὴν ἀρχήν. The active *ἐπιτρέπω τινι τὴν ἀρχήν* becomes in the passive *ἐπιτρέπεται τις τὴν ἀρχήν*. Compare τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν ἐκκεκομμένος, and the use of the passives, ἀπειλούμαι, ἐπιβουλεύομαι, πιστεύομαι.

ἕτεα πέντε τε καὶ π.] The number of years does not correspond with Hdt.'s own definition of the length of a 'generation' (II. 142. 2): but here he prob. has taken his numbers from an actually existing register or pedigree.

παῖς παρὰ π. ἐκδ.] II. 41. 4, n.

CH. 8. § 1. ἠράσθη] Either = 'had fallen in love with his own wife,' i. e. before he married her, or simply 'was in love with her,' this

ἔρως being mentioned as something unusual in an Oriental despot.

ἐρασθεῖς δὲ] Hdt. is very fond of introducing a second clause by the aorist participle of the preceding verb (19. 2; 189. 3; II. 14. 3; 25. 2).

§ 2. ὥς τε = Attic ἄτε, which Hdt. also uses, as well as οἶα (δή), and οἶα τε.

ἦν γάρ οἱ] The clause containing γάρ is here placed before the clause which it is designed to explain. This Homeric use is very common. See 24. 7, note.

Γύγης] Grote, *H. G.* II. 409, (III. 300).

καὶ δὴ καὶ...ὑπερεπαινέων] This may be explained grammatically by supplying ὑπερετίθετο again (cf. 193. 7; 195. 1). But the passage is a mixture of two constructions. Either (1) the whole participial clause might have been made to correspond in construction (as it does in meaning) with τὰ σπ. τῶν πρ., or (2) the notion of excessive praise might have been expressed by a finite verb. Hdt. at first seems to have intended to make the sentence of the former type, and then to have added ὑπερεπαινέων, in order to make his meaning more clear. Cf. 65. 3.

γυναικὸς ὑπερεπαινέων. χρόνου δὲ οὐ πολλοῦ διελθόντος 3  
 (χρῆν γὰρ Κανδαύλῃ γενέσθαι κακῶς) ἔλεγε πρὸς τὸν Γύγην  
 τοιάδε· “Γύγη, οὐ γάρ σε δοκέω πείθεσθαι μοι λέγοντι περὶ  
 τοῦ εἶδεος τῆς γυναικὸς (ὧτα γὰρ τυγχάνει ἀνθρώποισι  
 ἔοντα ἀπιστότερα ὀφθαλμῶν) ποίειε ὅκως ἐκείνην θεήσεαι  
 γυμνήν.” Ὁ δὲ μέγα ἀμβώσας, εἶπε· “Δέσποτα, τίνα 4  
 λέγεις λόγον οὐκ ὑγίεια, κελεύων με δέσποιναν τὴν ἐμὴν  
 θεήσασθαι γυμνήν; ἅμα δὲ κιθῶνι ἐκδυομένῳ συνεκδύεται  
 καὶ τὴν αἰδῶ γυνή. πάλαι δὲ τὰ καλὰ ἀνθρώποισι ἐξεύ- 5  
 ρηται, ἐκ τῶν μανθάνειν δεῖ· ἐν τοῖσι ἐν τόδε ἐστὶ, σκοπέειν  
 τινὰ τὰ ἐωυτοῦ. ἐγὼ δὲ πείθομαι ἐκείνην εἶναι πασέων 6  
 γυναικῶν καλλίστην· καί σεο δέομαι μὴ δέεσθαι ἀνόμων.”  
 9 Ὁ μὲν δὴ, λέγων τοιαῦτα, ἀπεμάχετο, ἀρρωδέων μὴ τι οἱ ἐξ 1  
 αὐτῶν γένηται κακόν. Ὁ δὲ ἀμείβετο τοῖσδε· “Θάρσει, 2  
 Γύγη· καὶ μὴ φοβεῦ μήτε ἐμέ, ὥς σεο πειρώμενος λέγω λόγον  
 τόνδε· μήτε γυναιῖκα τὴν ἐμὴν, μὴ τι τοι ἐξ αὐτῆς γένηται  
 βλάβος. ἀρχὴν γὰρ ἐγὼ μηχανήσομαι οὕτω, ὥστε μηδὲ 3  
 μαθεῖν μιν ὀφθεῖσαν ὑπὸ σεῦ. ἐγὼ γάρ σε ἐς τὸ οἶκημα, ἐν 4  
 τῷ κοιμώμεθα, ὅπισθε τῆς ἀνοιγομένης θύρης στήσω· μετὰ

§ 3. χρῆν] Possibly the oracle mentioned above (7. 5), contained a prediction as to the downfall of the dynasty (as did the oracle delivered to Gyges, 13. 4). Notice Hdt.'s fatalism. So χρῆν, 120. 1; ἔδεε, II. 161. 3.

§ 4. ὑγίεια] Hom. II. VIII. 524, μῦθος ὃς μὲν νῦν ὑγιῆς εἰρημένος ἐστω.

§ 5. τὰ καλὰ] ‘The things that are right;’ right action of course implying right rules of action.

§ 6. δέομαι μὴ δέεσθαι] See II. 52. 4, note.

CH. 9. § 1. ἀπεμάχετο] ‘Tried to fight clear’ (68. 6, n.).

ἐξ αὐτῶν] The plural might be explained as referring to ἀνόμων above. But Hdt. frequently uses αὐτά vaguely. Cf. 89. 3; 94. 3; 107. 3.

§ 2. λόγον τόνδε] The article is here omitted after the old (epic) fashion, notwithstanding the reference to something already mentioned.

It is also omitted (1) where the pronoun is used δεικτικῶς (= ‘here present’), e. g. γυναῖκα ταύτην, II. 115. 7; τόξον τόδε, III. 21. 5, (2) where the reference is to what follows, e. g. κόσμον τόνδε, I. 99. 2, and (3) where the subst. is a predicate (120. 1, note). St. Pps. τόνδε here is in apposition, = my speech, viz. this.

§ 3. ἀρχήν] ‘To begin with.’ Grammatically ἀρχήν is in apposition with the object of the main verb, that object being often, as here, a notion cognate or equivalent to the verbal notion (οὕτω ὥστε = τοιαύτην μηχανήν ὥστε). Frequently, however, this construction is lost sight of, and ἀρχήν thus becomes a pure adverb (86. 6; 140. 5; II. 28. 1). Compare the use of τέλος (76. 5; 82. 6).

§ 4. τῆς ἀνοιγομένης] Stein says that this is put inaccurately for ἀνοιχθείσης, comparing τοὺς ἀποθνήσκοντας, II. 41. 4; τὸν λεγόμενον,

δ' ἐμέ ἐσελθόντα παρέσται καὶ ἡ γυνὴ ἡ ἐμὴ ἐς κοῖτον.  
 κεῖται δὲ ἀγχοῦ τῆς ἐσόδου θρόνος· ἐπὶ τοῦτον τῶν ἱματίων 5  
 κατὰ ἐν ἑκάστων ἐκδύνουσα θήσει· καὶ κατ' ἡσυχίην πολλὴν  
 παρέξει τοι θεήσασθαι. ἐπεὰν δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ θρόνου στείχη 6  
 ἐπὶ τὴν εὐνὴν, κατὰ νώτου τε αὐτῆς γένη, σοὶ μελέτω τὸ  
 10 ἐνθεῦτεν ὅπως μὴ σε ὄψεται ἰόντα διὰ θυρέων." Ὁ μὲν δὴ, 1  
 ὡς οὐκ ἠδύνατο διαφυγέειν, ἦν ἐτοῖμος. ὁ δὲ Κανδαύλης,  
 ἐπεὶ ἐδόκεε ὥρῃ τῆς κοίτης εἶναι, ἤγαγε τὸν Γύγεα ἐς τὸ  
 οἶκημα· καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀντίκα παρῆν καὶ ἡ γυνή. ἐσελ- 2  
 θούσαν δὲ καὶ τιθεῖσαν τὰ εἴματα ἐθηεῖτο ὁ Γύγης. ὡς δὲ  
 κατὰ νώτου ἐγένετο, ἰούσης τῆς γυναικὸς ἐς τὴν κοίτην,  
 ὑπεκδύς ἐχώρεε ἔξω. καὶ ἡ γυνὴ ἐπορᾷ μιν ἐξιόντα. μι- 3  
 θούσα δὲ τὸ ποιηθὲν ἐκ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς, οὔτε ἀνέβωσεν αἰσχυν-  
 θεῖσα, οὔτε ἔδοξε μαθεῖν, ἐν νόῳ ἔχουσα τίσεσθαι τὸν  
 Κανδαύλεα. παρὰ γὰρ τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι, σχεδὸν δὲ καὶ παρὰ  
 τοῖσι ἄλλοισι βαρβάροισι, καὶ ἄνδρα ὀφθῆναι γυμνὸν, ἐς  
 11 αἰσχύνην μεγάλην φέρει. Τότε μὲν δὴ οὕτω, οὐδὲν δηλώσασα, 1  
 ἡσυχίην εἶχε· ὡς δὲ ἡμέρη τάχιστα ἐγεγόνεε, τῶν οἰκετέων  
 τοὺς μάλιστα ὥρα πιστοὺς ἔοντας ἑωυτῇ, ἐτοίμους ποιη-  
 σαμένη, ἐκάλεε τὸν Γύγεα. Ὁ δὲ οὐδὲν δοκέων αὐτὴν τῶν 2

I. 134. 4. But in both these passages the tense can be justified and here perhaps it is meant to refer to the gradual opening of the door: = 'behind the door that opens as we enter.'

μετὰ δ' ἐμέ ἐσελθόντα] See II. 129. 3.

§ 5. κατὰ ἐν ἑκάστων] This is not a case of tmesis (κατὰ—θήσει, cf. 66. 1; 194. 6), but κατὰ has its distributive sense, notwithstanding the addition of ἑκάστων (cf. 54. 1; 196. 3). The whole phrase τῶν ἱμ. κατὰ ἐν ἑκάστων thus takes the place of an accusative after θήσει. So ἡ τοῦ οἰκοδήματος ἐπὶ μέγα κατέσεισε, Thuc. II. 76. 4.

παρέξει] here might have γυνή for its nom., and γνωμή might be the nom. of παρείχε, 170. 1. But in other passages (III. 73. 1; 142. 3) the verb must be taken impersonally. So

δηλοῖ, II. 117. 1; διέδεξε, II. 134. 4.

CH. 10. § 1. Γύγεα] Above (8. 3), we have Γύγην, but compare δεσπότης, II. 7; Ἀράξεια, 205. 3 (we have Ἀράξεω, 202, 7).

§ 3. οὔτε ἔδοξε μαθ.] 'Dissimulavit se animadvertisse,' Gaisf. In the following sentence Hdt. is tacitly contrasting Greek sentiment with barbarian, but prob. in the age of Gyges the views of Greeks and barbarians would have been alike on this point. Thuc. I. 6. 5; Plat. Rep. 452 C, οὐ πολλὸς χρόνος ἐξ οὗ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐδόκει αἰσχροῦ εἶναι καὶ γελοῖα, ἅπερ νῦν τοῖς πολλοῖς τῶν βαρβάρων γυμνοὺς ἄνδρας ὁρᾶσθαι.

CH. 11. § 1. οὕτω] 'In the way I have said.'

ἐκάλεε] So below, ἔλεγε, ἐπειρώτα, the imperfect in each case implying that the action took time. This mode of referring to a period

πρηχθέντων ἐπίστασθαι, ἦλθε καλεόμενος· ἐώθεε γὰρ καὶ πρόσθε, ὅπως ἡ βασιλεία καλέοι, φοιτᾶν. ὥς δὲ ὁ Γύγης 3 ἀπίκητο, ἔλεγε ἡ γυνὴ τάδε· “Νῦν τοι δυῶν παρευρέων, Γύγη, δίδωμι αἵρεσιν, ὅκοτέρην βούλει τραπέσθαι· ἡ γὰρ Κανδαύlea ἀποκτείνας, ἐμέ τε καὶ τὴν βασιλητὴν ἔχε τὴν Λυδῶν, ἡ αὐτὸν σὲ αὐτίκα οὕτω ἀποθνήσκειν δεῖ· ὥς ἂν μὴ, πάντα πειθόμενος Κανδαύλῃ, τοῦ λοιποῦ ἴδῃς τὰ μὴ σε δεῖ· ἀλλ’ ἦτοι κεῖνόν γε τὸν ταῦτα βουλευσάντα δεῖ ἀπόλλυσθαι, 4 ἡ σὲ τὸν ἐμὲ γυμνὴν θηησάμενον καὶ ποιήσαντα οὐ νομιζόμενα.” Ὁ δὲ Γύγης τέως μὲν ἀπεθώμαζε τὰ λεγόμενα· 5 μετὰ δὲ ἰκέτευε μὴ μιν ἀναγκαίῃ ἐνδεῖν διακρίναι τοιαύτην αἵρεσιν. οὐκ ὦν δὴ ἔπειθε, ἀλλ’ ὥρα ἀναγκαίην ἀληθέως 6 προκειμένην, ἡ τὸν δεσπότεα ἀπολλύναι, ἡ αὐτὸν ὑπ’ ἄλλων ἀπόλλυσθαι· αἰρέεται αὐτὸς περιεῖναι. ἐπειρώτα δὴ λέγων 7 τάδε· “Ἐπεὶ με ἀναγκάζεις δεσπότεα τὸν ἐμὸν κτείνειν, οὐκ ἐθέλοντα, φέρε ἀκούσω τέφ καὶ τρόπῳ ἐπιχειρήσομεν

when the action was still incomplete heightens the description.

§ 2. ὅπως] = ὅποτε, a common use.

§ 3. δυῶν] There is some MS. authority for δυοῖν here and at 91. 6. But Hdt. hardly ever uses the dual. If ὁδῶν be not actually read (so most edd.), it must be mentally supplied, as implied in ὅκοτέρην τράπεσθαι. Cf. οὐ τρέπεται ἐπὶ ψευδέα ὁδόν, 117. 2.

αὐτίκα οὕτω] ‘Now and here.’ ‘Videtur digito monstrasse satellites ad obtruncandum, si conditionem recusaret, paratos.’ Schw.

τοῦ λοιποῦ] ‘Another time.’

§ 5. τέως μὲν... μετὰ δέ] 11. 93. 8, n. μιν is reflexive, ‘but only an indirect reflexive,’ Kr. Cf. 45. 1; 86. 6, n.

ἀναγκαίῃ. ἐνδεῖν] Hom. 11. 11. 111, Ζεὺς με μέγα Κρονίδης ἀτῇ ἐνέδησε βαρεῖν.

§ 6. οὐκ ὦν δὴ—περιεῖναι] ‘It is a peculiarity of Hdt. that when he wishes to express a negative motive, he prefixes it co-ordinately with οὐκῶν to the consequences which result from it, while the sentence expressing these consequences is not connected by any conjunction, being

referred back to the οὐν in οὐκῶν.’ Jelf. G. G. 752. 3. Thus αἰρέεται is not an ordinary instance of asyndeton. Cf. 59. 4; 206. 2. Stein thinks that in these and other passages οὐκ ὦν has an adversative force (= *nec tamen, nec vero*). Cf. 11. 139. 3; οὐδὲ ὦν οὐδέ, 11. 134. 2. It would prob. be more true to say that the Greek idiom leaves the opposition to be inferred from the context.

§ 7. τέφ καὶ τρ.] The exact force of καὶ in these interrogative clauses has been disputed. Acc. to Hermann (*ad Viger.* 320), it implies a doubt about the matter in question. ‘Qui τί χρὴ καὶ λέγειν interrogat, is non solum *quid*, sed etiam *an aliquid* dicendum sit dubitat.’ More prob. καὶ emphasises the term to which it is prefixed as being the particular point, about which one requires to have information (Krüg.), and this explanation certainly suits the present passage well: ‘seeing thou constrainest me to kill my lord against my will, come, let me hear next what is to be the way wherein we shall lay hands upon him.’

αὐτῷ." Ἡ δὲ ὑπολαβούσα ἔφη· "Ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ μὲν χωρίου 8  
 ἡ ὁρμὴ ἔσται, ὅθεν περ καὶ ἐκεῖνος ἐμὲ ἐπεδέξατο γυμνὴν·  
 12 ὑπνωμένῳ δὲ ἡ ἐπιχείρησις ἔσται." Ὡς δὲ ἤρτυσαν τὴν 1  
 ἐπιβουλήν, νυκτὸς γινομένης (οὐ γὰρ μετίετο ὁ Γύγης, οὐδέ  
 οἱ ἦν ἀπαλλαγὴ οὐδεμία, ἀλλὰ ἔδεε ἡ αὐτὸν ἀπολωλέναι ἡ  
 Κανδαύλεα) εἶπετο ἐς τὸν θάλαμον τῇ γυναικί. καί μιν 2  
 ἐκείνη, ἐγχειρίδιον δοῦσα, κατακρύπτει ὑπὸ τὴν αὐτὴν θύρην.  
 καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα, ἀναπαυομένου Κανδαύλεω, ὑπείσδύς τε καὶ 3  
 ἀποκτείνας αὐτὸν, ἔσχε καὶ τὴν γυναιῖκα καὶ τὴν βασιλητὴν  
 Γύγης· (τοῦ καὶ Ἀρχίλοχος ὁ Πάριος, κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον  
 13 γένόμενος, ἐν ἰάμβῳ τριμέτρῳ ἐπεμνήσθη.) Ἔσχε δὲ τὴν 1  
 βασιλητὴν καὶ ἐκρατύνθη ἐκ τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖσι χρηστηρίου.  
 ὥς γὰρ δὴ οἱ Λυδοὶ δεινὸν ἐποιεῦντο τὸ Κανδαύλεω πάθος 2  
 καὶ ἐν ὅπλοισι ἦσαν, συνέβησαν ἐς τὸν οἶον τε τοῦ Γύγεω  
 στασιῶται καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ Λυδοί, ἦν μὲν δὴ τὸ χρηστήριον  
 ἀνέλη μιν βασιλέα εἶναι Λυδῶν, τὸν δὲ βασιλεύειν· ἦν δὲ  
 μὴ, ἀποδοῦναι ὀπίσω ἐς Ἡρακλείδαν τὴν ἀρχήν. ἀνεῖλέ τε 3  
 δὴ τὸ χρηστήριον, καὶ ἐβασίλευσεν οὕτω Γύγης. τοσόνδε 4  
 μέντοι εἶπε ἡ Πυθίη, ὥς Ἡρακλείδῃσι τίσις ἦξει ἐς τὸν  
 πέμπτον ἀπόγονον Γύγεω. τούτου τοῦ ἔπεος Λυδοί τε καὶ 5  
 οἱ βασιλεῖς αὐτῶν λόγον οὐδένα ἐποιεῦντο, πρὶν δὲ ἐπε-  
 τελέσθῃ.

CH. 12. § 3. τοῦ καὶ...ἐπεμνή-  
 σθη] These words have been sus-  
 pected, partly because they interfere  
 with the run of the sentence (ἔσχε...  
 καὶ τὴν βασιλητὴν Γύγης· ἔσχε δὲ τὴν  
 βασ. κ.τ.λ.), partly because ἐν ἰάμβῳ  
 τριμέτρῳ is too 'technical an ex-  
 pression,' (St.) for Hdt., who else-  
 where (174. 6) uses the phrase ἐν  
 τριμέτρῳ τόνῳ. A line of Archilo-  
 chus about Gyges is extant: οὐ μοι  
 τὰ Γύγεω τοῦ πολυχρύσου μέλει (cf.  
 Aristot. *Rhet.* III. 17. 16). Other  
 fragments imply that Archilochus  
 was a contemporary of Ardys (see  
 Müll. *Gr. Lit.* I. 179), but the words  
 κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον are not incon-  
 sistent with this.

CH. 13. § 2. τὸν δὲ] See 113.  
 2, n; II. 39. 3.

§ 3. ἐβασίλευσεν] 'Became king.'  
 Lit. 'was (thenceforth) king,' the  
 aorist denoting an instantaneous  
 change. So τυραννεύσας (14. 1) = 'as  
 soon as he had become despot,' and  
 is thus not the same as τυραννεύων.  
 Cf. ἡγήσαντο, 95. 2; οὐδεὶς εὐρεθήσε-  
 ται κάλλιον λαβῶν Εὐαγόρου τὴν  
 βασιλείαν, εἰ ἐξετάζειν τις ἐπιχειρήσει  
 ὅπως ἕκαστος ἐτυράννευσεν, Isocr.  
*Euag.* 44.

§ 5. ἔπεος] Used in a special  
 sense, = χρηστηρίου. Cf. ἔπεα, ἔπος,  
 VII. 142. 7; 143. 2. 'The oracle  
 probably ran:—πεμπτὴν δ' εἰς γενέην  
 ἦξει τίσις Ἡρακλείδαις.' St. Croesus  
 is not the πεμπτὸς ἀπόγονος, unless  
 we count Gyges himself as the first,  
 acc. to the common Greek idiom.  
 See 91. 2, and 49. 1, note.

14 Τὴν μὲν δὴ τυραννίδα οὕτω ἔσχον οἱ Μερμνάδαι, τοὺς 1  
 Ἡρακλείδας ἀπελόμενοι. Γύγης δὲ τυραννεύσας ἀπέπεμψε 2  
 ἀναθήματα ἐς Δελφοὺς οὐκ ὀλίγα. ἀλλ' ὅσα μὲν ἀργύρου 3  
 ἀναθήματα, ἔστι οἱ πλεῖστα ἐν Δελφοῖσι· πάρεξ δὲ τοῦ  
 ἀργύρου, χρυσὸν ἄπλετον ἀνέθηκεν ἄλλον τε καὶ, τοῦ μάλιστα  
 μνήμην ἄξιον ἔχειν ἐστὶ, κρητῆρές οἱ ἀριθμὸν ἕξ χρύσειοι  
 ἀνακέαται. ἐστῶσι δὲ οὗτοι ἐν τῷ Κορινθίων θησαυρῷ, 4  
 σταθμὸν ἔχοντες τριήκοντα τάλαντα· ἀληθείᾳ δὲ λόγῳ χρεω-  
 μένῳ οὐ Κορινθίων τοῦ δημοσίου ἐστὶν ὁ θησαυρὸς, ἀλλὰ  
 Κυψέλου τοῦ Ἡελίωνος. Οὗτος δὲ ὁ Γύγης πρῶτος βαρ- 5  
 βάρων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν, ἐς Δελφοὺς ἀνέθηκε ἀναθήματα,  
 μετὰ Μίδην τὸν Γορδίου, Φρυγίης βασιλέα. ἀνέθηκε γὰρ 6  
 δὴ καὶ Μίδης τὸν βασιλῆϊον θρόνον, ἐς τὸν προκατίζων  
 ἐδίκαζε, ἔοντα ἀξιοθέητον. κεῖται δὲ ὁ θρόνος οὗτος ἔνθα  
 περ οἱ τοῦ Γύγεω κρητῆρες. ὁ δὲ χρυσὸς οὗτος καὶ ὁ 7  
 ἄργυρος, τὸν ὁ Γύγης ἀνέθηκε, ὑπὸ Δελφῶν καλέεται Γυγάδας  
 ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀναθέντος ἐπωνυμίην. Ἐσέβαλε μὲν νυν στρατιὴν 8  
 καὶ οὗτος, ἐπεὶ τε ἦρξε, ἔς τε Μίλητον καὶ ἐς Σμύρνην, καὶ

CH. 14. § 2. ἀπέπεμψε] Pps. not simply 'sent away,' but 'sent back,' ἀπ- implying that the offerings were *due* in return for the decision of the oracle (13. 3). So ἀπέδωκε = gave back, paid as a debt, II. 154. 2.

§ 3. ἀλλ' ὅσα μὲν κ.τ.λ.] ἀλλὰ is used because of οὐκ ὀλίγα above ('not few, *but*,' where we should say 'not few, *for*'). Tr. 'on the contrary, while of all the silver offerings he has most (i.e. more than any one else) at Delphi, besides the silver he offered an immense quantity of gold; among other things—and it is a gift which most of all deserves to be remembered—golden bowls, six in number, are laid up there as offerings of his.' The antecedent of τοῦ is the verbal notion implied in the clause κρητῆρές οἱ κ.τ.λ.

ἀνακέαται = ἀνατίθενται. We should have expected κρητῆρας ἀνέθηκε, but the construction is changed.

§ 4. ἐν τῷ Κ. Θ.] There were several of these θησαυροί at Delphi (Κλαζομενίων θ., 51. 2; Σιφνίων θ.,

III. 57. 2).

χρεωμένῳ] sc. τῷ. This dat. (of relation) denotes the point of view. It is used (1) in describing a locality (e. g. ἐν δεξιά ἐσπλέοντι, ἐκβάντι), (2) in depicting a mental attitude (e. g. σκοπούμενῳ, συνελόντι, παραλιπόντι).

§ 6. ἐς τὸν] ἐς, because the rest implies previous motion: cf. 199. 1.

προκατίζων] 'sitting in public.' Cf. προεῖπε, 21. 3; ὅτι ἂν προγράψωμεν ἐν τοῖς πινακίοις, 'whatever public notices we put up,' Ar. Av. 450.

§ 7. Γυγάδας] A Doric form, like καιάδας, the name of the underground cavern at Sparta (Thuc. I. 134. 6).

ἐπωνυμίην is the accus. of cognate notion (= κλήσιν) after καλέεται.

§ 8. καὶ οὗτος] As well as Cræsus (6. 2). Or καὶ may anticipate the invasions of the later Lydian kings, as related below.

ἐπεὶ τε] By Hdt., as by Homer



- Κολοφῶνος τὸ ἄστυ εἶλε. ἀλλ' οὐδὲν γὰρ μέγα ἔργον 9  
 ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἄλλο ἐγένετο βασιλεύσαντος δυῶν δέοντα τεσσε-  
 ράκοντα ἔτεα, τοῦτον μὲν παρήσομεν τοσαῦτα ἐπιμνησθέντες.
- 15 Ἄρδυος δὲ τοῦ Γύγεω μετὰ Γύγην βασιλεύσαντος μνήμην 1  
 ποιήσομαι, οὗτος δὲ Πριηνέας τε εἶλε, ἐς Μιλητόν τε  
 ἐσέβαλε. ἐπὶ τούτου τε τυραννέοντος Σαρδίων Κιμμέριοι 2  
 ἐξ ἡθέων ὑπὸ Σκυθέων τῶν Νομάδων ἐξαναστάντες ἀπικέατο  
 ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην καὶ Σάρδεις πλὴν τῆς ἀκροπόλιος εἶλον.
- 16 Ἄρδυος δὲ βασιλεύσαντος ἐνὸς δέοντα πεντήκοντα ἔτεα, 1  
 ἐξεδέξατο Σαδυάττης ὁ Ἄρδυος, καὶ ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτεα δυώ-  
 δεκα Σαδυάττεω δὲ, Ἀλυάττης. Οὗτος δὲ Κυαξάρη τε τῷ 2  
 Δηϊόκεω ἀπογόνῳ ἐπολέμησε, καὶ Μήδοισι, Κιμμερίους τε  
 ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας ἐξήλασε, Σμύρνην τε τὴν ἀπὸ Κολοφῶνος  
 κτισθεῖσαν εἶλε, ἐς Κλαζομενάς τε ἐσέβαλε. ἀπὸ μὲν νυν 3  
 τούτων οὐκ ὡς ἡθελε ἀπήλλαξε, ἀλλὰ προσπταίσας μεγάλως.  
 ἄλλα δὲ ἔργα ἀπεδέξατο ἐὼν ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ ἀξιαπηγητότατα 4
- 17 τάδε. Ἐπολέμησε Μιλησίοισι, παραδεξάμενος τὸν πόλεμον 1  
 παρὰ τοῦ πατρός. ἐπελαύνων γὰρ ἐπολιόρκεε τὴν Μίλητον 2

and the lyric poets, *τε* is often used where later idioms would discard it. Thus we have *δσον τε*, 126. 1; *ὥστε* (= *ὡς* or *ἄτε*) 8. 2; *οἶά τε*, 93. 1; *δκως τε*, II. 108. 4. In meaning 'it does little more than intimate the correspondency of the clauses which it accompanies, and in its use it almost exclusively accompanies other particles which connect protasis and apodosis or other parallel members of the sentence.' *Madv. G. S. App.* 227. Attic prose has retained *ὥσει τε*, *ἔστε*, *ἄτε*, *ἐφ' ὧ τε*.

τὸ ἄστυ] 'The city (probably not the citadel).' *Grote*. In its strict sense *ἄστυ* is opposed to *πόλις*, as *υἱὸς* to *αἰχ* (176. 1). Cf. *πλὴν τῆς ἀκροπόλιος*, 15. 2.

§ 9. ἀλλ' οὐδὲν γὰρ] See 8. 1, n. ἀπ' αὐτοῦ] ἀπὸ (like ἐκ) denotes the agent.

CH. 15. § 1. Ἄρδυος] B. C. 678—620.

§ 2. τυραννέοντος] Substituted for *βασιλεύσαντος* above (6. 1. n.).

Κιμμέριοι] *Grote H. G.* II. 430 (III. 335) foll.

Σάρδεις] Notice the Ionic form of the accus. plur. So *πόλεις*, *ὄψεις*.

CH. 16. § 1. Σαδυάττης] B. C. 629—617. The MS. in the British Museum reads *Σαρδυάττης* in both passages in this ch., but *Σαδυάττης* in ch. 18 (Long). The name may thus possibly be 'connected with *Sardis*, as *Ἀλυάττης* is with *Ἄλυσ*.' *Blakesley*.

Σαδυάττεω] Supply *βασιλεύσαντος*, but see II. 112. 1.

§ 2. Κυαξάρη] Chs. 73, 74.

Κ. τε.....καὶ Μήδοισι] (*Cyaxares* being king of the *Medes*): cf. 21. 1; 27. 2; 106. 2; *Caesar, B. G.* VI. 12, *Germanos atque Ariovistum* (St.).

ἀπὸ] 'From,' not 'by.' *Schw.* compares the force of the prep. in *ἀποικία*.

Κολοφῶνος] Ch. 150.

§ 3. τούτων] sc. τῶν Κλαζομενίων, by metonymy for *τούτεων* (sc. *Κλαζομενέων*): cf. 151. 2; II. 90. 1. St.



τρόπῳ τοιῶδε· ὅπως μὲν εἶη ἐν τῇ γῇ καρπὸς ἀδρὺς, τηνικαῦτα ἐσέβαλλε τὴν στρατιήν. ἐστρατεύετο δὲ ὑπὸ συρύγγων 3  
 τε καὶ πηκτίδων καὶ αὐλοῦ γυναικῆτος τε καὶ ἀνδρηῆτος. ὥς 4  
 δὲ ἐς τὴν Μιλησίην ἀπῆκοιτο, οἰκήματα μὲν τὰ ἐπὶ τῶν  
 ἀγρῶν οὔτε κατέβαλλε, οὔτε ἐνεπίμπρη, οὔτε θύρας ἀπέσπα,  
 ἕα δὲ κατὰ χώραν ἐστάναι· ὁ δὲ τὰ τε δένδρεα καὶ τὸν  
 καρπὸν τὸν ἐν τῇ γῇ ὅπως διαφθείρειε ἀπαλλάσσετο ὀπίσω.  
 τῆς γὰρ θαλάσσης οἱ Μιλήσιοι ἐπεκράτεον, ὥστε ἐπέδρης 5  
 μὴ εἶναι ἔργον τῇ στρατιῇ. τὰς δὲ οἰκίας οὐ κατέβαλλε 6  
 ὁ Λυδὸς τῶνδε εἵνεκα, ὅπως ἔχοιεν ἐνθεῦτεν ὀρμεώμενοι τὴν  
 γῆν σπείρειν τε καὶ ἐργάζεσθαι οἱ Μιλήσιοι, αὐτὺς δὲ,  
 18 ἐκείνων ἐργαζομένων, ἔχοι τι καὶ σίνεσθαι ἐσβάλλων. Ταῦτα 1  
 ποιέων, ἐπολέμεε ἕτεα ἔνδεκα· ἐν τοῖσι τρώματα μεγάλα  
 διφάσια Μιλησίων ἐγένετο, ἐν τε Λιμενητῷ χώρῃ τῆς σφε-  
 τέρῃς μαχεσαμένων καὶ ἐν Μαιάνδρου πεδίῳ. τὰ μὲν νυν ἐξ 2  
 ἕτεα τῶν ἔνδεκα Σαδυάττης ὁ Ἄρδυος ἔτι Λυδῶν ἦρχε, ὁ καὶ  
 ἐσβάλλων τηνικαῦτα ἐς τὴν Μιλησίην τὴν στρατιήν (Σαδυ-

CH. 17. § 2. ἐπελ. γάρ] γάρ explains τὰδε above, as if there had been no intervening sentence, and τὰδε itself is repeated by τρόπῳ τοιῶδε below. The point of the story is thus delayed, to heighten the interest. Cf. 31. 2.

ὅπως] II. 2, note.

§ 3. ὑπὸ] VII. 22. 2, ὠρυσσον ὑπὸ μαστίγων. Thuc. V. 70, χωροῦντες ὑπὸ αὐλητῶν.

γυν. τε καὶ ἀνδρ.] i. e. prob. 'treble and bass, corresponding to the ordinary sexual difference in the human voice. The corresponding Latin terms are *tibia dextra* and *sinistra*.' Smith's *Dict. Ant.*

§ 4. κατὰ χώραν] = ἀκίνητα. Cf. φόρους, οἱ κατὰ χώραν διατελέουσι ἔχοντες, 'continue as they were,' VI. 42. 3.

ὁ δὲ] See 107. 4, n.

ὅπως διαφθ.] As the destruction of the crops was the important thing, we should have expected this notion to be expressed by a main verb. So at 100, 2, instead of ὅπως μεταπέμψαιτο, we should have ex-

pected μετεπέμπετο καὶ κ.τ.λ.

§ 5. ἔργον = προῦργου (cf. πρῆγμα, 79. 1), or rather it combines the two ideas,—work and the results of work: = they did not take the trouble and it would have been no good if they had done so.

§ 6. ὁ Λυδός] See 2. 4, n.

καὶ σίνεσθαι] 'Something to damage as well.' He was not content with the mere invasion.

CH. 18. § 1. ἐπολέμεε] sc. ὁ Λυδός, a common term which denotes both Sadyattes and Alyattes (§ 2).

ἕτεα ἔνδεκα] B. C. 623—612.

§ 2] τὰ μὲν νυν ἐξ] Cf. 142. 6; 166. 4; II. 20. 1; 107. 3; 157. 1. 'The article is used, because the part of a definite whole (here eleven) is itself also definite.' Ab. 'The predicating of anything as to any one part of a number implies that the opposite to it may be predicated of the remainder, and thus the number is divided into two distinct parts, each of which is clearly defined and may have the article affixed to it.' Arnold's *Thuc.* I. 116. 1.

άττης γὰρ οὗτος καὶ ὁ τὸν πόλεμον ἦν συνάψας)· τὰ δὲ  
 πέντε τῶν ἐτέων τὰ ἐπόμενα τοῖσι ἐξ Ἀλυάττης ὁ Σαδυάττεω  
 ἐπολέμεε, ὃς παραδεξάμενος (ὥς καὶ πρότερόν μοι δεδήλωται)  
 παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς τὸν πόλεμον, προσεῖχε ἐντεταμένως. τοῖσι 3  
 δὲ Μιλησίοισι οὐδαμοὶ Ἰώνων τὸν πόλεμον τοῦτον συνεπε-  
 λάφρυνον, ὅτι μὴ Χῖοι μῦνοι. οὗτοι δὲ τὸ ὁμοῖον ἀνταπο- 4  
 διδόντες ἐτιμώρεον· καὶ γὰρ δὴ πρότερον οἱ Μιλήσιοι τοῖσι  
 19 Χίοισι τὸν πρὸς Ἐρυθραίους πόλεμον συνδιήνεικαν. Τῷ δὲ 1  
 δυωδεκάτῳ ἔτει ληΐου ἐμπιπραμένου ὑπὸ τῆς στρατιῆς,  
 συνηνείχθη τι τοιόνδε γενέσθαι πρῆγμα· ὥς ἄφθη τάχιστα  
 τὸ λῆϊον, ἀνέμῳ βιώμενον ἄψατο νηοῦ Ἀθηναίης ἐπὶ κλησιν  
 Ἀσσησίης. ἀφθεῖς δὲ ὁ νηὸς κατεκαύθη. καὶ τὸ παραντίκα 2,3  
 μὲν λόγος οὐδεὶς ἐγένετο· μετὰ δὲ, τῆς στρατιῆς ἀπικομένης  
 ἐς Σάρδεις, ἐνόσησε ὁ Ἀλυάττης. μακροτέρης δὲ οἱ γενομένης 4  
 τῆς νόσου, πέμπει ἐς Δελφοὺς θεοπρόπους, εἴτε δὴ συμβου-  
 λεύσαντός τευ, εἴτε καὶ αὐτῷ ἔδοξε πέμψαντα τὸν θεὸν  
 ἐπείρεσθαι περὶ τῆς νόσου. τοῖσι δὲ ἡ Πυθίη ἀπικομένοισι 5  
 ἐς Δελφοὺς οὐκ ἔφη χρήσειν, πρὶν ἢ τὸν νηὸν τῆς Ἀθηναίης  
 ἀνορθώσωσι, τὸν ἐνέπρησαν χώρας τῆς Μιλησίης ἐν Ἀσσησῶ.  
 20 Δελφῶν οἶδα ἐγὼ οὕτω ἀκούσας γενέσθαι. Μιλήσιοι δὲ 1,2

§ 3. ὅτι μὴ] This phrase arose from the use of οὐδὲν ὃ τι μὴ, e. g. οὐδὲν ἐποίησεν ὃ τι μὴ τοῦτο, and by transposition, ὃ τι μὴ Ἀθῆναι, ἦν οὐδὲν ἄλλο πόλισμα λόγιμον (I 43. 2), lit. 'there was none other town of note, that was not Athens.' ὃ τι μὴ having thus obtained the meaning of *nisi* (εἰ μὴ), is used in sentences, where it cannot have its proper construction (Herm. *ad Viger.* 347).

CH. 19. § 1. ὥς ἄφθη κ. τ. λ.] 'As soon as ever the corn had caught fire, it was carried by a violent wind, and set fire to the temple of Athene, who is surnamed of Assessus.' The middle form ἄψατο is used of the burning material which 'fastened on' the temple: the active would have been used if some *person* had been the subject of the verb. Cf. VIII. 52. 1. Hdt. omits the temporal augment much more frequently than

the syllabic:—almost invariably (1) where the verb begins with a diphthong (οἰχοντο, 48. 1; παραίνεσε, 80. 4), (2) where the form -σκον is used (ἀγεσκον, I 48. 1; ἄρδεσκε, III. 117. 3; ἔχεσκε, VI. 12. 1).

ἐπὶ κλησιν (sc. ἐούσης, cf. ἐὼν ἡλικίην, 26. 1; μέγαθος ἐούσα, 178. 3) is virtually an adverb.

§ 4. ἔδοξε] Notice the change of construction. Similar instances occur after οὕτε—τε, 59. 7; τε—καί, 85. 2; 129. 1; οὐ—ἀλλά, II. 138. 1; ἅμα μὲν—ἅμα δέ, VI. 13. 2.

§ 5. πρὶν ἢ] In Attic prose we should prob. have had *ἄν* (as at 30. 12; 82. 7), and not *ἦ*, but this is no reason for reading ἀνορθώσουσι. Cf. 136. 2; 199. 5.

CH. 20. § 1. Δελφῶν] The asyndeton emphasises Δελφῶν, thus marking the opposition to Μιλήσιοι below. Cf. II. 7. 3.

τάδε προστίθεισι τούτοις· Περίανδρον τὸν Κυνφέλου, ἔοντα  
 Θρασυβούλῳ τῷ τότε Μιλήτου τυραννεύοντι ξεῖνον ἐς τὰ  
 μάλιστα, πυθόμενον τὸ χρηστήριον τὸ τῷ Ἀλυάττῃ γενό-  
 μενον, πέμψαντα ἄγγελον κατεῖπεῖν, ὅπως ἂν τι προειδὼς  
 πρὸς τὸ παρεὸν βουλευῆται. Μιλήσιοι μὲν νυν οὕτω λέγουσι 3  
 21 γενέσθαι. Ἀλυάττης δὲ, ὥς οἱ ταῦτα ἐξηγγέλθη, αὐτίκα 1  
 ἔπεμπε κήρυκα ἐς Μίλητον, βουλόμενος σπονδὰς ποιήσασθαι  
 Θρασυβούλῳ τε καὶ Μιλησίοις χρόνον ὅσον ἂν τὸν νηὸν  
 οἰκοδομή. ὁ μὲν δὲ ἀπόστολος ἐς τὴν Μίλητον ἦν· Θρασύ- 2  
 βουλος δὲ σαφέως προπεπυσμένος πάντα λόγον, καὶ εἰδὼς  
 τὰ Ἀλυάττης μέλλοι ποιήσειν, μηχανᾶται τοιάδε. ὅσος ἦν 3  
 ἐν τῷ ἄστει σίτος καὶ ἐωυτοῦ καὶ ἰδιωτικὸς, τοῦτον πάντα  
 συγκομίσας ἐς τὴν ἀγορὴν, προεῖπε Μιλησίοις, ἐπεὰν αὐτὸς  
 22 σημήνῃ, τότε πίνειν τε πάντας καὶ κώμῳ χρέεσθαι ἐς ἀλλή- 1  
 λους. Ταῦτα δὲ ἐποίεε τε καὶ προηγόρευε Θρασύβουλος 1  
 τῶνδε εἵνεκεν, ὅπως ἂν δὴ ὁ κῆρυξ ὁ Σαρδιηνὸς, ἰδὼν τὸ  
 σωρὸν μέγαν σίτου κεχυμένον, καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐν εἴπα-  
 θείησι ἔοντας, ἀγγείλῃ Ἀλυάττῃ. τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐγένετο. ὥς 2  
 γὰρ δὴ ἰδὼν τε ἐκεῖνα ὁ κῆρυξ καὶ εἰπας πρὸς Θρασύβουλον  
 τὰς ἐντολὰς τοῦ Λυδοῦ, ἀπῆλθε ἐς τὰς Σάρδεις, ὥς ἐγὼ  
 πυνθάνομαι, δι' οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἐγένετο ἢ διαλλαγή. ἐλπίζων 3  
 γὰρ ὁ Ἀλυάττης σιτοδείην τε εἶναι ἰσχυρὴν ἐν τῇ Μιλήτῳ  
 καὶ τὸν λεὼν τετρύσθαι ἐς τὸ ἔσχατον κακοῦ, ἤκουε τοῦ  
 κήρυκος νοστήσαντος ἐκ τῆς Μιλήτου τοὺς ἐναντίους λόγους

§ 2. ὅπως ἂν τι] τι belongs to βουλευῆται, the nom. to which is Thrasybulus.

CH. 21. § 1. ταῦτα] refers to 19. 5.

§ 2. ἀπόστολος] is predicate, ἀπόστ. ἦν being equivalent to ἀπεσταλμένος ἦν. Cf. V. 38. 2, ἐς Λακεδαίμονα τριήρεϊ ἀπόστολος ἐγένετο (= ἀπεστέλλετο).

πάντα λόγον] 'Every word.' Or it may = τὸν πάντα λόγον (III. 8); πάντα τὸν λόγον (II. 123. 1). Cf. οἶκος πᾶς, 'the whole house,' III. 4; παντὶ στόλῳ, V. 46. 2; and the omission of the article with οὗτος (9. 2, n.).

§ 3. κώμῳ χρέεσθαι = κωμάζειν, as ἀρπαγῇ χρησαμένους (5. 3) = ἀρπάσαντας, and ὁμολογίῃ ἐχρήσαντο (150. 3) = ὡμολόγησαν (Ab.).

ἐς ἀλλήλους] 'One with another.' Or perhaps the phrase refers to the practice of visiting the houses of acquaintances during the revels. See note on ἐς, 42. 1.

CH. 22. § 2. ὥς ἐγὼ πυνθ.] belongs to what follows: cf. ὥς εἰκάσαι, 34. 1; ὥσπερ καὶ ἦν, 78. 1 (Kr.).

§ 3. τὸν λεὼν ... κακοῦ] This phrase, which occurs again, II. 129. 1, seems to be borrowed from some tragedy. St.

ἢ ὡς αὐτὸς κατεδόκεε. μετὰ δὲ, ἢ τε διαλλαγὴ σφί ἐγένετο, 4  
ἐπ' ᾧ τε ξείνους ἀλλήλοισι εἶναι καὶ ξυμμάχους. καὶ δύο 5  
τε ἀντὶ ἐνὸς νηὺς τῇ Ἀθηναίῃ οἰκοδόμησε ὁ Ἀλυάττης ἐν  
τῇ Ἀσσησῶ, αὐτὸς τε ἐκ τῆς νούσου ἀνέστη. κατὰ μὲν τὸν  
πρὸς Μιλησίους τε καὶ Θρασύβουλον πόλεμον Ἀλυάττη  
ᾧδε ἔσχε.

- 23 Περίανδρος δὲ ἦν Κυψέλου παῖς, οὗτος ὁ τῷ Θρα- 1  
συβούλῳ τὸ χρηστήριον μηνύσας. ἐτυράννευε δὲ ὁ Περί-  
ανδρος Κορίνθου. τῷ δὲ λέγουσι Κορίνθιοι (ὁμολογέουσι 2  
δέ σφί Λέσβιοι) ἐν τῷ βίῳ θῶμα μέγιστον παραστήναι,  
Ἀρίονα τὸν Μηθυμναῖον ἐπὶ δελφίνος ἐξενειχθέντα ἐπὶ  
Ταίναρον, ἐόντα κιθαρωδὸν τῶν τότε ἐόντων οὐδενὸς δεύτερον,  
καὶ διθύραμβον, πρῶτον ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν, ποιή-  
σαντά τε καὶ οὐνομάσαντα καὶ διδάξαντα ἐν Κορίνθῳ.
- 24 Τοῦτον τὸν Ἀρίονα λέγουσι, τὸν πολλὸν τοῦ χρόνου διατρί- 1  
βοντα παρὰ Περιάνδρῳ, ἐπιθυμῆσαι πλῶσαι ἐς Ἰταλίην τε  
καὶ Σικελίην· ἐργασάμενον δὲ χρήματα μεγάλα θελήσαι  
ὀπίσω ἐς Κόρινθον ἀπικέσθαι. ὀρμᾶσθαι μὲν νυν ἐκ Τά- 2  
ραντος, πιστεύοντα δὲ οὐδαμοῖσι μᾶλλον ἢ Κορινθίοισι,

ἢ ὡς] As if ἐναντίως had preceded.  
Cf. 79. 3.

§ 4. ξείνους] ξεινίη could exist  
between states as well as between  
private persons (69. 3; VII. 116).  
It would merely imply hospitality  
and gifts (cf. III. 39. 2), while ξυμ-  
μαχίη would also involve assistance  
in time of war.

εἶναι] 24. 11, n.

CH. 23. § 1. Περίανδρος] B. C.  
625—585. Κυψέλου παῖς is predi-  
cate.

ἐτυράννευε] His power was de-  
spotic (i. e. above the law), although  
he succeeded his father.

§ 2. Λέσβιοι] Arion was a native  
of Methymna, in Lesbos.

ἐπὶ δελφίνος] This legend prob.  
has much to do with the extravagant  
praises bestowed on the dolphin in  
ancient writers. Aristot. talks of its  
gentleness and tameness (*Hist. An.*  
IX. 48). 'Oppian (Greek poet and

grammarian about A. D. 200) even  
brings the dolphin on shore to fol-  
low the pipe of the shepherd, and  
to repose and pasture with his flocks.'

ἐξενειχθ.] 'Carried to shore' (ἐξ).

οὐδενὸς δεύτερον] 91. 3, n.

οὐνομάσαντα] The name διθύραμ-  
βος must from its obscurity be a  
great deal older than the time of  
Arion. It appears in a fragment of  
Archilochus (12. 3, n.).

διδάξαντα] implies that he em-  
ployed a chorus, 'and therefore gave  
a regular and dignified character to  
this song' (Müller, *Gr. Lit.* I. 270).  
Pindar (*Ol.* XIII. 25) places the  
origin of the dithyramb at Corinth.

CH. 24. § 1. τὸν πολλὸν τοῦ χρ.]  
'The greater part of his time,' i. e.  
either of his life, or of the time  
which he spent away from Lesbos.  
τὸν πολλὸν takes by attraction the  
gender of the partitive genitive: cf.  
68. 7.

μισθώσασθαι πλοῖον ἀνδρῶν Κορινθίων. τοὺς δὲ ἐν τῷ<sup>3</sup> πελάγει ἐπιβουλεύειν, τὸν Ἀρίονα ἐκβαλόντας ἔχειν τὰ χρήματα. τὸν δὲ, συνέντα τοῦτο λίσσεσθαι, χρήματα μὲν<sup>4</sup> σφί προῖέντα, ψυχὴν δὲ παραιτούμενον. οὐκ ὦν δὴ πείθειν<sup>5</sup> αὐτὸν τούτοις· ἀλλὰ κελεύειν τοὺς πορθμέας ἢ αὐτὸν διαχρᾶσθαι μιν, ὡς ἂν ταφῆς ἐν γῇ τύχῃ, ἢ ἐκπηδᾶν ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν τὴν ταχίστην. ἀπειληθέντα δὲ τὸν Ἀρίονα ἐς<sup>6</sup> ἀπορίην· παραιτήσασθαι, ἐπειδὴ σφί οὕτω δοκέοι, περιιδεῖν αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ σκευῇ πάσῃ στάντα ἐν τοῖσι ἐδωλίοις· ἀεῖσαι· ἀείσας δὲ ὑπεδέκετο ἑωυτὸν κατεργάσασθαι. καὶ τοῖσι<sup>7</sup> ἐσελθεῖν γὰρ ἡδονὴν, εἰ μέλλοιεν ἀκούσεσθαι τοῦ ἀρίστου ἀνθρώπων ἀοιδοῦ, ἀναχωρῆσαι ἐκ τῆς πρύμνης ἐς μέσσην νέαν. τὸν δὲ ἐνδύντα τε πᾶσαν τὴν σκευὴν καὶ λαβόντα τὴν<sup>8</sup> κιθάρην, στάντα ἐν τοῖσι ἐδωλίοις, διεξελθεῖν νόμον τὸν ὀρθιον· τελευτῶντος δὲ τοῦ νόμου ῥίψαι μιν ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν ἑωυτὸν, ὡς εἶχε, σὺν τῇ σκευῇ πάσῃ. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀποπλέειν<sup>9</sup> ἐς Κόρινθον, τὸν δὲ, δελφίνα λέγουσι ὑπολαβόντα ἐξενεῖκαι

§ 3. ἐν τῷ πελάγει] 'Out at sea' (III. 41. 3; IV. 110. 2).

§ 5. ἢ—ἢ] The alternative lies between killing himself (with a certainty of burial on land), and letting the water kill him (with a slight possibility of escape).

αὐτὸν διαχρ. μιν] αὐτόν μιν = ἑωυτόν (so αὐτήν μιν, II. 100. 7; αὐτῷ ἐμοί, III. 142. 5; αὐτοῖσι ἡμῖν, V. 91. 2) Kr. For the interposition of the verb, cf. ἐμέθεν περιδώσομαι αὐτῆς, Hom. Od. XXIII. 78.

ταφῆς] 'At tu nauta vagae ne parce malignus arenae Ossibus et capiti inhumato Particulam dare.' Hor. Od. I. 28. 23.

τὴν ταχίστην] 108. 6, n.

§ 6. σκευῇ] His minstrel's garb. So Xerxes uses the word of his royal robes, VII. 15. 5.

ἐδωλίοις] Here prob. not the rowers' seats, but the poop or half-deck at the stern (ἐκ τῆς πρύμνης, § 7).

§ 7. καὶ τοῖσι ἐσ. γὰρ] Instead of καὶ τοὺς, ἐσελθεῖν γὰρ αὐτοῖσι. Cf.

114. 3; 155. 4. This construction results from the combination of three common rules of composition, viz. (1) that the clause containing γὰρ may precede the clause which it explains, (2) that the subject of the main clause should for the sake of clearness and connection come as early as possible in the sentence, (3) that a noun or pronoun, when separated from the clause to which it belongs, follows if possible the construction of the nearest intervening clause.

εἰ] 'To think that.' The use of εἰ after θαυμάζω and kindred verbs implies that the news is viewed as too good (or bad) to be true.

ἐς μέσ. νέα] 'Amidships:' 111. 2, n.

§ 8. νόμον τὸν ὀρθ.] The νόμος was peculiar to the worship of Apollo. The Orthian seems to have been originally accompanied by the flute: possibly Hdt.'s account implies that Arion first adapted it to a stringed instrument (Ab.).

ἐπὶ Ταίναρον. ἀποβάντα δὲ αὐτὸν χωρέειν ἐς Κόρινθον σὺν 10  
τῇ σκευῇ, καὶ ἀπικόμενον ἀπηγέεσθαι πᾶν τὸ γεγονός. Περί- 11  
ανδρον δὲ ὑπὸ ἀπιστίας Ἀρίονα μὲν ἐν φυλακῇ ἔχειν,  
οὐδαμῇ μετιέντα, ἀνακῶς δὲ ἔχειν τῶν πορθμέων· ὥς δὲ ἄρα  
παρεῖναι αὐτοὺς, κληθέντας ἱστορέεσθαι εἴ τι λέγοιεν περὶ  
Ἀρίονος. φαμένων δὲ ἐκείνων ὥς εἶη τε σῶς περὶ Ἰταλίην, 12  
καί μιν εὖ πρήσσοντα λίποιν ἐν Τάραντι, ἐπιφανῆναί σφι  
τὸν Ἀρίονα, ὥσπερ ἔχων ἐξεπήδησε· καὶ τοὺς ἐκπλαγέντας  
οὐκ ἔχειν ἔτι ἐλεγχομένους ἀρνέεσθαι. Ταῦτα μὲν νυν 13  
Κορίνθιοί τε καὶ Λέσβιοι λέγουσι. καὶ Ἀρίονός ἐστι ἀνά-  
θημα χάλκεον οὐ μέγα ἐπὶ Ταινάρῳ, ἐπὶ δελφίνος ἐπεὶ  
ἄνθρωπος.

25 Ἀλυάττης δὲ ὁ Λυδὸς τὸν πρὸς Μιλησίους πόλεμον 1  
διενείκας μετέπειτα τελευτᾷ, βασιλεύσας ἕτεα ἑπτὰ καὶ  
πεντήκοντα. ἀνέθηκε δὲ ἐκφυγὼν τὴν νοῦσον, δεύτερος οὗτος 2  
τῆς οἰκίης ταύτης, ἐς Δελφοὺς κρητῆρά τε ἀργύρεον μέγαν  
καὶ ὑποκρητηρίδιον σιδήρεον κολλητὸν, θέης ἄξιον διὰ πάν-  
των τῶν ἐν Δελφοῖσι ἀναθημάτων, Γλαύκου τοῦ Χίου ποίημα,  
ὃς μούνος δὴ πάντων ἀνθρώπων σιδήρου κόλλησιν ἐξεῦρε.

26 Τελευτήσαντος δὲ Ἀλυάττεω, ἐξεδέξατο τὴν βασιλητὴν 1

§ 11. ὥς...παρεῖναι] The inf. in dependent clauses of *oratio obliqua* is common in Greek, though not in Latin. So after ἐπεὶ, ἐς δ, 94. 6, 8; εἰ (unattic), II. 64. 6; ὅκως ('when-ever'), 140. 2. ἱστορ. is passive.

§ 12. περὶ Ἰτ.] 'Somewhere in Italy:' 27. 2; περὶ Αἴγυπτον, III. 61. 1.

ὥσπερ ἔχων] 'Just as he was when.' Thuc. VI. 31. 5, α̃ ἔχον-τας τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἀπέστελλε (ἡ πόλις).

§ 13. ἀνάθημα] 'The fable probably arose from this offering, which represents *Taras* sitting on a dolphin, as he appears on the coins of *Tarentum*.' Müller, *Gr. Lit.* I. 271.

CH. 25. § 1. Ἀλυάττης] B.C. 617—560.

μετέπειτα] implies that his death is the next fact worth mentioning, though he reigned for 52 years after

the conclusion of this war.

§ 2. δεύτ. οὗτος] With ἀνέθηκε (II. 68. 5, n.). The reference is to Gyges (πρῶτος, 14. 5).

ὑποκρητηρίδιον] The diminutive probably implies that the stand was smaller in circumference than the bowl.

κολλητὸν] 'Inlaid,' Larch.; but more prob. 'welded.' Pausanias (A.D. 160) and Athenaeus (prob. about A.D. 200), who both saw the bowl, give different accounts. Acc. to the former the plates were fastened together οὐ περόναις ἢ κέντροις, μόνη δὲ ἡ κόλλα συνέχει. Bähr.

διὰ πάντων] Hom. *Il.* XII. 104; ἔπρεπε καὶ διὰ πάντων.

μούνος δὴ] Acc. to Stein this means that the art died with Glaucus. More probably it merely implies that his claim to the discovery was questioned in Hdt.'s time.

Κροῖσος ὁ Ἀλυάττεω, ἐτέων ἐὼν ἡλικίην πέντε καὶ τριήκοντα· ὃς δὴ Ἑλλήνων πρώτοις ἐπεθήκατο Ἐφεσίοις. ἔνθα δὴ οἱ Ἐφέσιοι πολιορκέμενοι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἀνέθεσαν τὴν πόλιν τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι, ἐξάψαντες ἐκ τοῦ νηοῦ σχοινίον ἐς τὰ τεῖχος. ἔστι δὲ μεταξύ τῆς τε παλαιῆς πόλιος, ἣ τότε ἐπολιορκέετο, καὶ τοῦ νηοῦ ἑπτὰ στάδιοι. πρώτοις μὲν δὴ τούτοις ἐπεχείρησε ὁ Κροῖσος, μετὰ δὲ ἐν μέρει ἐκάστοις Ἰώνων τε καὶ Αἰολέων, ἄλλοις ἄλλας αἰτίας ἐπιφέρων, τῶν μὲν ἐδύνατο μέζοντας παρευρίσκειν, μέζονα ἐπαιτιώμενος, 27 τοῖς δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ φαῦλα ἐπιφέρων. Ὡς δὲ ἄρα οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ Ἕλληνες κατεστράφατο ἐς φόρου ἀπαγωγὴν, τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν ἐπενόεε, νέας ποιησάμενος, ἐπιχειρέειν τοῖς νησιώτησι. ἐόντων δὲ οἱ πάντων ἐτοίμων ἐς τὴν ναυπηγίην, οἱ μὲν Βίαντα λέγουσι τὸν Πριηνέα ἀπικόμενον ἐς Σάρδεις, οἱ δὲ Πιττακὸν τὸν Μυτιληναῖον, εἰρομένου Κροίσου εἴ τι εἴη νεώτερον περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, εἰπόντα τάδε, καταπαῦσαι τὴν ναυπηγίην· “ὦ βασιλεῦ, νησιῶται ἵππον συνωνέονται μυρίην, ἐς Σάρδεις τε καὶ ἐπὶ σὲ ἔχοντες ἐν νῶ στρατεύεσθαι.” Κροῖσον δὲ, ἐλπίσαντα λέγειν ἐκείνον ἀληθέα, εἰπεῖν· “Αἱ γὰρ τοῦτο θεοὶ ποιήσκειαν ἐπὶ νόον νησιώτησι, ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ Λυδῶν παῖδας σὺν ἵπποις.” Τὸν δὲ ὑπολαβόντα φάναι· 4

CH. 26. § 1. Κροῖσος] B.C. 560—546.

ὃς δὴ] ‘Who, as I said’ (5. 5; 6. 2). Two sentences are compressed into one: ὃς δὴ Ἑλλήνων ἐπεθήκατο· ἐπεθήκατο δὲ πρ. Ἐφ.

§ 2. ἀνέθεσαν] So Polycrates made an offering of the island Rhe-neia to Apollo, ἀλύσεσι δήσας πρὸς τὸν Δῆλον, Thuc. III. 104. 4.

§ 3. ἔστι δὲ—στάδιοι] This is called the σχῆμα Πινδαρικόν. The singular is used because the prominent idea is not so many στάδιοι, but simply so much intervening space (μῆκος is inserted, II. 6. 1).

§ 4. ἐκάστοις] ‘Each state’ (141. 5; 169. 1; II. 41. 4; 63. 2; 123. 1, n.).

τῶν = ‘in whose case.’ Elsewhere (III. 31. 3) παρευρίσκειν (like παρ-

ιδεῖν, 37. 2) takes the dative. But here probably παρ-, as in παραγιγνώσκειν, παραλογίζεσθαι, introduces the notion of untruthfulness and deceit (St.). Supply τούτους after ἐπαιτιώμενος.

CH. 27. § 2. Βίαντα] Cf. 170. 1. Acc. to Clinton, Pittacus died B. C. 569.

ἵππον] 179. 3, n.

§ 3. Αἱ γὰρ κ.τ.λ.] Homeric: αἱ γὰρ ἐμοὶ τοσσὴνδε θεοὶ δύναμιν παραθείην, *Od.* III. 205; αὐτὰρ ἐμοὶ Ζεὺς αὐτὸς ἐνὶ φρεσὶ τοῦτο νόημα] ποίησ’, *Od.* XIV. 274.

Λυδῶν παῖδας] ‘An old-fashioned form of expression prob. borrowed from the east.’ St. Here it might be explained by the Homeric ring of the context (cf. ἐπὶ νόον τρέπουσι Αἰθιοπῶν παισὶ, III. 21. 6), but this



“ὦ βασιλεῦ, προθύμως μοι φαίνεαι εὐξασθαι νησιώτας ἱππευομένους λαβεῖν ἐν ἡπείρῳ, οἰκότα ἐλπίζων νησιώτας δὲ τί δοκέεις εὐχεσθαι ἄλλο, ἢ, ἐπεὶ τε τάχιστα ἐπύθοντό σε μέλλοντα ἐπὶ σφίσι ναυπηγέεσθαι νέας, λαβεῖν ἀρώμενοι Λυδοὺς ἐν θαλάσῃ, ἵνα ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ οἰκημένων Ἑλλήνων τίσωνταί σε, τοὺς σὺ δουλώσας ἔχεις;” Κάρτα τῆ 5 ἡσθῆναι Κροῖσον τῷ ἐπιλόγῳ καὶ οἱ (προσφυνέως γὰρ δόξαι λέγειν) πειθόμενον παύσασθαι τῆς ναυπηγίης. καὶ οὕτω 6 τοῖσι τὰς νήσους οἰκημένοιαι Ἴωσι ξεινίην συνεθήκατο.

28. Χρόνου δὲ ἐπιγινομένου, κατεστραμμένων σχεδὸν πάντων τῶν ἐντὸς Ἄλυσος ποταμοῦ οἰκημένων· πλὴν γὰρ Κιλικῶν καὶ Λυκίων τοὺς ἄλλους πάντας ὑπ’ ἐωυτῷ εἶχε καταστρεψάμενος ὁ Κροῖσος· εἰσὶ δὲ οἶδε, Λυδοὶ, Φρύγες, Μυσοὶ, Μαριανδυνοὶ, Χάλυβες, Παφλαγόνες, Θρήϊκες οἱ Θυνοὶ τε καὶ Βιθυνοὶ, Κᾶρες, Ἴωνες, Δωριέες, Αἰολέες, Πάμφυλοι·

explanation will not suit I. 86. 2; V. 49. 2. Homer calls the Maeonians (7. 4, n.) ἱπποκορυσταί (prob. from κορύσσω, ‘to equip:’ like χαλκοκορυστής). Cf. 79. 4.

§ 4: ἀρώμενοι] This is the reading of all the good MSS. and must be retained. The difficulties about it are (1) the participial construction, (2) the nom. case, (3) the repetition of the idea contained in εὐχεσθαι, which seems to make it impossible for the one word to depend on the other. The simplest explanation is to regard the passage as an instance of ἀνακολουθία. Owing to the intervention of the clause ἐπεὶ τε... νέας, the writer thinks it necessary to repeat the idea contained in εὐχεσθαι, and carelessly does so by adding a participle in the nom., as if the sentence had begun: νησιώται δὲ ἄρ’ οὐκ εὐχοντο; Translate: ‘and what thinkest thou the islanders wished for more, as soon as they learnt, &c.? Are they not praying to catch the Lydians at sea?’ The most ingenious emendation suggested is αἰωρενέμενους, which with λαβεῖν ἐν θαλάσῃ would make a good antithesis to ἱππευομένους λαβεῖν ἐν

ἡπείρῳ above, if there were any authority for this use of the word. It means ‘fluttering’ at VII. 92. 2.

δουλώσας ἔχεις] ‘Holdest in slavery.’ Very common in Hdt. (28; 73. 2; 82. 2; 120. 3), and always implying the permanence of the original action or of its effects.

§ 6. οἰκημένοιαι] With the construction and meaning of οἰκέουσι. So both Hdt. and Thuc.

CH. 28. εἰσὶ δὲ... Πάμφυλοι] Stein suspects this passage (1) because the Λυδοὶ are mentioned among the κατεστραμμένοι, (2) because Hdt. would also have included the Καύνιοι, Μιλύαι, Λασόνιοι and Ὑγένηες (172. 1; III. 90. 1, 2; VII. 77. 1, 2), (3) because elsewhere (VII. 75. 2) he only specifies Βιθυνοὶ Θρήϊκες, (4) because the Χάλυβες were to the east of the Halys: cf. Grote, *H. G.* II. 433 (III. 340). But we cannot argue from the canon that Hdt. was always perfectly accurate and consistent in his statements. The mention of the Κιλικες above is slightly inconsistent with 72. 2, where the Halys is said to flow διὰ Κιλικῶν. The nom. to εἰσὶ is οἱ οἰκημένοι, not οἱ κατεστραμμένοι.



29 κατεστραμμένων δὲ τούτων, καὶ προσεπικτωμένου Κροίσου ἡ  
 Λυδοῖσι, ἀπικνέονται ἐς Σάρδεις ἀκμαζούσας πλούτῳ ἄλλοι  
 τε οἱ πάντες ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος σοφισταί, οἱ τοῦτον τὸν  
 χρόνον ἐτύγγχανον ἔοντες, ὥς ἕκαστος αὐτῶν ἀπικνέοιτο· καὶ 2  
 δὴ καὶ Σόλων, ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος, ὃς Ἀθηναίοισι νόμους κελεύ-  
 σασι ποιήσας ἀπεδήμησε ἕτεα δέκα, κατὰ θεωρίας πρόφασιν  
 ἐκπλώσας, ἵνα δὴ μὴ τινα τῶν νόμων ἀναγκασθῇ λύσαι  
 τῶν ἔθετο. αὐτοὶ γὰρ οὐκ οἰοί τε ἦσαν αὐτὸ ποιῆσαι Ἀθη- 3  
 ναῖοι· ὀρκίοισι γὰρ μεγάλοισι κατείχοντο, δέκα ἕτεα χρή-  
 30 σεσθαι νόμοισι τοὺς ἄνθρωποι Σόλων θῆται. Αὐτῶν δὴ ὧν 1  
 τούτων καὶ τῆς θεωρίας ἐκδημήσας ὁ Σόλων εἵνεκεν | ἐς  
 Αἴγυπτον ἀπῆκετο παρὰ Ἀμασιν, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐς Σάρδεις παρὰ  
 Κροῖσον. ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐξεινίζετο ἐν τοῖσι βασιλεῦσι 2  
 ὑπὸ τοῦ Κροίσου· μετὰ δὲ ἡμέρη τρίτῃ ἢ τετάρτῃ, κελεύ-  
 σαντος Κροίσου, τὸν Σόλωνα θεράποντες περιῆγον κατὰ  
 τοὺς θησαυροὺς, καὶ ἐπεδείκνυσαν πάντα ἔοντα μεγάλα τε  
 καὶ ὀλβια. θηησάμενον δέ μιν τὰ πάντα καὶ σκεψάμενον, 3  
 ὥς οἱ κατὰ καιρὸν ἦν, εἶρετο ὁ Κροῖσος τάδε· “Ξεῖνε Ἀθη- 4  
 ναῖε, παρ’ ἡμέας γὰρ περὶ σέο λόγος ἀπῆκται πολλός, καὶ  
 σοφίης εἵνεκεν τῆς σῆς καὶ πλάνης, ὥς φιλοσοφέων γῆν

CH. 29. § 1. δὲ resumes after the parenthesis.

προσεπικτωμένου] Notice the change of tense: ‘while he was still adding to the Lydian possessions.’

οἱ πάντες] ‘The whole body of sages,’ in apposition with ἄλλοι (= ‘besides’). οἱ ἄλλοι π. would have marked more definitely that Solon was included in the class. The indignation of the pseudo-Plutarch at the use of the word σοφισταί here (τῶν ἑπτασφῶν, οὗς οὗτος σοφιστὰς προσεῖπε, *de Herod. malign.* 15) is of course misplaced. Pythagoras is called a σοφιστής, IV. 95. 2: cf. II. 49. 3. Stein however suggests a touch of sarcasm in ἀκμαζούσας πλούτῳ,—‘the wealth attracted them.’

ὥς ἕκαστος] limits οἱ πάντες, ‘ut eorum quisque adveniebat, pro se quisque.’ Wytt.

§ 2. Σόλων] ‘Irreconcilable with chronology’ Grote. See *H. G.* II. 346 (III. 201), n. ‘There may perhaps have been an interview between Solon and Croesus in B. C. 570, but it cannot be the interview described by Hdt.’

πρόφασιν] Not ‘pretext’ (cf. τῆς θεωρίας εἵνεκεν, 30. 1), but ‘occasion’ (II. 161. 3, n.).

ἔθετο] The middle voice, because Solon was a citizen of the state for which he legislated.

CH. 30. § 1. τῆς θ.] The article, because of the previous mention of θεωρίῃ. Amasis began to reign B. C. 569.

§ 4. σοφίης εἵν.] εἵνεκεν here has prob. got into the text from θεωρ. εἵνεκεν in the following line. Cf. VI. 86. 6, τῆς σῆς δικαιοσύνης ἦν λόγος πολλός, VI. 86. 6 (St.).

πολλήν θεωρίας εἵνεκεν ἐπελήλυθας· νῦν ὦν ἡμερος ἐπεί- 5  
ρεσθαί μοι ἐπῆλθε, εἴ τινα ἤδη πάντων εἶδες ὀλβιώτατον.”

‘Ο μὲν, ἐλπίζων εἶναι ἀνθρώπων ὀλβιώτατος, ταῦτα ἐπει-  
ρώτα. Σόλων δὲ, οὐδὲν ὑποθωπεύσας, ἀλλὰ τῷ ἔοντι χρησά- 6  
μενος, λέγει· “ὦ βασιλεῦ, Τέλλον Ἀθηναῖον.” Ἀποθου- 7  
μάσας δὲ Κροῖσος τὸ λεχθὲν εἶρετο ἐπιστρεφέως· “Κοίη δὴ  
κρίνεις Τέλλον εἶναι ὀλβιώτατον;” ‘Ο δὲ εἶπε· “Τέλλω 8  
τοῦτο μὲν, τῆς πόλιος εὐ ἡκούσης, παῖδες ἦσαν καλοί τε  
καὶ γαθοί, καί σφι εἶδε ἅπασι τέκνα ἐκγενόμενα καὶ πάντα  
παραμείναντα· τοῦτο δὲ, τοῦ βίου εὐ ἦκοντι, ὡς τὰ παρ’ ἡμῖν,  
τελευτῇ τοῦ βίου λαμπροτάτη ἐπεγένετο. γενομένης γὰρ 9  
Ἀθηναίοισι μάχης πρὸς τοὺς ἀστυγείτονας ἐν Ἐλευσίνι,  
βοηθήσας καὶ τροπὴν ποιήσας τῶν πολεμίων, ἀπέθανε  
κάλλιστα. καί μιν Ἀθηναῖοι δημοσίῃ τε ἔθαψαν αὐτοῦ, 10  
τῇ περ ἔπεσε, καὶ ἐτίμησαν μεγάλως.”

31 ‘Ὡς δὲ τὰ κατὰ τὸν Τέλλον προετρέψατο ὁ Σόλων τὸν 1  
Κροῖσον, εἶπας πολλά τε καὶ ὀλβια, ἐπειρώτα τίνα δεύτερον  
μετ’ ἐκεῖνον ἶδει, δοκέων πάγχυ δευτερεῖα γῶν οἴσεσθαι.  
ὁ δὲ εἶπε· “Κλέοβίν τε καὶ Βίτωνα. τούτοις γὰρ, εὐοῦσι 2  
γένος Ἀργείοισι, βίος τε ἀρκέων ὑπῆν, καὶ πρὸς τούτῳ, ῥώμη  
σώματος τοιήδε· ἀεθλοφόροι τε ἀμφοτέρω ὁμοίως ἦσαν, καὶ

γῆν πολλήν] Hom. *Od.* II. 364,  
λέγει πολλήν ἐπὶ γαίαν.

§ 5. νῦν ὦν] answers γὰρ above.  
εἴ τινα] contains the two questions  
‘whether?’ and ‘whom?’

§ 7. κοίη] For κῆ (πῆ), as κοῖος  
stands for τίς (39. 2).

§ 8. τοῦτο μὲν] This redundant  
use of τοῦτο for the sake of empha-  
sis (= ‘here’s one thing’) is analo-  
gous to the insertion of ὁ before δέ  
(107.4). See also notes, 124.3; II. 68.5.

εὐ ἦκοντι] takes the gen. (= ‘in  
respect of’) on the analogy of εὐ  
ἔχειν. Cf. 149. 2; πῶς ἀγῶνος ἦκο-  
μεν; Eur. *El.* 751. In Attic prose  
we have εὐ (καλῶς) φέρεσθαι (Thuc.  
II. 60. 3; V. 16. 1).

ὡς τὰ παρ’ ἡμῖν] i. e. at Athens,  
or in Greece: τῇ Ἑλλάδι πενήη ἀεί  
κοτε σύντροφός ἐστι, VII. 102. 1.

§ 9. ἀστυγείτονας] The Mega-

rians (Bähr). Solon distinguished  
himself in the war between Athens  
and Megara for the possession of  
Salamis (cf. εἶδες, § 5). Grote *H. G.*  
II. 297 (III. 123).

§ 10. δημοσίῃ] Thuc. says that  
this was an old custom at Athens:  
τῷ πατρίῳ νόμῳ χρώμενοι δημοσίᾳ  
ταφᾷς ἐποιήσαντο, II. 34. 1; τοῖς πά-  
λαι, *ib.* 35. 6.

CH. 31. § 1. τὰ κατὰ τὸν T.]  
‘When S. in the matter of T. had  
led C. on,’ sc. ἐπερωτᾶν. Schäfer  
explains: ‘had put C. to flight:’  
but the middle (as we see from the  
Homeric use) would mean rather  
‘to turn and flee.’ Prob. πολλά τε  
καὶ ὁ. (cf. πάντα καλά, 32. 8) is a  
predicate, τὰ κατὰ τὸν T. having to  
be supplied with εἶπας.

§ 2. ὑπῆν] ὑπ-, as in ὑπάρχειν.

τοιήδε] Repeated by ὅδε (17. 2, n.).

δὴ καὶ λέγεται ὅδε ὁ λόγος. εἰούσης ὀρθῆς τῇ Ἡρῇ τοῖσι 3  
 Ἀργείοισι ἔδεε πάντως τὴν μητέρα αὐτῶν ζεύγεϊ κομισθῆναι  
 ἐς τὸ ἱρόν· οἱ δέ σφι βόες ἐκ τοῦ ἀγροῦ οὐ παρεγίνοντο ἐν  
 ὥρῃ· ἐκκληϊόμενοι δὲ τῇ ὥρῃ οἱ νεηνίαί, ὑποδύντες αὐτοὶ ὑπὸ  
 τὴν ζεύγλην, εἵλκον τὴν ἄμαξαν, ἐπὶ τῆς ἀμάξης δέ σφι  
 ὀχέετο ἡ μήτηρ. σταδίου δὲ πέντε καὶ τεσσεράκοντα 4  
 διακομίσαντες ἀπίκοντο ἐς τὸ ἱρόν· ταῦτα δέ σφι ποιήσασι,  
 καὶ ὀφθεῖσι ὑπὸ τῆς πανηγύριος τελευτῇ τοῦ βίου ἀρίστη  
 ἐπεγένετο. διέδεξέ τε ἐν τούτοις ὁ θεὸς, ὥς ἄμεινον εἴη 5  
 ἀνθρώπῳ τεθνάναι μᾶλλον ἢ ζῶειν. Ἀργεῖοι μὲν γὰρ 6  
 περιστάντες ἐμακάριζον τῶν νεηνιέων τὴν ῥώμην, αἱ δὲ  
 Ἀργεῖαι, τὴν μητέρα αὐτῶν, οἷων τέκνων ἐκύρησε. ἡ δὲ 7  
 μήτηρ περιχαρὴς εἶσα τῷ τε ἔργῳ καὶ τῇ φήμῃ, στᾶσα  
 ἀντίον τοῦ ἀγάλματος, εὐχετο, Κλεόβι τε καὶ Βίτωνι, τοῖσι  
 ἐωυτῆς τέκνοισι, οἳ μιν ἐτίμησαν μεγάλως, δοῦναι τὴν θεὸν  
 τὸ ἀνθρώπῳ τυχεῖν ἀριστόν ἐστι. μετὰ ταύτην δὲ τὴν 8  
 εὐχὴν, ὥς ἔθυσάν τε καὶ εὐωχήθησαν, κατακοιμηθέντες ἐν  
 αὐτῷ τῷ ἱρῷ οἱ νεηνίαί, οὐκέτι ἀνέστησαν, ἀλλ' ἐν τέλει  
 τούτῳ ἔσχοντο. Ἀργεῖοι δέ σφρων εἰκόνας ποιησάμενοι 9  
 ἀνέθεσαν ἐς Δελφοὺς, ὥς ἀνδρῶν ἀρίστων γενομένων."

§ 3. ἔδεε π. τὴν μ.] She was priestess of Hera.

οἱ δέ σφι β.] I. 4, n.

ἐκκλ. τῇ ὥρῃ] 'Since the time barred them from delay,' *tempore exclusi*, Caes. B. G. VII. 11. 5.

§ 4. τελευτῇ] Cf. τελευτῇ τοῦ βίου λαμπροτάτῃ (30. 8). Both stories thus illustrate the necessity of 'looking to the end' (32. 16).

§ 5. ὁ θεός] Not any particular god, but a personification of τὸ θεῖον (210. 1, n.). Cf. 32. 17; II. 132. 2. Elsewhere we have the article omitted, σὺν θεῷ, 86. 3; κατὰ δαίμονα, III. 2.

μᾶλλον] is redundant (cf. 32. 8).

§ 6. ῥώμην] Some MSS. read γνῶμην, 'pium in matrem studium.' But Schw. points out that ῥώμην is more appropriate to the antithesis evidently intended between the praises of the Ἀργεῖαι and Ἀργεῖαι.

οἷων = ὅτι τοιούτων, the phrase

arising from a mixture of *oratio recta* and *obliqua*. Cf. ἀγανάκτησιν ἔχει ὑφ' οἷων κακοπαθεῖ, Thuc. II. 41. 3. Similarly the Homeric phrase, οἷα ἀγορεύεις (e.g. *Od.* IV. 611) arises from an attempt to make a clause which is subordinate in sense, coordinate in construction.

§ 7. Κλεόβι] So ἀχάρι, 41. 1; Ἀνγδάμι, 64. 2.

§ 8. ἐν τ. τ. ἔσχ.] 'They never rose again, but were held fast in this last sleep.' Cf. ἐν τούτῳ τῷ κακῷ ἐχόμενος, IX. 37. 3. τέλει, sc. τοῦ βίου (τελευτῇ, § 4).

§ 9. εἰκόνας] Distinguish between ἀγάλματα, representations of the gods, ἀνδριάντες, statues in honour of victors in the games, &c. set up in public (gen. not portraits), and εἰκόνες, portrait-statues of distinguished men, gen. dedicated in temples. This is the earliest known instance of the εἰκών.

32 Σόλων μὲν δὴ εὐδαιμονίης δευτερεῖα ἔνεμε τούτοισι. 1  
 Κροῖσος δὲ σπερχθεὶς εἶπε· “ὦ ξεῖνε Ἀθηναῖε, ἡ δὲ ἡμε-  
 τέρη εὐδαιμονίη οὕτω τοι ἀπέρριπται ἐς τὸ μηδὲν, ὥστε οὐδὲ  
 ἰδιωτέων ἀνδρῶν ἀξίους ἡμέας ἐποίησας;” Ὁ δὲ εἶπε· “ὦ 2  
 Κροῖσε, ἐπιστάμενόν με τὸ θεῖον πᾶν ἐὼν φθονερόν τε καὶ  
 ταραχῶδες, ἐπειρωτᾶς ἀνθρωπητῶν πρηγμάτων πέρι; ἐν  
 γὰρ τῷ μακρῷ χρόνῳ πολλὰ μὲν ἐστὶ ἰδεῖν τὰ μὴ τις ἐθέλει,  
 πολλὰ δὲ καὶ παθεῖν· ἐς γὰρ ἐβδομήκοντα ἔτεα οὖρον τῆς 3  
 ζῆς ἀνθρώπῳ προτίθημι. οὗτοι ἐόντες ἐνιαυτοὶ ἐβδομή-  
 κοντα παρέχονται ἡμέρας διηκοσίας καὶ πεντακισχιλίας καὶ  
 δισμυρίας, ἐμβολίου μηνὸς μὴ γινομένου. εἰ δὲ δὴ ἐβελήσει 4  
 τοῦτερον τῶν ἐτέων μηνὶ μακρότερον γίνεσθαι, ἵνα δὴ αἱ ὥραι  
 συμβαίνωσι παραγινόμεναι ἐς τὸ δέον, μῆνες μὲν παρὰ τὰ  
 ἐβδομήκοντα ἔτεα οἱ ἐμβόλιοι γίνονται τριήκοντα πέντε,  
 ἡμέραι δὲ ἐκ τῶν μηνῶν τούτων, χίλιαι πεντήκοντα. 5  
 τούτων ἀπασέων ἡμερέων, τῶν ἐς τὰ ἐβδομήκοντα ἔτεα ἐουσέων  
 πεντήκοντα καὶ διηκοσιέων καὶ ἑξακισχιλιέων καὶ δισμυριέων,

CH. 32. § 1. ἡ δὲ ἡμ.] δέ refers to some parallel thought existing in the speaker's mind. We use 'and' in the same way at the beginning of an animated question: cf. 115. 3, 47. 4, n.

τὸ μηδὲν] The class of nothings: 'nothingness.'

§ 2. ἐπιστάμ. με κ.τ.λ.] The same sentiment is put into the mouth of a Persian prince (VII. 10, 13; 46. 6) and of an Egyptian king (III. 40. 3). Cf. I. 5. 7.

τὰ μὴ = τοιαῦτα ὥστε μὴ ἐθέλειν (II. 135. 4).

§ 3. ἔτεα—ἐνιαυτοὶ] Here if there is any difference in meaning at all, ἐνιαυτοὶ would seem to be the more definite word of the two, since ἐνιαυτοὶ form the basis of the calculation. Cf. II. 4. 2. But in the Homeric phrase, ἔτος ἦλθε περιπλομένων ἐνιαυτῶν, ἔτος is the definite year, and ἐνιαυτός merely denotes the natural succession of seasons. The date of the introduction of intercalary months is unknown. The cycle of

two years which Hdt. here adopts was called *τριετηρὶς* (διὰ τρίτου ἔτεος, II. 4. 3), and was subsequently superseded by the *ἐννεατηρὶς*. *Dict. Ant. Calendarium*.

§ 4. παραγιν.] II. 4. 3, n.

παρὰ τὰ ἐβδ.] 'In the course of,' not 'besides' (II. 121. 25).

§ 5. τούτων τῶν ἀπ. κ.τ.λ.]  $26250 + 70 = 375$  = the average number of days in a year acc. to Hdt.'s figures. Prob. there is something corrupt, since it is clear from II. 4. 3 (cf. I. 190. 1, n.) that Hdt. knew that the proper number of days in the year was somewhere about 365: but none of the corrections are satisfactory. 'Two inaccuracies produce the error in Hdt.; (1) he makes Solon count his months at 30 days each, whereas the Greek months after the introduction of intercalation were alternately of 29 and 30 days (κοῖλοι and πλήρεις); (2) he omits to mention that from time to time the intercalary month was omitted altogether.' Rawlinson.

ἡ ἑτέρα αὐτέων τῇ ἑτέρῃ ἡμέρῃ τὸ παράπαν οὐδὲν ὁμοῖον  
 προσάγει πρῆγμα. οὕτω ὦν, ὦ Κροῖσε, πᾶν ἐστὶ ἄνθρωπος 6  
 συμφορῇ. ἐμοὶ δὲ σὺ καὶ πλουτέειν μὲν μέγα φαίνεαι, καὶ 7  
 βασιλεὺς εἶναι πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων· ἐκεῖνο δὲ τὸ εἶρεό με,  
 οὐκω σε ἐγὼ λέγω, πρὶν ἂν τελευτήσαντα καλῶς τὸν αἰῶνα  
 πύθωμαι. οὐ γάρ τοι ὁ μέγα πλούσιος μᾶλλον τοῦ ἐπ' ἡμέ- 8  
 ρην ἔχοντος ὀλβιώτερός ἐστι, εἰ μὴ οἱ τύχῃ ἐπίσποιτο,  
 πάντα καλὰ ἔχοντα τελευτῆσαι εὖ τὸν βίον. πολλοὶ μὲν  
 γὰρ ζάπλουτοι ἀνθρώπων ἀνόλβιοί εἰσι, πολλοὶ δὲ μετρίως  
 ἔχοντες βίου εὐτυχέες. ὁ μὲν δὴ μέγα πλούσιος, ἀνόλβιος δὲ, 9  
 δυοῖσι προέχει τοῦ εὐτυχέος μούνοισι· οὗτος δὲ τοῦ πλουσίου  
 καὶ ἀνολβίου πολλοῖσι. ὁ μὲν ἐπιθυμίην ἐκτελέσαι καὶ 10  
 ἄτην μεγάλην προσπεσοῦσαν ἐνεῖκαι δυνατώτερος, ὁ δὲ  
 τοισίδε προέχει ἐκείνου· ἄτην μὲν καὶ ἐπιθυμίην οὐκ ὁμοίως  
 δυνατὸς ἐκείνῳ ἐνεῖκαι, ταῦτα δὲ ἡ εὐτυχίῃ οἱ ἀπερύκει·  
 ἄπηρος δὲ ἐστὶ, ἄνουςος, ἀπαθὴς κακῶν, εὐπαις, εὐειδής. εἰ 11  
 δὲ πρὸς τούτοις ἐτι τελευτήσῃ τὸν βίον εὖ, οὗτος ἐκεῖνος,  
 τὸν σὺ ζητεῖς, ὀλβιος κεκληῆσθαι ἄξιός ἐστι. πρὶν δ' ἂν 12  
 τελευτήσῃ, ἐπισχεῖν, μηδὲ καλέειν κω ὀλβιον, ἀλλ' εὐτυχέα.

§ 6. πᾶν ἐ. ἀνθρ. συμφ.] 'Man is nothing but accident:' αἱ συμφοραὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀρχουσι καὶ οὐχὶ ὧνθρωποι τῶν συμφορέων, VII. 49. 4. Wess. renders 'omnino homo calamitas est,' but Solon himself allows that some men are happy. πᾶσα συμφ. would have been the regular construction, like ὁ πάντ' ἀναλκίς οὗτος, ἡ πᾶσα βλάβη, Soph. *El.* 301; χῶνῃρ δξος ἄπαν, Theocr. 15. 148.

§ 8. τελευτῆσαι] The infin. is added after τύχῃ ἐπίσποιτο by way of explanation, and is thus equivalent to the inf. with ὥστε. So καί-εσθαι, 176. 1; εἶναι, II. 121. 6. The antithesis between the ἀνόλβιος and the εὐτυχής in the next sentence is not very sharply defined. Since the εὐτυχής might end miserably, he might turn out to be ἀνόλβιος (§ 11, 12). But if the good fortune of the εὐτυχής is sufficient to ward off ἄτη (§ 10), why should it not be

sufficient to ward off a miserable end? And why should a rich man be ἀνόλβιος, if he can endure great misfortunes, and if it is only after death that a man can properly be called ὀλβιος or ἀνόλβιος? Aristotle criticises Solon's view, *Eth. Nic.* I. 10.

§ 10. οὐκ ὁ δ. ἐ. ἐνεῖκαι] Zeugma for ἐνεῖκαι καὶ ἐκτελέσαι.

ἄπηρος] The MSS. have ἀπειρος which seems to be 'a gloss on ἀπαθής, and has displaced another adj., possibly εὐπορος.' St.

εὐειδής] illustrates the importance which the Greeks attached to personal beauty. Compare V. 47. 2; IX. 25. 1. Aristotle says οὐ πάνυ εὐδαιμονικὸς ὁ τὴν ἰδέαν παναισχής (*Eth.* I. 8. 16).

§ 11. οὗτος ἐκεῖνος] 'This man is worthy to be called that happy man whom thou seekest.'

§ 12. ἐπισχεῖν] The infinitive is said to be more respectful than

- τὰ πάντα μὲν νῦν ταῦτα συλλαβεῖν ἄνθρωπον εἶντα ἀδύ- 13  
 νατόν ἐστι, ὥσπερ χώρα οὐδεμία καταρκέει πάντα ἐωυτῇ  
 παρέχουσα, ἀλλὰ ἄλλο μὲν ἔχει, ἐτέρου δὲ ἐπιδέεται· ἡ δὲ  
 ἂν τὰ πλείστα ἔχῃ, ἀρίστη αὕτη. ὥς δὲ καὶ ἀνθρώπου 14  
 σῶμα ἐν οὐδὲν αὐταρκές ἐστι· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἔχει, ἄλλου δὲ  
 ἐνδεές ἐστι. ὅς δ' ἂν αὐτῶν πλείστα ἔχων διατελέῃ, καὶ 15  
 ἔπειτα τελευτήσῃ εὐχαρίστως τὸν βίον, οὗτος παρ' ἐμοὶ τὸ  
 οὔνομα τοῦτο, ὦ βασιλεῦ, δίκαιός ἐστι φέρεσθαι. σκοπέειν 16  
 δὲ χρὴ παντὸς χρήματος τὴν τελευτήν, κῆ ἀποβήσεται.  
 πολλοῖσι γὰρ δὴ ὑποδέξας ὄλβον ὁ θεὸς προρρίζους ἀνέ- 17  
 33 τρεψε." Ταῦτα λέγων τῷ Κροίσῳ, οὐ κως οὔτε ἐχαρίζετο,  
 οὔτε λόγου μιν ποιησάμενος οὐδενὸς ἀποπέμπεται, κάρτα  
 δόξας ἀμαθέα εἶναι, ὅς τὰ παρεόντα ἀγαθὰ μετεῖς τὴν  
 τελευτήν παντὸς χρήματος ὁρᾶν ἐκέλευε.
- 34 Μετὰ δὲ Σόλωνα οἰχόμενον ἔλαβε ἐκ θεοῦ νέμεσις 1  
 μεγάλη Κροίσον· ὥς εἰκάσαι, ὅτι ἐνόμισε ἐωυτὸν εἶναι  
 ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων ὀλβιώτατον. αὐτίκα δὲ οἱ εὔδοντι 2  
 ἐπέστη ὄνειρος, ὅς οἱ τὴν ἀληθείην ἔφαινε τῶν μελλόντων  
 γενέσθαι κακῶν κατὰ τὸν παῖδα. ἦσαν δὲ τῷ Κροίσῳ δύο 3  
 παῖδες· τῶν οὔτερος μὲν διέφθαρτο· ἦν γὰρ δὴ κωφός· ὁ δὲ  
 ἕτερος τῶν ἡλίκων μακρῷ τὰ πάντα πρῶτος· οὔνομα δὲ οἱ 4

the imperative. So Croesus uses it to Cyrus (89. 3), and Demaratus to Xerxes (VII. 209. 9).

§ 14. ἀνθρ. σῶμα ἐν οὐδὲν] 'No single mortal man taken alone.'

§ 16. σκοπέειν δὲ χρὴ] Few passages in Greek literature could be more copiously illustrated than Solon's discourse. The instability of human affairs was a never-failing theme in the Greek drama, and the real nature of happiness, as opposed to good-fortune, was a leading problem of Greek philosophy.

CH. 33. ταῦτα λέγων κ.τ.λ.] As the text stands, λέγων must refer to Solon, δόξας to Croesus; and it seems best to make the change of subject immediately after ἐχαρίζετο. One MS. reads ἀμαθής, which gets rid of all difficulty. But then how

could the corruption ἀμαθέα have arisen? In the second οὔτε, the negative attaches only to the participle. ἀποπέμπεται is the middle: 'sends him from his presence.'

CH. 34. § 1. μετὰ δὲ Σ. οἰχ.] II. 129. 3, n.

ὥς εἰκάσαι] 172. 1, n.

ἐωυτὸν] 4. 2, n.

§ 2. αὐτίκα] 'brings the punishment into near connection with the crime (ὅτι ἐνόμισε κ.τ.λ.).' St.

ἐπέστη] implies a personification of ὄνειρος, a dream-spirit. Hom. II. II. 16, 20, βῆ δ' ἄρ' ὄνειρος...στῆ δ' ἄρ' ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς.

ἔφαινε] The imperfect, because it was in vain (45. 3; 91. 4; 210. 1).

§ 3. κωφός] Prob. here = 'deaf and dumb' (38. 3, n.), but elsewhere in Hdt. = 'dumb' (47. 4; IV. 200. 4).

ἦν Ἄτυς. τοῦτον δὲ ὦν τὸν Ἄτυν σημαίνει τῷ Κροίσῳ ὁ ὄνειρος, ὡς ἀπολέει μιν αἰχμῇ σιδηρῇ βληθέντα. ὁ δὲ ἐπεὶ 5  
 τε ἐξεγέρθη, καὶ ἑωυτῷ λόγον ἔδωκε, καταρρωδήσας τὸν ὄνειρον, ἄγεται μὲν τῷ παιδὶ γυναῖκα, ἐωθότα δὲ στρατηγέειν μιν τῶν Λυδῶν, οὐδαμῇ ἔτι ἐπὶ τοιοῦτο πρῆγμα ἐξέπεμπε, ἀκόντια δὲ καὶ δοράτια, καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα πάντα, τοῖσι χρέονται ἐς πόλεμον ἄνθρωποι, ἐκ τῶν ἀνδρεώνων ἐκκομίσας, ἐς τοὺς θαλάμους συνένησε, μή τι οἱ κρεμάμενον τῷ παιδὶ ἐμπέσῃ.  
 35 Ἐχοντος δὲ οἱ ἐν χερσὶ τοῦ παιδὸς τὸν γάμον, ἀπικνέεται ἐς 1  
 τὰς Σάρδεις ἀνὴρ συμφορῇ ἐχόμενος καὶ οὐ καθαρὸς χεῖρας ἑὼν, Φρυξ μὲν γενεῇ, γένεος δὲ τοῦ βασιληίου. παρελθὼν 2  
 δὲ οὗτος ἐς τὰ Κροίσου οἰκία, κατὰ νόμους τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους καθαρσίου ἐδέετο κυρῆσαι Κροῖσος δὲ μιν ἐκάθηρε. ἔστι δὲ παραπλησίη ἡ κάθαρσις τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι καὶ τοῖσι Ἑλλησι. ἐπεὶ τε δὲ τὰ νομιζόμενα ἐποίησε ὁ Κροῖσος, ἐπυνθάνετο 3  
 ὁκόθεν τε καὶ τίς εἴη, λέγων τάδε· “Ὁνθρωπε, τίς τε ἑὼν καὶ κόθεν τῆς Φρυγίης ἦκων, ἐπίστιος ἐμοὶ ἐγένεο; τίνα τε ἀνδρῶν ἢ γυναικῶν ἐφόνευσας;” Ὁ δὲ ἀμείβετο· “Ὁ 4  
 βασιλεῦ, Γορδίεω μὲν τοῦ Μίδεω εἰμι παῖς, οὐνομάζομαι δὲ Ἀδρηστος· φονεύσας δὲ ἀδελφεὸν ἐμεωυτοῦ ἀέκων πάρειμι ἐξεληλαμένος τε ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ ἐστερημένος πάντων.” Κροῖσος δὲ μιν ἀμείβετο τοῖσδε· “Ἀνδρῶν τε φίλων τυγ- 5

§ 5. ἄγεται] The middle voice is commonly used of the bridegroom: but compare *υἱὲ δὲ Σπάρτηθεν Ἀλέκτορος ἤγετο κούρην*, Hom. *Od.* IV. 10.

μή τι οἱ] ‘That he might not have one of them, as it hung, fall down upon his son.’

CH. 35. § 1. οὐ καθαρὸς] ‘Having his hands defiled with blood.’

τοῦ βασ.] Hdt.’s language does not necessarily imply that Phrygia was still under the rule of its native kings. This however might well be the case, notwithstanding its subjugation (ch. 28). Cf. 134. 5, n.

§ 2. παραπλ. ἢ κάθ.] Apollonius Rhodius (IV. 693) describes the ceremony. The suppliant sat in si-

lence on the hearth (ἐπίστιος, § 3). Then the master of the house sacrificed a young pig and sprinkled the hands of the manslayer with its blood, calling at the same time on *Zeὺς Καθάρσιος* (cf. 44. 2). See Müller’s *Eumenides*, 52, foll.

§ 3. ἐπεὶ—ἐποίησε] Before the purification it would not have been lawful to speak. So Orestes says *σιγῇ δ’ ἐτεκτῆναντ’ ἀπόφθεγτόν μ’, ὅπως | δαιτὸς γενοίμην πώματός τ’ αὐτῶν δίχα*, Eur. *Iph. T.* 951.

§ 4. Ἀδρηστος] Hdt. clearly wishes his readers to notice the significance of the name (= ἀφυκτος, see 43. 2). Mure thinks that Ἄτυς also (34. 3) is meant to be significant of ‘the youth under the influence of Ate’ (*Gr. Lit.* IV. 326).



χανεις ἐκγόνος ἐὼν, καὶ ἐλήλυθας ἐς φίλους· ἔνθα ἀμηχανή-  
σεις χρήματος οὐδενός, μένων ἐν ἡμετέρου. συμφορὴν δὲ 6  
ταύτην ὡς κουφότατα φέρων, κερδανέεις πλείστον.” Ὁ μὲν  
δὴ δίαιταν εἶχε ἐν Κροίσου.

- 36 Ἐν δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ, ἐν τῷ Μυσίῳ Οὐλύμπῳ 1  
ὅς χρήμα γίνεται μέγα· ὀρμεώμενος δὲ οὗτος ἐκ τοῦ οὔρεος  
τούτου τὰ τῶν Μυσῶν ἔργα διαφθείρεσκε. πολλάκις δὲ οἱ 2  
Μυσοὶ ἐπ’ αὐτὸν ἐξελθόντες, ποιέεσκον μὲν οὐδὲν κακόν,  
ἔπασχον δὲ πρὸς αὐτοῦ. τέλος δὲ ἀπικόμενοι παρὰ τὸν  
Κροῖσον τῶν Μυσῶν ἄγγελοι ἔλεγον τάδε· “ὦ βασιλεῦ, 3  
ὅς χρήμα μέγιστον ἀνεφάνη ἡμῖν ἐν τῇ χώρῃ, ὃς τὰ ἔργα  
διαφθείρει. τοῦτον προθυμεόμενοι ἐλέειν οὐ δυνάμεθα. νῦν 4  
ὦν προσδεόμεθά σευ, τὸν παῖδα καὶ λογάδας νεηνίας καὶ  
κύνας συμπέμψαι ἡμῖν, ὡς ἂν μιν ἐξέλωμεν ἐκ τῆς χώρας.”  
Οἱ μὲν δὴ τοιῶν ἐδέοντο. Κροῖσος δὲ μνημονεύων τοῦ 5  
ὀνείρου τὰ ἔπεα ἔλεγέ σφι τάδε· “Παῖδός μὲν πέρι τοῦ ἐμοῦ  
μὴ μνησθῆτε ἔτι· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ὑμῖν συμπέμψαιμι· νεόγαμός τε  
γάρ ἐστι, καὶ ταῦτά οἱ νῦν μέλει. Λυδῶν μέντοι λογάδας 6  
καὶ τὸ κυνηγέσιον πᾶν συμπέμψω· καὶ διακελεύσομαι τοῖσι  
ἰοῦσι, εἶναι ὡς προθυμοτάτοις συνεξελέειν ὑμῖν τὸ θηρίον  
37 ἐκ τῆς χώρας.” Ταῦτα ἀμείψατο· ἀποχρεωμένων δὲ τοῦ 1  
τοις τῶν Μυσῶν, ἐπείσέρχεται ὁ τοῦ Κροίσου παῖς ὑκηκοὺς  
τῶν ἐδέοντο οἱ Μυσοί. οὐ φαμένου δὲ τοῦ Κροίσου τὸν γε 2  
παῖδά σφι συμπέμψειν, λέγει πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ νεηνίης τάδε·

§ 5. ἐν ἡμετέρου] Put for ἐν  
ἡμῶν or ἐν ἡμετέρῳ (cf. ἦλθεν ἐς ἡμε-  
τέρου διζήμενος εἰλίποδας βοῦς, *Hymn.*  
*Merc.* 370) ‘the gen. being retained  
because the ear was accustomed to  
it in the case of proper names’ e.g.  
ἐν Κροίσου, below. Kr.

CH. 36. § 1. Μυσ(ῳ)] To dis-  
tinguish it from the Thessalian O-  
lympus.

ὅς χρήμα] ‘A huge monster of  
a boar.’ This form of expression  
was apparently common in conversa-  
tion, as it occurs frequently in Ari-  
stophanes. χρήμα emphasises the  
notion of size, multitude, &c. in the  
adj. which invariably accompanies

it (St.). Cf. III. 109. 5; 130. 7.

γίνεται] ‘Appears.’

ἔργα] = ἀγροῦς (ὄλωλε δὲ πλοῖνα  
ἔργα, *Hom. Od.* IV. 318; ἀγροῦς  
καὶ ἔργ’ ἀνθρώπων, *Od.* VI. 259). Cf.  
‘hominumque boumque labores.’

διαφθείρεσκε] See 19. 1, n.

§ 2. μὲν—δὲ] Instead of οὐ μόνον—ἀλλὰ καὶ. There seems to be  
generally a touch of humour or sar-  
casm in Hdt.’s use of these anti-  
theses: cf. 59. 6.

§ 5. καὶ ταῦτά οἱ] ταῦτα=τὰ  
τοῦ γάμου. Cf. ἡμεροδρόμον τε καὶ  
τοῦτο μελετῶντα, VI. 105. 1.

CH. 37. § 2. τὸν γε παῖδά]  
γε calls attention to the fact that he



“ὦ πάτερ, τὰ κάλλιστα πρότερόν κοτε καὶ γενναιότατα ἡμῖν ἦν, ἔς τε πολέμους καὶ ἐς ἄγρας φοιτέοντας εὐδοκιμέειν· νῦν δὲ ἀμφοτέρων με τούτων ἀποκληΐσας ἔχεις, οὔτε τινὰ δειλίην μοι παριδὼν οὔτε ἀθυμίην. νῦν τε τέοισί με χρὴ 3 ὄμμασι ἔς τε ἀγορὴν καὶ ἐξ ἀγορῆς φοιτέοντα φαίνεσθαι; κοῖος μὲν τις τοῖσι πολιήτησι δόξω εἶναι; κοῖος δέ τις τῇ νεογάμῳ γυναικί; κοίῳ δὲ ἐκείνῃ δόξει ἀνδρὶ συνοικέειν; ἐμὲ ὦν σὺ ἢ μέθες ἰέναι ἐπὶ τὴν θήρην, ἢ λόγῳ ἀνάπειςον, ὅπως μοι ἀμείνω ἐστὶ ταῦτα οὕτω ποιέόμενα.” Ἀμείβεται Κροῖσος 38 τοῖσδε· “ὦ παῖ, οὔτε δειλίην οὔτε ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἄχαρι 1 παριδὼν τοι, ποιέω ταῦτα· ἀλλὰ μοι ὄψις ὀνείρου ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ ἐπιστᾶσα ἔφη σε ὀλιγοχρόνιον ἔσεσθαι, ὑπὸ γὰρ αἰχμῆς σιδηρέης ἀπολέεσθαι. πρὸς ὦν τὴν ὄψιν ταύτην 2 τὸν τε γάμον τοι τοῦτον ἔσπευσα, καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ παραλαμβανόμενα οὐκ ἀποπέμπω, φυλακὴν ἔχων, εἴ πως δυναίμην ἐπὶ τῆς ἐμῆς σε ζόης διακλέψαι. εἰς γὰρ μοι μῦθος τυγχάνεις 3 ἐὼν παῖς· τὸν γὰρ δὴ ἕτερον, διεφθαρμένον τὴν ἀκοὴν, οὐκ 39 εἶναί μοι λογίζομαι.” Ἀμείβεται ὁ νεηνίης τοῖσδε· “Συγ- 1 γνώμη μὲν, ὦ πάτερ, τοῖ, ἰδόντι γε ὄψιν τοιαύτην, περὶ ἐμέ

had consented to the rest of the request.

ἡμῖν = σοὶ καὶ ἐμοί. The use of ἡμεῖς for ἐγὼ does not occur in Homer (Kr.) and is doubtful in Hdt. Cf. 114. 5; 177. 2.

ἀποκλ. ἔχεις] 27. 4, n.

οὔτε τινὰ κ.τ.λ.] Soph. O. T. 536, φέρ' εἶπε, πρὸς θεῶν, δειλίαν ἢ μωρίαν | ἰδὼν τιν' ἐν μοι ταῦτ' ἐβουλεύσω ποιεῖν;

§ 3. ὄμμασι] Soph. O. T. 1371, ἐγὼ γὰρ οὐκ οἶδ' ὄμμασιν ποίοις βλέπων | πατέρα· πότ' ἂν προσεῖδον.

ἀγορὴν] The Lydians were a commercial people (94. 1), but the sentiment is unmistakeably Greek.

φαίνεσθαι] 'With what face is it fitting for me to show myself?'

CH. 38. § 2. τὰ παραλαμβάν.] 'The things which are being taken in hand;' on the analogy of παραλαμβάνειν ἀρχήν, λόγον. Blakesley renders: 'to the matter of which news is brought me;' but passages

like 55. 1; 11. 19. 2, will hardly justify this meaning where the word is used absolutely.

§ 3. τὴν ἀκοήν] These words have been suspected by Larcher and others as the gloss of a copyist, who was unaware of the first meaning of κωφός (34. 3). They quote in their favour τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἐπιεικῆς, ἀφρονος δέ, 85. 1; and an assertion of Eustathius (commentator on Homer about A.D. 1160), παρὰ δέ γε τοῖς ὕστερον κωφός ὁ τὴν ἀκοὴν βεβλαμμένος. But κωφός certainly = 'deaf' in the so-called Homeric hymn to Hermes (καὶ τε ἰδὼν μὴ ἰδὼν εἶναι, καὶ κωφός, ἀκούγας, | καὶ σιγᾶν, 92) which though not composed till some time after B.C. 660 (Müller) must be much earlier than Hdt. The words in the text may therefore stand; though if we believe the somewhat improbable story told at 85. 4, we cannot suppose the deafness to have been continuous or complete.

φυλακὴν ἔχειν· τὸ δὲ οὐ μανθάνεις, ἀλλὰ λέληθέ σε τὸ  
 ὄνειρον, ἐμέ τοι δίκαιόν ἐστι φράζειν. φῆς τοι τὸ ὄνειρον 2  
 ὑπὸ αἰχμῆς σιδηρῆς φάναι ἐμὲ τελευτήσειν· ὅς δὲ κοῖαι  
 μὲν εἰσι χεῖρες, κοίη δὲ αἰχμὴ σιδηρῆ, ἣν σὺ φοβέαι; εἰ  
 μὲν γὰρ ὑπὸ ὀδόντος τοι εἶπε τελευτήσειν με, ἢ ἄλλου τευ  
 ὅ τι τούτῳ ἔοικε, χρῆν δὴ σε ποιέειν τὰ ποιέεις· νῦν δὲ ὑπὸ  
 αἰχμῆς. ἐπεὶ τε ὦν οὐ πρὸς ἄνδρας ἡμῖν γίνεται ἡ μάχη  
 40 μέτεες με.” Ἀμείβεται Κροῖσος· “ὦ παῖ, ἔστι τῇ με νικᾶς,  
 γνώμην ἀποφαίνων περὶ τοῦ ἐνυπνίου. ὥς ὦν νενικημένος  
 ὑπὸ σέο μεταγινώσκω, μετήμῃ τε σε ἵεναι ἐπὶ τὴν ἄγρην.”  
 41 Εἶπας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Κροῖσος μεταπέμπεται τὸν Φρύγα 1  
 Ἀδρηστον, ἀπικομένῳ δέ οἱ λέγει τάδε· “Ἀδρηστέ, ἐγὼ  
 σε συμφορῇ πεπληγμένον ἀχάρι, τὴν τοι οὐκ ὀνειδίζω, ἐκά-  
 θηρα, καὶ οἰκίοισι ὑποδεξάμενος ἔχω, παρέχων πᾶσαν δαπά-  
 νην· νῦν ὦν (ὀφείλεις γὰρ, ἐμεῦ προποιήσαντος χρηστὰ ἐς 2  
 σέ, χρηστοῖσί με ἀμείβεσθαι) φύλακα παιδός σε τοῦ ἐμοῦ  
 χρητίζω γενέσθαι ἐς ἄγρην ὀρμεομένου· μή τινες κατ’ ὁδὸν  
 κλώπες κακοῦργοι ἐπὶ δηλήσει φανέωσι ὑμῖν. πρὸς δὲ τούτῳ 3  
 καὶ σέ τοι χρεών ἐστι ἵεναι ἔνθα ἀπολαμπρύνεαι τοῖσι  
 ἔργοισι· πατρῷόν τε γάρ τοι ἐστὶ, καὶ προσέτι ῥώμη

CH. 39. § 1. τὸ ὄνειρον] A gloss according to Abicht. In this case the relative τὸ would be the object of μανθάνεις and the subject of λέληθε. Cf. III. 4. But retaining τὸ ὄνειρον we may take the relative as the accus. after λέληθε, = ‘the point in which,’ λέληθε thus having, besides the regular accus. of the person, an irregular accus. of reference or quasi-cognate notion.

§ 2. ποιέειν τὰ π.] The form of expression here possibly implies an unwillingness to use definite language owing to feelings of shame, respect, &c. (91. 5; II. 49. 4). But this does not seem to be the case at I. 206. 1, and we may regard the phrase merely as an example of Hdt.’s simplicity of style, the repetition of the verb with the relative being nothing more than another form of the common cognate accusative.

νῦν] ‘As it is.’ IL 146. 3, n.

CH. 40. ἔστι τῇ] On the analogy of ἔστιν ὅτε, this must = ‘quodammodo,’ ‘aliquatenus.’ Croesus consents reluctantly, being only partially convinced by the reasoning of Atys with regard to the dream. Schw. suggests ἔστι τῇ (= ταύτῃ) με νικᾶς, ‘it is so: in this thou overcomest me.’ But this is extremely harsh. Krüger renders ‘in one respect,’ i.e. by giving an explanation of the dream.

CH. 41. § 1. ἀχάρι] 31. 7, n.

§ 2. ἐπὶ δηλήσει] ‘To harm you,’ ἐπὶ denoting the intention of the κλώπες. Cf. ἐπὶ λύμῃ, II. 121. 26.

§ 3. σέ τοι] τοι here has ‘its original demonstrative force’ (Madv. G. S. App. 252): = ‘thee there,’ i.e. ‘thee above all,’ like σέ τοι, σέ κρίνω, καὶ σέ, Soph. El. 1445.

42 ὑπάρχει." Ἀμείβεται ὁ Ἄδρηστος. "ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἄλλως 1  
 μὲν ἔγωγε ἂν οὐκ ἦϊα ἐς ἄεθλον τοιόνδε· οὔτε γὰρ συμφορῇ  
 τοιῇδε κεχρημένον οἶκός ἐστι ἐς ὁμήλικας εὖ πρήσσοντας  
 ἰέναι, οὔτε τὸ βούλεσθαι πάρα· πολλαχῇ τε ἂν ἰσχον ἐμεω-  
 τίν. νῦν δέ, ἐπεὶ τε σὺ σπεύδεις, καὶ δεῖ τοι χαρίζεσθαι 2  
 (ὀφείλω γάρ σε ἀμείβεσθαι χρηστοῖσι), ποιέειν εἰμὶ ἐτοῖμος  
 ταῦτα. παῖδά τε σὸν, τὸν διακελεύεαι φυλάσσειν, ἀπήμονα  
 τοῦ φυλάσσοντος εἵνεκεν προσδόκα τοι ἀπονοστήσειν."

43 Τοιούτοισι ἐπεὶ τε οὗτος ἀμείψατο Κροῖσον, ἦϊσαν μετὰ 1  
 ταῦτα ἐξηρτυμένοι λογάσι τε νεηνίησι καὶ κυσί. ἀπικόμενοι 2  
 δὲ ἐς τὸν Οὐλυμπον τὸ ὄρος, ἐζήτεον τὸ θηρίον· εὐρόντες δὲ  
 καὶ περιστάντες αὐτὸ κύκλῳ, ἐσηκόντιζον. ἔνθα δὴ ὁ ξείνος,  
 οὗτος δὴ ὁ καθαρθεὶς τὸν φόνον, καλεόμενός δὲ Ἄδρηστος,  
 ἀκοντίζων τὸν ὕν, τοῦ μὲν ἀμαρτάνει, τυγχάνει δὲ τοῦ Κροίσου  
 παιδός. ὁ μὲν δὴ βληθεὶς τῇ αἰχμῇ ἐξέπλησε τοῦ ὀνείρου  
 τὴν φήμην. ἔθεε δὲ τις ἀγγελέων τῷ Κροίσῳ τὸ γεγονός·  
 ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐς τὰς Σάρδεις τὴν τε μάχην καὶ τὸν τοῦ 3  
 44 παιδὸς μόρον ἐσήμηνέ οἱ. Ὁ δὲ Κροῖσος, τῷ θανάτῳ τοῦ 1  
 παιδὸς συντεταραγμένος, μᾶλλον τι ἐδεινολογέετο, ὅτι μιν  
 ἀπέκτεινε, τὸν αὐτὸς φόνου ἐκάθηρε. περιημεκτέων δὲ τῇ 2  
 συμφορῇ δεινῶς ἐκάλεε μὲν Δία Καθάρσιον, μαρτυρόμενος  
 τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ ξείνου πεπονθῶς εἶη· ἐκάλεε δὲ Ἐπίστιόν τε καὶ  
 Ἐταιρήϊον, τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον οὐνομάζων θεόν, τὸν μὲν

CH. 42. § 1. ἐς ὁμήλ.] 'Into the company of his fellows.' This use of ἐς implies that the persons are taken as representing a definite body or place: e.g. ἐς τοὺς δικαστάς = ἐς τὸ δικαστήριον.

ἂν ἰσχον] Supply εἰ τὸ βούλεσθαι παρῇν (Ab.), or more simply ἄλλως, as above, and translate πολλαχῇ 'on many grounds.' There is some authority for ἀνίσχον, 'often before (in like cases) did I restrain myself.'

§ 2. τοῦ φ. εἵνεκεν] 'So far as his protector avails:' θάρσσε τοῦτου εἵνεκεν, III. 85. 4. The irony of φυλάσσοντος is Sophoclean. See e.g. O. T. 246, foll.

CH. 43. § 2. καθαρθεὶς] Cf. θαφθῆναι, II. 81. 4. The second aspirate not being part of the root, the first aspirate is not changed. Jelf, G. G. 31.

καλ. δὲ Ἄδρ.] See note 35. 4. τοῦ μὲν] Hom. II. VIII. 119, καὶ τοῦ μὲν ῥ' ἀφάμαρτεν, ὁ δ' ἠνίοχον ...βάλε.

CH. 44. § 1. μᾶλλον τι] 'Aliquanto magis,' i.e. than he would otherwise have done (98. 7; 114. 4). For τι see 56. 1.

§ 2. τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον] So we have Ζεὺς Ἐλευθέριος, III. 142, 2; Ἐρκειος (the household god), VI. 68. 1, 'a small proportion of his thousand surnames,' Grote.

Ἐπίστιον καλέων, διότι δὴ οἰκίοισι ὑποδεξάμενος τὸν ξεῖνον, φονέα τοῦ παιδὸς ἐλάνθανε βόσκων· τὸν δὲ Ἐταιρήϊον, ὡς  
 45 φύλακα συμπέμψας αὐτὸν, εὐρήκοι πολεμιώτατον. Παρήσαν 1  
 δὲ μετὰ τοῦτο οἱ Λυδοὶ φέροντες τὸν νεκρὸν, ὅπισθε δὲ εἶπετό  
 οἱ ὁ φονεὺς. στας δὲ οὗτος πρὸ τοῦ νεκροῦ παρεδίδου ἑω-  
 τὸν Κροῖσῳ, προτείνων τὰς χεῖρας, ἐπικατασφάζαι μιν  
 κελεύων τῷ νεκρῷ· λέγων τὴν τε προτέρην ἑωυτοῦ συμφορὴν,  
 καὶ ὡς ἐπ' ἐκείνῃ τὸν καθήραντα ἀπολωλεκῶς εἶη, οὐδέ οἱ εἶη  
 βιώσιμον. Κροῖσος δὲ τούτων ἀκούσας τὸν τε Ἄδρηστον 2  
 κατοικτεῖρει, καίπερ ἑὼν ἐν κακῷ οἰκητῷ τοσοῦτῳ, καὶ λέγει  
 πρὸς αὐτόν· “Ἐχω, ὦ ξεῖνε, παρὰ σεῦ πᾶσαν τὴν δίκην,  
 ἐπειδὴ σεωυτοῦ καταδικάζεις θάνατον. εἰς δὲ οὐ σύ μοι 3  
 τοῦδε τοῦ κακοῦ αἴτιος, εἰ μὴ ὅσον ἀέκων ἐξεργάσαιο, ἀλλὰ  
 θεῶν κού τις, ὅς μοι καὶ πάλαι προεσήμαινε τὰ μέλλοντα  
 ἔσεσθαι.” Κροῖσος μὲν νυν ἔθαψε ὡς οἶκος ἦν τὸν ἑωυτοῦ  
 παῖδα. Ἄδρηστος δὲ ὁ Γορδίῳ τοῦ Μίδεω, οὗτος δὴ ὁ 4  
 φονεὺς μὲν τοῦ ἑωυτοῦ ἀδελφεοῦ γενόμενος, φονεὺς δὲ τοῦ  
 καθήραντος, ἐπεὶ τε ἡσυχίῃ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐγένετο περὶ τὸ  
 σῆμα, συγγινωσκόμενος ἀνθρώπων εἶναι τῶν αὐτὸς ἤδεε  
 βαρυσυμφωρότατος, ἑωυτὸν ἐπικατασφάζει τῷ τύμβῳ. Κροῖ-  
 σος δὲ ἐπὶ δύο ἔτεα ἐν πένθει μεγάλῳ κατῆστο, τοῦ παιδὸς  
 ἑσπερημένος.

46 Μετὰ δὲ ἡ Ἀστυάγεος τοῦ Κυαξάρεω ἡγεμονίῃ καταιρε- 1  
 θεῖσα ὑπὸ Κύρου τοῦ Καμβύσεω, καὶ τὰ τῶν Περσέων  
 πρήγματα αὐξανόμενα, πένθεος μὲν Κροῖσον ἀπέπαυσε

εὐρήκοι] ‘The perf. subj. and opt. are often found even in the case of perfects which have not the signification of the present.’ Krüger.

CH. 45. § 1. μιν] II. 5, n.

οὐδὲ] For καὶ οὐ, there being no previous negative notion expressed.

§ 3. οὐ σύ μοι] Hom. II. III. 164, οὐτι μοι αἰτίη ἐσσί· θεοὶ νύ μοι αἰτιοὶ εἰσιν.

ὡς οἶκος] Possibly this means ‘as became a king’s son.’ The tomb of Croesus’ father was a grand ἔργον (93. 1). Or else it simply = ‘as was natural,’ ἔθαψε serving to introduce τὸ σῆμα below.

§ 4. φονεὺς δὲ τοῦ καθ.] Not to be taken literally. So Oedipus says to Creon, ἴκου φονεὺς ὢν τοῦδε τάνδρος (= ἐμοῦ) Soph. O. T. 534; and to Polynices, ζῶ σοῦ φόνεως μεμνημένος (as my murderer), O. C. 1361. (St). Cf. ἀπολωλεκῶς above, § 1.

ἡσυχίῃ τῶν] Cf. ἡσυχ. τῆς πολιορκίης, ‘peace from the siege,’ VI. 135. 2; ἡσυχία ἐκείνων, Plat. Rep. 566. c. ‘The genitive is objective, ἡσυχίῃ being equivalent to κατάπαυσις.’ St.

CH. 46. § 1. ἡ Ἀστυάγ. κ.τ.λ.] Below, chs. 107—129.

ἐνέβησε δὲ ἐς φροντίδα, εἴ πως δύναίτο, πρὶν μεγάλους  
γενέσθαι τοὺς Πέρσας, καταλαβεῖν αὐτῶν αὐξανομένην τὴν  
δύναμιν. Μετὰ ὧν τὴν διάνοιαν ταύτην αὐτίκα ἀπεπειράτο  
τῶν μαντητῶν τῶν τε ἐν Ἑλληνισι καὶ τοῦ ἐν Λιβύῃ, δια-  
πέμψας ἄλλους ἄλλη, τοὺς μὲν ἐς Δελφοὺς ἵεναι, τοὺς δὲ ἐς  
Ἄβας τὰς Φωκέων, τοὺς δὲ ἐς Δωδώνην· οἱ δὲ τινες ἐπέμ-  
ποντο παρά τε Ἀμφιάρεων καὶ παρὰ Τροφώνιον· οἱ δὲ, τῆς  
Μιλησίης ἐς Βραγχίδας. ταῦτα μὲν νυν τὰ Ἑλληνικὰ  
μαντήϊα, ἐς τὰ ἀπέπεμψε μαντευσόμενος Κροῖσος. Λιβύης 3  
δὲ παρὰ Ἀμμωνα ἀπέστειλε ἄλλους χρησομένους. διέπεμπε  
δὲ πειρεώμενος τῶν μαντητῶν ὅτι φρονέοιεν· ὥς, εἰ φρονέοντα  
τὴν ἀληθείην εὐρεθείη, ἐπείρηταί σφρα δεύτερα πέμπων,  
47 εἰ ἐπιχειρέοι ἐπὶ Πέρσας στρατεύεσθαι. Ἐντειλάμενος δὲ 1  
τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι τάδε ἀπέπεμπε ἐς τὴν διάπειραν τῶν χρηστη-  
ρίων· ἀπ' ἧς ἂν ἡμέρης ὀρμηθέωσι ἐκ Σαρδίων, ἀπὸ ταύτης  
ἡμερολογέοντας τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον, ἑκατοστῇ ἡμέρῃ χρᾶσθαι  
τοῖσι χρηστηρίοις, ἐπειρωτέοντας ὅτι ποιέων τυγχάνοι ὁ  
Λυδῶν βασιλεὺς Κροῖσος ὁ Ἀλυάττεω. ὅσα δ' ἂν ἕκαστα 2  
τῶν χρηστηρίων θεσπίσῃ, συγγραψαμένους ἀναφέρειν παρ'  
ἑωυτόν. Ὅτι μὲν νυν τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν χρηστηρίων ἐθέσπισε, 3  
οὐ λέγεται πρὸς οὐδαμῶν· ἐν δὲ Δελφοῖσι ὡς ἐσῆλθον τά-

ἐνέβησε] Transitive.

καταλαβεῖν] This (= *occupare*) is better than καταβαλεῖν. Croesus had not yet formed the idea of crushing the Persian power: compare 53. 2 with 54. 1.

§ 2. τοῦ ἐν Λιβ.] 'The one in L.' In Egypt there were numerous oracles (II. 83. 2), but as Hdt. is here probably speaking of the country (not the continent) of Libya, this passage does not bear upon the question whether he included Egypt in the African continent. See II. 17. 2, note. Three of the Greek oracles mentioned here belong to Apollo, those at Delphi and Abae, and the oracle of the Branchidae (see note, 92. 2). The Dodonaean oracle belonged to Zeus (II. 55. 4). The oracles of Amphiaraus and Trophonius

(VIII. 134) were the most important among those belonging to heroes. Besides these Hdt. elsewhere mentions oracles of Apollo at Patara (I. 181. 2), Telmessus (I. 78. 2), Ismenion (VIII. 134. 2), and Ptoon (VIII. 135. 1), and an oracle of Zeus at Olympia (VIII. 134. 2).

ἵεναι] Cf. τελευτῆσαι, 32. 8, n.

§ 3. Ἀμμωνα] See II. 42. 7.

ὅτι φρονέοιεν] 'what manner of wisdom they had.'

δεύτερα] Cf. 4. 3, n.

ἐπιχειρέοι] The opt. is used as the form which the deliberative subj. assumes in *oratio obliqua* in past time (53. 1, n.).

CH. 47. § 1. ἀπ' ἧς] i.e. ἀπὸ ταύτης ἡ.

§ 3. μέγαρον = ἄδυτον, 159. 5, note.

χιστα ἐς τὸ μέγαρον οἱ Λυδοὶ χρησόμενδι τῷ θεῷ, καὶ ἐπει-  
ρώτεον τὸ ἐντεταλμένον, ἡ Πυθίη ἐν ἑξαμέτρῳ τόνῳ λέγει  
τάδε·

Οἶδα δ' ἐγὼ ψάμμου τ' ἀριθμὸν καὶ μέτρα θαλάσσης,  
καὶ κωφοῦ συνίημι, καὶ οὐ φωνεῦντος ἀκούω.

Ὅδμή μ' ἐς φρένας ἦλθε κραταιρίνοιο χελώνης  
ἐφομένης ἐν χαλκῷ ἄμ' ἀρνείοισι κρέεσσιν,  
ἧ χαλκὸς μὲν ὑπέστρωται, χαλκὸν δ' ἐπιέσται.

48 Ταῦτα οἱ Λυδοὶ θεσπισάσης τῆς Πυθίης συγγραψάμενοι 1  
οἷχοντο ἀπιόντες ἐς τὰς Σάρδεις. ὥς δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι οἱ περι- 2  
πεμφθέντες παρήσαν φέροντες τοὺς χρησμούς, ἐνθαῦτα ὁ  
Κροῖσος ἕκαστα ἀναπτύσσων ἐπώρα τῶν συγγραμμάτων.  
τῶν μὲν δὴ οὐδὲν προσίετό μιν· ὁ δὲ, ὥς τὸ ἐκ Δελφῶν 3  
ἤκουσε, αὐτίκα προσεύχετό τε καὶ προσεδέξατο, νομίσας  
μοῦνον εἶναι μαντήϊον τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖσι, ὅτι οἱ ἐξευρήκεε τὰ αὐ-  
τὸς ἐποίησε. ἐπεὶ τε γὰρ δὴ διέπεμψε παρὰ τὰ χρηστήρια

**χρησόμενοι]** This verb, which, as the middle voice of *χράω*, properly = 'to have an answer given one,' 'to consult,' here takes a dative on the analogy of *χρῆσθαι*, *uti* (cf. 53. 2; 157. 5). 'Usuri deo' may be a violent expression, as Schw. says, but it would be worse to construct τῷ θεῷ with ἐσῆλθον ἐς τὸ μέγαρον.

**ἡ Πυθίη]** Usually the utterances of the Pythia were recast by the *προφήτης* (VIII. 37. 1; 135. 3; VII. III. 2) who also wrote down the answer when completed (*συγγραψάμενους* above).

§ 4. **Οἶδα δ' ἐγὼ]** With δὲ here cf. 174. 6; IV. 159. 3. So we have ἀλλά, I. 55. 2; and καί, VI. 19. 8. Krüger is clearly wrong in comparing these passages with the use of δέ, 32. 1. 'The particle may either imply that the verses cited are a fragment from a longer answer, or more prob. that this answer was preceded by another addressed to another enquirer.' St. Cf. VIII. 135. 2. The oracle could only be consulted on certain fixed days (54.

2, n.), and the *προφήτης* prob. combined into one continuous composition all the answers delivered on any one day. But we find ἀλλά at the commencement of an oracle delivered to Croesus (55. 2) *after* he had acquired the right of *προμαντήτη* (54. 2). It is doubtful whether the insertion of these particles can really be explained.

**κωφοῦ]** 34. 3, n.

**φωνεῦντος]** Most of the oracles extant are in the Ionic dialect and in hexameters. An exception to the former rule occurs at IV. 157. 3; 159. 3: to the latter at I. 174. 6.

**μ' ἐς φρένας]** ἐς belongs to ἦλθε (66. 1, n.), *φρένας* being added epexegetically after μ', according to the Homeric usage, e.g. ἐπεὶ σε μάλιστα πόνος φρένας ἀμφιβέβηκεν, *Il.* VI. 355.

**ἐπιέσται]** Sc. ἡ χελώνη. For the metaphor of the coverlet compare *λάϊνον ἔσσο χιτῶνα* (of being stoned to death) *Il.* III. 57.

CH. 48. § 1. **οἷχοντο ἀπιόντες]** Like *ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη*, βῆ δ' ἰέναι,

§ 3. ὁ δὲ]

**αὐτὸς]** 'Added to indicate the

- τοὺς θεοπρόπους, φυλάξας τὴν κυρίην τῶν ἡμερέων, ἐμη-  
 χανήσατο τοιάδε· ἐπινοήσας τὰ ἦν ἀμήχανον ἐξευρεῖν τε καὶ 4  
 ἐπιφράσασθαι, χελώνην καὶ ἄρνα κατακόψας, ὁμοῦ ἔψεε  
 49 αὐτὸς ἐν λέβητι χαλκῷ, χάλκεον ἐπίθημα ἐπιθείς. Τὰ  
 μὲν δὴ ἐκ Δελφῶν οὕτω τῷ Κροίσῳ ἐχρήσθη· κατὰ δὲ τὴν  
 Ἀμφιάρεω τοῦ μαντητοῦ ἀπόκρισιν, οὐκ ἔχω εἶπαι, ὃ τι  
 τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι ἔχρησε ποιήσασιν περὶ τὸ ἱρὸν τὰ νομιζόμενα.  
 οὐ γὰρ ὦν οὐδὲ τοῦτο λέγεται ἄλλο γε, ἢ ὅτι καὶ τοῦτο  
 ἐνόμισε μαντήϊον ἀψευδὲς ἐκτῆσθαι.  
 50 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα θυσίησι μεγάλῃσι τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖσι θεὸν ἰ-  
 ἰλάσκετο. κτήνεά τε γὰρ τὰ θύσιμα πάντα τρισχίλια

new subject as such.' St. More probably it = 'by himself' or 'with his own hands': cf. ἔψεε αὐτὸς below. αὐτὸς thus implies the impossibility of collusion: compare the use of the aorist, διέπεμψε:—he did not devise his plan till *after* the departure of his messengers.

CH. 49. οὕτω τῷ Κρ. ἔχρ.] No satisfactory explanation has been given of this oracle. We may put on one side as capable of explanation (1) those oracles which seem to have led to their own fulfilment (e.g. the one which led to the rise of Psammetichus, II. 147. 4; 151. 4: cf. IV. 163 foll.; V. 42. 2), (2) those which were prob. invented after the occurrence of the event (cf. I. 13. 5), (3) those which merely enforce some moral or religious precept (e.g. that given to Glaucus, VI. 86. 13: cf. I. 19. 5; 159. 8), (4) those which seem to have been given under the direct influence of some political faction (e.g. those circulated by the medising party in Greece: see VIII. 141; Grote, *H. G.* III. 488 (v. 200); cf. also Hdt. v. 63), (5) those which are clearly the result of imposture (e.g. the ambiguous answers given to Croesus, I. 53. 3, and to the Lacedaemonians, I. 66. 3: compare the special pleading at I. 91). Here we must either disbelieve the story altogether, or attribute the answer to

*clairvoyance*. Prob. Hdt. derived his information from the Delphian priests.

τὰ νομιζόμενα.] Those who consulted the oracle had to sleep in the temple (*κατεκοίμησε ἐς Ἀμφιάρεω*, VIII. 134. 2) and the answer was supposed to be given in a dream.

οὐδὲ τοῦτο] i. e. any more than in the case of the other oracles.

ἄλλο γε, ἢ.] As if *περὶ τούτου* had preceded, ἄλλο ἢ being thus used after the negative adverbially in the sense of *πλήν*. So Thuc. III. 85. 2, ἀπόγνοια τοῦ ἄλλο τι ἢ κρατεῖν virtually = ἀπόγνοια πάντων πλήν τοῦ κρατεῖν. Some commentators make ἄλλο γε depend on εἶπαι, placing οὐ γὰρ...λέγεται in a parenthesis. This does not altogether get rid of the anacoluthon; but they have in their favour IX. 8. 3.

ἐκτῆσθαι.] 'That he had got in this too a true oracle.' Abicht reads *καὶ τοῦτον*, i. e. Amphiaraus too (as well as Apollo) possessed a true oracle. Cf. II. 174. 3.

CH. 50. § 1. πάντα.] 'E quoque genere animantium, quibus sacra fieri solent.' Herm. *ad Viger.* 94. Cf. 163. 2, n.; II. 91. 5. Here it might mean 'a full three thousand' (so often in Hom. with numerals), were it not for the analogy of *πᾶσι δέκα*, IV. 88. 1; IX. 81. 3, where it must = *ἐκάστου γένους*.



ἔθυσε, κλίνας τε ἐπιχρύσους καὶ ἐπαργύρους, καὶ φιάλας χρυσέας, καὶ εἴματα πορφύρεα, καὶ κιθῶνας, νήσας πυρὴν μεγάλην, κατέκαιε· ἐλπίζων τὸν θεὸν μᾶλλον τι τούτοις ἀνακτήσεσθαι· Λυδοῖσί τε πᾶσι προεῖπε, θύειν πάντα τινὰ 2 αὐτῶν τούτῳ ὃ τι ἔχοι ἕκαστος. ὥς δὲ ἐκ τῆς θυσίης ἐγένετο, καταχεάμενος χρυσὸν ἄπλετον, ἡμιπλίνθια ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐξήλανε, ἐπὶ μὲν τὰ μακρότερα ποιέων ἑξατάλαιστα, ἐπὶ δὲ τὰ βραχύτερα τριτάλαιστα, ὕψος δὲ παλαιστιαῖα, ἀριθμὸν δὲ ἑπτακαίδεκα καὶ ἑκατόν· καὶ τούτων ἀπέφθου χρυσοῦ 3 τέσσαρα, τρίτον ἡμιτάλαντον ἕκαστον ἔλκοντα, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἡμιπλίνθια λευκοῦ χρυσοῦ, σταθμὸν διτάλαντα. ἐποίεετο 4 δὲ καὶ λέοντος εἰκόνα χρυσοῦ ἀπέφθου, ἔλκουσιν σταθμὸν τάλαντα δέκα. οὗτος ὁ λέων, ἐπεὶ τε κατεκαίετο ὁ ἐν 5 Δελφοῖσι νηὸς, κατέπεσε ἀπὸ τῶν ἡμιπλινθίων· ἐπὶ γὰρ τούτοις ἴδρυτο· καὶ νῦν κεῖται ἐν τῷ Κορινθίων θησαυρῷ, ἔλκων σταθμὸν ἑβδομον ἡμιτάλαντον. ἀπετάκη γὰρ αὐτοῦ 51 τέταρτον ἡμιτάλαντον. Ἐπιτελέσας δὲ ὁ Κροῖσος ταῦτα 1 ἀπέπεμπε εἰς Δελφοὺς καὶ τάδε ἄλλα ἅμα τούτοις, κρητῆρας δύο μεγάθει μεγάλους, χρύσεον καὶ ἀργύρεον, τῶν ὁ μὲν χρύσεος ἐκέετο ἐπὶ δεξιὰ ἐσιόντι εἰς τὸν νηὸν, ὁ δὲ ἀργύρεος ἐπ' ἀριστερά. μετεκινήθησαν δὲ καὶ οὗτοι ὑπὸ τὸν νηὸν 2

ἀνακτήσεσθαι] Krüger translates 'win back again,' 'because the doubt implied in his question might have offended the god.' But this seems fanciful. See L. and S. *Lex*.

§ 2. τούτῳ] So the abl. in Latin. 'Cum faciam vitula,' Virg. *Ecl.* III. 77: 'Nunc et in umbrosis Fauno decet immolare lucis, Seu poscat agna, sive malit haedo,' Hor. *Od.* I. 4. 11. Or (less probably) τούτῳ = τῷ θεῷ.

ἐκ.] Cf. 185. 7.

ἄπλετον] Used as we use the word 'immense,' without implying the impossibility of measurement. Hdt. proceeds to mention all the data necessary for a calculation of the exact quantity.

ἐπὶ μὲν τὰ μακρ.] 'On their longer side,' 'lengthwise.'

§ 3. τρίτον ἡμιτ.]  $2\frac{1}{2}$  talents.

This correction for τρία ἡμιτάλαντα ( $1\frac{1}{2}$  talents) is most probably right, since Hdt. must have known that gold alloyed with silver (λευκός) is lighter than pure gold.

§ 4. λέοντος] 84. 3, n.

§ 5. κατεκαίετο] B.C. 548. Cf. II. 180. 1.

ἴδρυτο] The four bricks would form the top of the pedestal. 'The remaining 113 were divided so that the second stage from the top would consist of 15 (= 5 by 3), the third of 35 (= 7 by 5), the fourth of 63 (= 9 by 7).' Abicht.

ἑβδ. ἡμ.]  $6\frac{1}{2} + 3\frac{1}{2} = 10$ .

CH. 51. § 1. μεγάθει] This simply = 'in size,' Cf. μεγάθει μικροί, II. 74. 1.

ἐσιόντι] 14. 4, n.

§ 2. ὑπὸ] 'Upon occasion of.' See II. 36. 2, n.



κατακαέντα· καὶ ὁ μὲν χρύσεος κείται ἐν τῷ Κλαζομενίων  
θησαυρῷ, ἔλκων σταθμὸν ἑννατον ἡμιτάλαντον καὶ ἔτι δυνά-  
δεκα μνέας· ὁ δὲ ἀργύρεος ἐπὶ τοῦ προνηίου τῆς γωνίης,  
χωρέων ἀμφορέας ἑξακοσίους. ἐπικίρνεται γὰρ ὑπὸ Δελφῶν 3  
Θεοφανίοισι. φασὶ δέ μιν Δελφοὶ Θεοδώρου τοῦ Σαμίου  
ἔργον εἶναι· καὶ ἐγὼ δοκέω, οὐ γὰρ τὸ συντυχὸν φαίνεται μοι  
ἔργον εἶναι. καὶ πίθους τε ἀργυρέους τέσσαρας ἀπέπεμψε,  
οἱ ἐν τῷ Κορινθίων θησαυρῷ ἐστᾶσι· καὶ περιρραντήρια δύο 4  
ἀνέθηκε, χρύσεον τε καὶ ἀργύρεον· τῶν τῷ χρυσέῳ ἐπιγέ-  
γραπται ΛΑΚΕΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΩΝ, φαμένων εἶναι ἀνάθημα·  
οὐκ ὀρθῶς λέγοντες. ἔστι γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο Κροίσου. ἐπέ- 5  
γραψε δὲ τῶν τις Δελφῶν, Λακεδαιμονίοισι βουλόμενος  
χαρίζεσθαι· τοῦ ἐπιστάμενος τὸ οὖνομα, οὐκ ἐπιμνήσομαι.  
ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν παῖς, δι' οὗ τῆς χειρὸς ῥέει τὸ ὕδωρ, Λακεδαι-  
μονίων ἐστί· οὐ μέντοι τῶν γε περιρραντηρίων οὐδέτερον.  
ἄλλα τε ἀναθήματα οὐκ ἐπίσημα πολλὰ ἀπέπεμψε ἅμα 6  
τούτοις ὁ Κροῖσος καὶ χεύματα ἀργύρεα κυκλοτερέα, καὶ  
δὴ καὶ γυναικὸς εἶδωλον χρύσειον τρίπηχυν, τὸ Δελφοὶ τῆς  
ἀρτοκόπου τῆς Κροίσου εἰκόνα λέγουσι εἶναι. πρὸς δὲ καὶ  
τῆς ἐωυτοῦ γυναικὸς τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς δειρῆς ἀνέθηκε ὁ Κροῖσος  
52 καὶ τὰς ζώνας. Ταῦτα μὲν ἐς Δελφούς ἀπέπεμψε. τῷ δὲ

ἐπὶ τοῦ πρ. τῆς γ.] 'At the angle of the fore-court,' i. e. in one of the two corners formed by the two cross walls, between which was the entrance into the νηὸς from the fore-court.

§ 3. ἐπικίρνεται γὰρ] γὰρ explains how the number of ἀμφορεῖς is known.

Θεοφανίοισι] 'Prob. the spring festival kept by the Delphians in honour of the reappearance of their god (i. e. the sun).' St. Cf. II. 24. 3.

τὸ συντυχόν] This though predicate retains the article, because without it the participle would lose its idiomatic meaning.

§ 4. περιρραντήρια] Fonts were generally placed at the entrance of temples.

λέγοντες] As if we had had οἱ φασὶ instead of φαμένων (= φαμένων σφέων).

§ 5. τῶν τις] 71. 2, n.

οὐκ ἐπιμνήσομαι] II. 123. 3, n.

ῥέει τὸ ὕδωρ] Sc. ἐς τὰ περιρραντήρια.

§ 6. οὐκ ἐπίσημα] This probably means 'of no note' (II. 20. 1). But cf. χρυσὸν ἐπίσημον, ἀσημον, IX. 41. 3.

χεύματα] 'Bowls,' L. and S. *Lex.* But χεῦμα ought to mean the thing poured, not the receptacle. More probably here it = 'castings,' (Stein). ἀρτήματα χυτά, II. 69. 2; χεῦμα φαινοῦ κασσιτέροιο, Hom. II. XXIII. 561.

τῆς ἀρτοκόπου] According to Plutarch, she had saved Croesus from being poisoned.

τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς δ.] 'The necklace off his wife's neck.'

Ἀμφιάρεω, πυθόμενος αὐτοῦ τήν τε ἀρετὴν καὶ τὴν πάθην, ἀνέθηκε σάκος τε χρύσειον πᾶν ὁμοίως καὶ αἰχμὴν στερεὴν πᾶσαν χρυσέην, τὸ ξυστὸν τῇσι λόγχῃσι ἐὼν ὁμοίως χρύσειον· τὰ ἔτι καὶ ἀμφοτέρω ἐς ἐμὲ ἦν κείμενα ἐν Θήβησι, καὶ Θηβαίων ἐν τῷ νηῷ τοῦ Ἰσμηνίου Ἀπόλλωνος.

53 Τοῖσι δὲ ἄγειν μέλλουσι τῶν Λυδῶν ταῦτα τὰ δῶρα ἐς 1 τὰ ἱρὰ ἐνετέλλετο ὁ Κροῖσος ἐπειρωτᾶν τὰ χρηστήρια, εἰ στρατεύηται ἐπὶ Πέρσας Κροῖσος, καὶ εἴ τινα στρατὸν ἀνδρῶν προσθέοιτο φίλον. Ὡς δὲ ἀπικόμενοι ἐς τὰ ἀπε- 2 πέμφθησαν οἱ Λυδοὶ ἀνέθεσαν τὰ ἀναθήματα, ἐχρέωντο τοῖσι χρηστηρίοις λέγοντες· “Κροῖσος, ὁ Λυδῶν τε καὶ ἄλλων ἐθνέων βασιλεὺς, νομίσας ταῖς μαντήϊαις εἶναι μούνα ἐν ἀνθρώποις, ὑμῖν τε ἄξια δῶρα ἔδωκε τῶν ἐξευρημάτων, καὶ νῦν ὑμέας ἐπειρωτᾶ, εἰ στρατεύηται ἐπὶ Πέρσας, καὶ εἴ τινα στρατὸν ἀνδρῶν προσθέοιτο σύμμαχον.” Οἱ μὲν ταῦτα 3 ἐπειρώτεον. τῶν δὲ μαντηῶν ἀμφοτέρων ἐς τὸ αἰ γινῶμαι συνέδραμον, προλέγουσαι Κροίσῳ, ἣν στρατεύηται ἐπὶ Πέρσας, μεγάλην ἀρχὴν μιν καταλύσαι. τοὺς δὲ Ἑλλήνων

CH. 52. τήν πάθ.] Acc. to the legend, the earth opened and swallowed him up. Aesch. *Sept.* 583, ἔγωγε μὲν δὴ τήνδε πῖανώ χθόνα, | μάντις κεκευθὼς πολεμίας ὑπὸ χθονός (in Theban territory).

ὁμοίως] With χρ. πᾶν, ‘of gold, all over alike.’

αἰχμὴν] Properly the point, here used of the whole spear.

τὸ ξυστὸν] The part in apposition with the whole (II. 41. 4, n.). The plural λόγχῃσι denotes that the two ends of the spear are meant, both the point, the λόγχη proper (= αἰχμή) and the spike, σαυρωτήρ (VII. 41. 3), or στυράκιον (Thuc. II. 4. 3).

καὶ ἀμφοτέρω] II. 7. 1, n.

καὶ Θηβ.] 102. 4, n.

CH. 53. § 1. στρατεύηται... προσθέοιτο] Both subj. and opt. must have a deliberative sense. For the latter, cf. εἰ ἐπιχειρέει, 46. 3. The exact force of the change of mood is very doubtful. Possibly the optative implies an additional con-

dition, and thus expresses a more remote contingency:—‘and in that case whether he should take to himself.’ See Jelf, *G. G.* 809. 2. G. Hermann (*Orusc.* IV. 90) renders προσθέοιτο ‘an censerent oracula socios adjungi.’ ‘Primo interrogat an debeat proficisci, quae ipsius est deliberatio; deinde, si debeat, an oracula id se velint cum sociis facere, idque est ex oraculorum mente dictum.’ Compare the use of the opt. with *ἴνα*, II. 93. 7, n. But a very possible explanation is simply that in the time of Hdt. grammatical rules had not acquired that fixity, which grammars lay down.

§ 2. ἐς τὰ] Sc. ἱρὰ.

ἐχρ. τοῖς χρηστ.] 47. 3, n.

τάδε] Notice the plur. So ὑμῖν below = σοι, ὦ Φοῖβε, καὶ σοι, ὦ Ἀμφιάρεω. The form of words is one which would only be applicable to both oracles, if consulted together.

§ 3. καταλύσαι] By the use of the aorist, all reference to time is

δυνατωτάτους συνεβούλευόν οἱ ἐξευρόντα φίλους προσθέσθαι.  
 54 Ἐπεὶ τε δὲ ἀνενειχθέντα τὰ θεοπρόπια ἐπύθετο ὁ Κροῖσος, ἰ  
 ὑπερήσθη τε τοῖσι χρηστηρίοις, πάγχυ τε ἐλπίσας κατα-  
 λύσειν τὴν Κύρου βασιληΐην, πέμψας αὐτὶς ἐς Πυθῶν Δελ-  
 φούς δωρέεται, πυθόμενος αὐτῶν τὸ πλῆθος, κατ' ἄνδρα δύο  
 στατήρσι ἕκαστον χρυσοῦ. Δελφοὶ δὲ ἀντὶ τούτων ἔδοσαν 2  
 Κροίσῳ καὶ Λυδοῖσι προμαντηΐην καὶ ἀτελείην καὶ προεδρίην,  
 καὶ ἐξεῖναι τῷ βουλομένῳ αὐτῶν γενέσθαι Δελφὸν ἐς τὸν αἰὲ  
 55 χρόνον. Δωρησάμενος δὲ τοὺς Δελφούς ὁ Κροῖσος ἐχρηστη- ἰ  
 ριάζετο τὸ τρίτον. ἐπεὶ τε γὰρ δὴ παρέλαβε τοῦ μαντητοῦ  
 ἀληθείην, ἐνεφορέετο αὐτοῦ. ἐπειρώτα δὲ τάδε χρηστηρια-  
 ζόμενος, εἴ οἱ πολυχρόνιος ἔσται ἡ μουναρχίη. ἡ δὲ Πυθίη 2  
 οἱ χρᾶ τάδε·

Ἄλλ' ὅτ' ἂν ἡμίονος βασιλεὺς Μήδοις γένηται,  
 καὶ τότε, Λυδὲ ποδαβρὲ, πολυψήφιδά παρ' Ἑρμον  
 φεύγειν, μηδὲ μένειν, μηδ' αἰδεῖσθαι κακὸς εἶναι.

56 Τούτοις ἐλθοῦσι τοῖσι ἔπεσι ὁ Κροῖσος πολλόν τι μάλιστα ἰ  
 πάντων ἥσθη, ἐλπίζων ἡμίονον οὐδαμὰ ἀντ' ἀνδρὸς βασιλεύ-  
 σειν Μήδων· οὐδ' ὦν αὐτὸς, οὐδὲ οἱ ἐξ αὐτοῦ, παύσεσθαι

avoided: = 'foretelling to Croesus his overthrow of a great dominion.' The line was Κροῖσος Ἄλυν διαβάς μεγάλην ἀρχὴν καταλύσει (Aristot. *Rhet.* III. 5. 4); rendered by Cicero, 'Croesus Halym penetrans magnam pervertet opum vim' (*De Div.* II. 56).

CH. 54. § 1. Πυθῶ] 'Used instead of Δελφούς, because this latter follows immediately in another sense.' Stein.

κατ' ἄνδρα ἕκαστον] Cf. 9. 5.

§ 2. προμαντηΐην] Other people had to draw lots for precedence in consulting the oracle, which was only open on certain days. Aesch. *Eum.* 32, πάλῳ λαχόντες, ὡς νομίζεται.

ἀτελείην] This implies that there was a fee for consultation.

προεδρίην] At the Pythian games.

CH. 55. § 2. Ἄλλ' ὅτ' ἂν] See 47. 4, note. For ἡμίονος, see 91. 5.

ποδαβρὲ] The epithet suits the character of the later Lydians. Cf. κοθήρηνους ὑποδέεσθαι, 155. 6.

Ἑρμον] See 80. 1.

φεύγειν] 32. 12, n.

CH. 56. § 1. πολλόν τι] A very common use of τι in Hdt. (πολλὸς τις once in Homer, *Il.* VII. 156).

(Properly τις added to an adj. of quantity or numeral renders it less precise, e.g. ὀλίγοι τινές, 'some few,' τρεῖς τινές, 'three or so.' But τι is used by Hdt. in these phrases as a pure adverb (we have πολλῷ τι πλείστος, III. 116. 1, instead of πολλῷ τέῳ or πολλόν τι), and often derives from the context an emphasizing force: 'something much' = 'very much.' Cf. οὕτω δὴ τι, ὀλίγον τι, 185. 2, 5; μᾶλλον τι, 44. 1; σμικρόν τι, II. 7. 3; ὅσον τι, I. 185. 4.

οἱ ἐξ αὐτοῦ] The nom. (instead of the accus.) owing to αὐτός above.

κοτε τῆς ἀρχῆς. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐφρόντιζε ἱστορέων, τοὺς 2  
 αὖν Ἑλλήνων δυνατωτάτους ἔοντας προσκτῆσαιτο φίλους.  
 ἱστορέων δὲ εὔρισκε Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ Ἀθηναίους προέ-  
 χοντας, τοὺς μὲν τοῦ Δωρικοῦ γένεος, τοὺς δὲ τοῦ Ἰωνικοῦ.  
 ταῦτα γὰρ ἦν τὰ προκεκριμένα ἔοντα τὸ ἀρχαῖον, τὸ μὲν 3  
 Πελασγικόν, τὸ δὲ Ἑλληνικόν ἔθνος. καὶ τὸ μὲν οὐδαμῇ  
 κω ἐξεχώρησε, τὸ δὲ πουλυπλόαντον κάρτα. ἐπὶ μὲν γὰρ 4  
 Δευκαλίωνος βασιλέος οἴκεε γῆν τὴν Φθιώτιν, ἐπὶ δὲ Δώρου  
 τοῦ Ἑλληνος τὴν ὑπὸ τὴν Ὀσσαν τε καὶ τὸν Οὔλυμπον  
 χώραν, καλεομένην δὲ Ἰστιαιώτιν ἐκ δὲ τῆς Ἰστιαιώτιδος  
 ὡς ἐξανέστη ὑπὸ Καδμείων, οἴκεε ἐν Πίνδῳ, Μακεδόνον  
 καλεόμενον. ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ αὐτὶς ἐς τὴν Δρυοπίδα μετέβη, καὶ 5  
 ἐκ τῆς Δρυοπίδος οὕτως ἐς Πελοπόννησον ἐλθὼν, Δωρικὸν  
 ἐκλήθη.

57 Ἦν τινα δὲ γλώσσαν ἴεσαν οἱ Πελασγοὶ, οὐκ ἔχω 1

§ 2. τοὺς] Hdt. often uses the simple relative in indirect questions, just as conversely he uses *οἷς* for *οἷ* (7. 4). 'The optative with *ἄν* stands in dependent interrogative sentences which would have the same form in *oratio recta*.' Madv. *G. S.* 137.

§ 3. ταῦτα γὰρ] Two MSS. omit the whole of this passage down to the end of ch. 68. Possibly we have here one of the later additions made by the author to his work.

τὸ μὲν] This in both cases = τὸ Ἰωνικόν. Stein thus sums up the difficulties of the passage:—'If the assertion τὸ μὲν...ἐξεχώρησε is understood of the Πελασγικόν ἔθνος, it is inconsistent with the accounts given of the early diffusion of the Pelasgi (57. 2, 4); if it be understood of the Ἰωνικόν ἔθνος, it is inconsistent with the migrations of the Ionians into and out of Attica, (VII. 94; I. 146. 4; 147. 2): if it be restricted to the inhabitants of Attica (cf. VII. 161. 6; Thuc. I. 2. 5) it only applies to them, in so far as they were not of Ionian descent, and does not therefore suit in this connection.' Prob. the third hypothesis is the best. Hdt.'s general assertion

will really only apply to that branch of the so-called Ionian or Pelasgic race which remained in Attica.

§ 4. ἐπὶ μὲν γὰρ κ.τ.λ.] 'This connected account can only be viewed as an attempt to arrange and reconcile various legends. The chain of Olympus is the place in which the Dorians first appear in the history of Greece.' Müller's *Dorians*, I. 1. 1. Hellen acc. to the legend had three sons, Dorus Aeolus and Xuthus, this last the father of Achaeus and Ion.

Μακεδόνον] 'The Macedonian dialect was full of primitive Greek words, but there does not appear to be any peculiar connection with the Doric dialect. Prob. Hdt. followed some Macedonian accounts.' Müller.

§ 5. αὐτὶς] With ἐνθεῦτεν. The idea of repetition belongs only to μετέβη, not to ἐς τὴν Δρ.

Δρυοπίδα] The district afterwards called Doris, between Oeta and Par-nassus.

οὕτως] 'After all this.'

ἐς Πελ.] The migration which is called in legend the return of the Heracleidae. See Grote, *H. G.* I. 82 (I. 130); Curtius, *Hist. Greece (E. T.)*, I. 109; 162.

ἀτρεκέως εἶπαι. εἰ δὲ χρεὼν ἐστὶ τεκμαιρόμενον λέγειν τοῖσι νῦν ἔτι ἐοῦσι Πελασγῶν, τῶν ὑπὲρ Τυρσηνῶν Κρηστώνη πόλιν οἰκεόντων, οἳ ὄμουροί κοτε ἦσαν τοῖσι νῦν Δωριεῦσι καλεομένοισι, οἷκεον δὲ τηνικαῦτα γῆν τὴν νῦν Θεσσαλιῶτιν καλεομένην· καὶ τῶν Πλακίην τε καὶ Σκυλάκην 2 Πελασγῶν οἰκισάντων ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ, οἳ σύνοικοι ἐγένοντο Ἀθηναίοισι· καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα Πελασγικὰ ἔοντα πολίσματα τὸ οὔνομα μετέβαλε· εἰ τούτοις τεκμαιρόμενον δεῖ λέγειν, ἦσαν 3 οἱ Πελασγοὶ βάρβαρον γλῶσσαν ἰέντες. εἰ τοίνυν ἦν καὶ πᾶν τοιοῦτο τὸ Πελασγικόν, τὸ Ἀττικὸν ἔθνος, ἐὼν Πελασ-

CH. 57. § 1. ὑπὲρ Τυρσ. Κρηστώνη] Niebuhr (*Hist. Rome*, I. 34) proposes to read Κρότῶνα, i.e. Croton or Cortona in Etruria. But Hdt. mentions a district called Crestonia in Thrace (VII. 124. 3; 127. 2; VIII. 116. 1) and Thuc. places Τυρσηνοί in the neighbourhood of Mount Athos (IV. 109. 4). The main argument in Niebuhr's favour is that these Τυρσηνοί were Pelasgi (Thuc. l. c.) and ought therefore to have spoken the same language as the people of Creston, which acc. to Hdt. was not the case (below, § 4). This however is not a sufficient reason for altering the reading of the MSS.

οἳ ὄμουροι] i. e. these Pelasgians formerly occupied Thessalotis (one district of Thessaly) which borders on Histiaeotis, where the Dorians formerly lived (56. 4).

§ 2. Ἑλλησπόντῳ] Placia and Scylace were really on the Propontis, but compare the use of Ἑλλησποντος, IV. 38. 2.

σύνοικοι ἐγ. Ἀθ.] Cf. II. 51. 2; VI. 137; Thuc. IV. 109. 4.

τὸ οὔνομα μετέβαλε] Changed the name (though they really are Pelasgic).

βάρβαρον γλῶσσαν] Grote rightly points out that these words imply 'a substantive language different from Greek,' *H. G.* II. 46 (II. 354): but the difference need not be greater than that between Latin and Greek, or Anglo-Saxon and English. On the Indo-European origin of

the Pelasgi most modern authorities are agreed. The main difficulty in Hdt.'s account is the relation between the Pelasgi and Hellenes. If the latter were originally a branch of the former (cf. 58. 2), it is not easy to see the force of the sharp contrast which he draws between the two. The explanation prob. is (1) that the term Pelasgic is used by Hdt., both (i.) in a wider sense to denote the whole mass of races, some of which afterwards became Hellenic (so the ancient name of Hellas is said to have been Pelasgia, II. 56. 1), and (ii.) in a narrower sense to denote a special tribe (with a distinct language of its own) which resisted Hellenic influence: (2) that Hdt.'s notion of nationality was different from the modern idea. With him it was a religious question, since every nation derived its origin from some divine or semi-divine ἐπώνυμος. Thus by the adoption of the religious rites (and ἐπώνυμοι) of other tribes it was possible for nations really to *change* (cf. μεταβολὴ ἐς Ἑλλήνας, § 3) their nationality. For a summary of modern theories on the Pelasgi see Smith's *Dict. Geogr.* Add Curtius I. 30, foll.

§ 3. τὸ Ἀττ. ἔθνος κ.τ.λ.] 'The converse conclusion, that the Ἀττικὸν ἔθνος could not have been Pelasgic, would have been more correct.' Stein. But see Curtius, I. 124.

γικόν, ἅμα τῇ μεταβολῇ τῇ ἐς Ἑλληνας καὶ τὴν γλῶσσαν μετέμαθε. καὶ γὰρ δὴ οὔτε οἱ Κρηστωνιῆται οὐδαμοῖσι τῶν 4 νῦν σφέας περιοικούντων εἰσὶ ὁμόγλωσσοι, οἷτε οἱ Πλακίηνοί, σφίσι δὲ ὁμόγλωσσοι· δηλοῦσί τε, ὅτι, τὸν ἡνείκαντο γλώσσης χαρακτῆρα μεταβαίνοντες ἐς ταῦτα τὰ χωρία, 58 τοῦτον ἔχουσι ἐν φυλακῇ. Τὸ δὲ Ἑλληνικὸν γλώσση μὲν, 1 ἐπεὶ τε ἐγένετο, αἰεὶ κοτε τῇ αὐτῇ διαχρᾶται, ὡς ἐμοὶ καταφαίνεται εἶναι. ἀποσχισθὲν μέντοι ἀπὸ τοῦ Πελασγικοῦ, 2 ἐὼν ἀσθενὲς, ἀπὸ σμικροῦ τέο τὴν ἀρχὴν ὀρμεώμενον, αὖξεται ἐς πλῆθος τῶν ἐθνέων πολλῶν, μάλιστα προσκεχωρηκότων αὐτῷ καὶ ἄλλων ἐθνέων βαρβάρων συχνῶν. πρὸς δὴ ὧν 3 ἐμοὶ τε δοκέει οὐδὲ τὸ Πελασγικὸν ἔθνος, ἐὼν βάρβαρον, οὐδαμὰ μέγας αὖξηθῆναι.

CH. 58. § 1. γλώσση μὲν] Their *language* (unlike that of the Ἀττικὸν ἔθνος) has always been the same (i. e. distinct from that of the Pelasgi) since they became a distinct nation: but still (μέντοι) they were originally a branch of the Pelasgi.

ἐπεὶ τε = ἐξ οὗ.

§ 2. ἀποσχισθὲν] So Thuc. τὰ μὲν πρὸ Ἑλλήνων τοῦ Δευκαλίωνος καὶ πάνυ οὐδὲ εἶναι (δοκεῖ μοι) ἡ ἐπικλησις αὕτη (Ἑλλὰς), κατὰ ἔθνη δὲ ἄλλα τε καὶ τὸ Πελασγικὸν ἐπὶ πλείστον ἀφ' ἐαυτῶν τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν παρέχουσιν, I. 3. 2.

σμικροῦ τέο] 56. I, n.

τῶν ἐθνέων π.] πολλὸν and τῶν πολλῶν have been conjectured. Stein reads τῶν ἐθνέων, Πελασγῶν μάλιστα(!). But the repetition πλῆθος—πολλῶν is not unlike Hdt., and the text may stand, if πολλῶν be pressed as predicate. Translate: 'though starting from very small beginnings, it has waxed great, and many are the nations into which it has multiplied.' τῶν ἐθν. = the well-known tribes which compose it.

καὶ ἄλλων] 'Besides.' Lit. 'other than themselves,' the Ἕλληνες being thus acc. to the Greek idiom regarded as forming part of the class, βάρβαροι; see 193, 4, note. For in-

stances of barbarian races which have been incorporated with the Hellenic, see I. 146. 2, 3; VIII. 43. 3; 44. 3; 46. 4.

§ 3. πρὸς δὴ ὧν] Bähr adopts Matthiä's rendering: 'accedit—et sic mihi videtur—quod Pelasgica gens, etc.' But πρὸς with δὴ cannot mean 'besides' as in the phrases πρὸς δέ, καὶ πρὸς, says Krüger, who suggests πρὸς δὲ δὴ ὧν. Stein proposes πρόσθε δὲ ὧν, 'earlier at least,' i. e. before their union with the Hellenes: but this involves reading Πελασγῶν above. Notwithstanding Krüger's objection (if we have πρὸς γάρ, III. 91. 4, why not πρὸς δὴ here?) it is best to follow Matthiä, who also rightly defends ἐμοὶ τε, 'quasi supplendum καὶ ἄλλω.' So often ἐμοὶ μὲν without any following δέ.

οὐδὲ] Any more than the Hellenic, before it separated from its parent-stock.

ἐὼν βάρβ.] So long as it was barbarian. Hdt. is referring to instances in which Pelasgic tribes became Hellenized. As the Hellenic race made no advance till it had separated from the Pelasgic, so Pelasgic tribes made no advance unless they submitted themselves to the civilizing influence of the now separated Hellenes.

- τοὺς θεοπρόπους, φυλάξας τὴν κυρίην τῶν ἡμερέων, ἐμη-  
 χανήσατο τοιάδε· ἐπινοήσας τὰ ἦν ἀμήχανον ἐξευρεῖν τε καὶ 4  
 ἐπιφράσασθαι, χελώνην καὶ ἄρνα κατακόψας, ὁμοῦ ἔψεε  
 49 αὐτὸς ἐν λέβητι χαλκέῳ, χάλκεον ἐπίθημα ἐπιθείς. Τὰ  
 μὲν δὴ ἐκ Δελφῶν οὕτω τῷ Κροίσῳ ἐχρήσθη· κατὰ δὲ τὴν  
 Ἀμφιάρεω τοῦ μαντητοῦ ἀπόκρισιν, οὐκ ἔχω εἶπαι, ὃ τι  
 τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι ἔχρησε ποιήσασι περὶ τὸ ἱρὸν τὰ νομιζόμενα.  
 οὐ γὰρ ὦν οὐδὲ τοῦτο λέγεται ἄλλο γε, ἢ ὅτι καὶ τοῦτο  
 ἐνόμισε μαντήϊον ἀψευδὲς ἐκτῆσθαι.  
 50 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα θυσίησι μεγάλῃσι τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖσι θεὸν ἰ-  
 ἰλάσκετο. κτήνεά τε γὰρ τὰ θύσιμα πάντα τρισχίλια

new subject as such.' St. More probably it = 'by himself' or 'with his own hands:' cf. ἔψεε αὐτὸς below. αὐτὸς thus implies the impossibility of collusion: compare the use of the aorist, διέπεμψε:—he did not devise his plan till *after* the departure of his messengers.

CH. 49. οὕτω τῷ Κρ. ἔχρ.] No satisfactory explanation has been given of this oracle. We may put on one side as capable of explanation (1) those oracles which seem to have led to their own fulfilment (e.g. the one which led to the rise of Psammetichus, II. 147. 4; 151. 4: cf. IV. 163 foll.; V. 42. 2), (2) those which were prob. invented after the occurrence of the event (cf. I. 13. 5), (3) those which merely enforce some moral or religious precept (e.g. that given to Glaucus, VI. 86. 13: cf. I. 19. 5; 159. 8), (4) those which seem to have been given under the direct influence of some political faction (e.g. those circulated by the medising party in Greece: see VIII. 141; Grote, *H. G.* III. 488 (v. 200); cf. also Hdt. v. 63), (5) those which are clearly the result of imposture (e.g. the ambiguous answers given to Croesus, I. 53. 3, and to the Lacedaemonians, I. 66. 3: compare the special pleading at I. 91). Here we must either disbelieve the story altogether, or attribute the answer to

*clairvoyance*. Prob. Hdt. derived his information from the Delphian priests.

τὰ νομιζομ.] Those who consulted the oracle had to sleep in the temple (*κατεκοίμησε ἐς Ἀμφιάρεω*, VIII. 134. 2) and the answer was supposed to be given in a dream.

οὐδὲ τοῦτο] i. e. any more than in the case of the other oracles.

ἄλλο γε, ἢ.] As if *περὶ τούτου* had preceded, ἄλλο ἢ being thus used after the negative adverbially in the sense of *πλήν*. So Thuc. III. 85. 2, ἀπόγνοια τοῦ ἄλλο τι ἢ κρατεῖν virtually = ἀπόγνοια πάντων πλήν τοῦ κρατεῖν. Some commentators make ἄλλο γε depend on εἶπαι, placing οὐ γὰρ...λέγεται in a parenthesis. This does not altogether get rid of the anacoluthon; but they have in their favour IX. 8. 3.

ἐκτῆσθαι] 'That he had got in this too a true oracle.' Abicht reads *καὶ τοῦτον*, i. e. Amphiaraus too (as well as Apollo) possessed a true oracle. Cf. II. 174. 3.

CH. 50. § 1. πάντα] 'E quoque genere animantium, quibus sacra fieri solent.' Herm. *ad Viger.* 94. Cf. 163. 2, n.; II. 91. 5. Here it might mean 'a full three thousand' (so often in Hom. with numerals), were it not for the analogy of *πᾶσι δέκα*, IV. 88. 1; IX. 81. 3, where it must = *ἐκάστου γένους*.



ἔθυσε, κλίνας τε ἐπιχρύσους καὶ ἐπαργύρους, καὶ φιάλας χρυσέας, καὶ εἴματα πορφύρεα, καὶ κιθῶνας, νήσας πυρὴν μεγάλην, κατέκαιε· ἐλπίζων τὸν θεὸν μᾶλλον τι τούτοις ἀνακτήσεσθαι· Λυδοῖσί τε πᾶσι προεῖπε, θύειν πάντα τινὰ 2 αὐτῶν τούτῳ ὃ τι ἔχοι ἕκαστος. ὥς δὲ ἐκ τῆς θυσίης ἐγένετο, καταχεάμενος χρυσὸν ἄπλετον, ἡμιπλίνθια ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐξήλαυσε, ἐπὶ μὲν τὰ μακρότερα ποιέων ἑξαπάλαιστα, ἐπὶ δὲ τὰ βραχύτερα τριπάλαιστα, ὕψος δὲ παλαιστιαῖα, ἀριθμὸν δὲ ἑπτακαίδεκα καὶ ἑκατόν· καὶ τούτων ἀπέφθου χρυσοῦ 3 τέσσαρα, τρίτον ἡμιτάλαντον ἕκαστον ἔλκοντα, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἡμιπλίνθια λευκοῦ χρυσοῦ, σταθμὸν διτάλαντα. ἐποιέετο 4 δὲ καὶ λέοντος εἰκόνα χρυσοῦ ἀπέφθου, ἔλκουσιν σταθμὸν τάλαντα δέκα. οὗτος ὁ λέων, ἐπεὶ τε κατεκαίετο ὁ ἐν 5 Δελφοῖσι νηὸς, κατέπεσε ἀπὸ τῶν ἡμιπλινθίων· ἐπὶ γὰρ τούτοις ἴδρυτο· καὶ νῦν κείται ἐν τῷ Κορινθίων θησαυρῷ, ἔλκων σταθμὸν ἑβδομον ἡμιτάλαντον. ἀπετάκη γὰρ αὐτοῦ 51 τέταρτον ἡμιτάλαντον. Ἐπιτελέσας δὲ ὁ Κροῖσος ταῦτα 1 ἀπέπεμπε εἰς Δελφοὺς καὶ τὰςδε ἄλλα ἅμα τούτοις, κρητῆρας δύο μεγάθει μεγάλους, χρύσεον καὶ ἀργύρεον, τῶν ὁ μὲν χρύσεος ἐκέετο ἐπὶ δεξιὰ ἐσιόντι εἰς τὸν νηὸν, ὁ δὲ ἀργύρεος ἐπ' ἀριστερά. μετεκινήθησαν δὲ καὶ οὗτοι ὑπὸ τὸν νηὸν 2

ἀνακτήσεσθαι] Krüger translates 'win back again,' 'because the doubt implied in his question might have offended the god.' But this seems fanciful. See L. and S. *Lex*.

§ 2. τούτῳ] So the abl. in Latin. 'Cum faciam vitula,' Virg. *Ecl.* III. 77: 'Nunc et in umbrosis Fauno decet immolare lucis, Seu poscat agna, sive malit haedo,' Hor. *Od.* I. 4. 11. Or (less probably) τούτῳ = τῷ θεῷ.

ἐκ.] Cf. 185. 7.

ἄπλετον] Used as we use the word 'immense,' without implying the impossibility of measurement. Hdt. proceeds to mention all the data necessary for a calculation of the exact quantity.

ἐπὶ μὲν τὰ μακρ.] 'On their longer side,' 'lengthwise.'

§ 3. τρίτον ἡμιτ.] 2½ talents.

This correction for τρία ἡμιτάλαντα (1½ talents) is most probably right, since Hdt. must have known that gold alloyed with silver (λευκός) is lighter than pure gold.

§ 4. λέοντος] 84. 3, n.

§ 5. κατεκαίετο] B.C. 548. Cf. II. 180. 1.

ἴδρυτο] The four bricks would form the top of the pedestal. 'The remaining 113 were divided so that the second stage from the top would consist of 15 (= 5 by 3), the third of 35 (= 7 by 5), the fourth of 63 (= 9 by 7).' Abicht.

ἑβδ. ἡμ.] 6½ + 3½ = 10.

CH. 51. § 1. μεγάθει] This simply = 'in size,' Cf. μεγάθει μικροί, II. 74. 1.

ἐσιόντι] 14. 4, n.

§ 2. ὑπὸ] 'Upon occasion of,' See II. 36. 2, n.



κατακαέντα· καὶ ὁ μὲν χρύσεος κεῖται ἐν τῷ Κλαζομενίων  
θησαυρῷ, ἔλκων σταθμὸν ἑννατον ἡμιτάλαντον καὶ ἔτι δυνά-  
δεκα μνέας· ὁ δὲ ἀργύρεος ἐπὶ τοῦ προνηΐου τῆς γωνίης,  
χωρέων ἀμφορέας ἑξακοσίους. ἐπικίρνεται γὰρ ὑπὸ Δελφῶν 3  
Θεοφανίοισι. φασὶ δέ μιν Δελφοὶ Θεοδώρου τοῦ Σαμίου  
ἔργον εἶναι· καὶ ἐγὼ δοκέω, οὐ γὰρ τὸ συντυχὸν φαίνεται μοι  
ἔργον εἶναι. καὶ πίθους τε ἀργυρέους τέσσαρας ἀπέπεμψε,  
οἱ ἐν τῷ Κορινθίων θησαυρῷ ἐστᾶσι· καὶ περιρραντήρια δύο 4  
ἀνέθηκε, χρύσεόν τε καὶ ἀργύρεον· τῶν τῷ χρυσέῳ ἐπιγέ-  
γραπται ΛΑΚΕΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΩΝ, φαμένων εἶναι ἀνάθημα·  
οὐκ ὀρθῶς λέγοντες. ἔστι γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο Κροίσου. ἐπέ- 5  
γραψε δὲ τῶν τις Δελφῶν, Λακεδαιμονίοισι βουλόμενος  
χαρίζεσθαι· τοῦ ἐπιστάμενος τὸ οὐνομα, οὐκ ἐπιμνήσομαι.  
ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν παῖς, δι' οὗ τῆς χειρὸς ῥέει τὸ ὕδωρ, Λακεδαι-  
μονίων ἐστὶ· οὐ μέντοι τῶν γε περιρραντηρίων οὐδέτερον.  
ἄλλα τε ἀναθήματα οὐκ ἐπίσημα πολλὰ ἀπέπεμψε ἅμα 6  
τούτοις ὁ Κροῖσος καὶ χεύματα ἀργύρεα κυκλοτερέα, καὶ  
δὴ καὶ γυναικὸς εἰδωλον χρύσειον τρίπηχυν, τὸ Δελφοὶ τῆς  
ἀρτοκόπου τῆς Κροίσου εἰκόνα λέγουσι εἶναι. πρὸς δὲ καὶ  
τῆς ἐωυτοῦ γυναικὸς τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς δειρῆς ἀνέθηκε ὁ Κροῖσος  
52 καὶ τὰς ζώνας. Ταῦτα μὲν ἐς Δελφοὺς ἀπέπεμψε. τῷ δὲ

ἐπὶ τοῦ πρ. τῆς γ.] 'At the angle of the fore-court,' i. e. in one of the two corners formed by the two cross walls, between which was the entrance into the νῆος from the fore-court.

§ 3. ἐπικίρνεται γὰρ] γὰρ explains how the number of ἀμφοραὶ is known.

Θεοφανίοισι] 'Prob. the spring festival kept by the Delphians in honour of the reappearance of their god (i. e. the sun).' St. Cf. II. 24. 3.

τὸ συντυχόν] This though predicate retains the article, because without it the participle would lose its idiomatic meaning.

§ 4. περιρραντήρια] Fonts were generally placed at the entrance of temples.

λέγοντες] As if we had had οἱ φασὶ instead of φαμένων (= φαμένων σφέων).

§ 5. τῶν τις] 71. 2, n.

οὐκ ἐπιμνήσομαι] II. 123. 3, n.

ῥέει τὸ ὕδωρ] Sc. ἐς τὰ περιρραντήρια.

§ 6. οὐκ ἐπίσημα] This probably means 'of no note' (II. 20. 1). But cf. χρυσὸν ἐπίσημον, ἀσημον, IX. 41. 3. χεύματα] 'Bowls,' L. and S. *Lex.* But χεύμα ought to mean the thing poured, not the receptacle. More probably here it = 'castings,' (Stein). ἀρτήματα χυτὰ, II. 69. 2; χεύμα φαεινοῦ κασσιτέροιο, Hom. II. XXIII. 561.

τῆς ἀρτοκόπου] According to Plutarch, she had saved Croesus from being poisoned.

τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς δ.] 'The necklace off his wife's neck.'

\*Αμφιάρεω, πυθόμενος αὐτοῦ τήν τε ἀρετὴν καὶ τὴν πάθην, ἀνέθηκε σάκος τε χρύσειον πᾶν ὁμοίως καὶ αἰχμὴν στερεὴν πᾶσαν χρυσέην, τὸ ξυστὸν τῇσι λόγχῃσι ἐὼν ὁμοίως χρύσειον· τὰ ἔτι καὶ ἀμφοτέρω ἐς ἐμὲ ἦν κείμενα ἐν Θήβῃσι, καὶ Θηβαίων ἐν τῷ νηῷ τοῦ Ἰσμηνίου Ἀπόλλωνος.

- 53 Τοῖσι δὲ ἄγειν μέλλουσι τῶν Λυδῶν ταῦτα τὰ δῶρα ἐς 1  
τὰ ἱρὰ ἐνετέλλετο ὁ Κροῖσος ἐπειρωτᾶν τὰ χρηστήρια, εἰ  
στρατεύηται ἐπὶ Πέρσας Κροῖσος, καὶ εἴ τινα στρατὸν  
ἀνδρῶν προσθέοιτο φίλον. Ὡς δὲ ἀπικόμενοι ἐς τὰ ἀπε- 2  
πέμφθησαν οἱ Λυδοὶ ἀνέθεσαν τὰ ἀναθήματα, ἐχρέωντο  
τοῖσι χρηστηρίοισι λέγοντες· “Κροῖσος, ὁ Λυδῶν τε καὶ  
ἄλλων ἐθνέων βασιλεὺς, νομίσας τὰδε μαντήϊα εἶναι μούνα  
ἐν ἀνθρώποισι, ὑμῖν τε ἄξια δῶρα ἔδωκε τῶν ἐξευρημάτων,  
καὶ νῦν ὑμέας ἐπειρωτᾶ, εἰ στρατεύηται ἐπὶ Πέρσας, καὶ εἴ  
τινα στρατὸν ἀνδρῶν προσθέοιτο σύμμαχον.” Οἱ μὲν ταῦτα 3  
ἐπειρώτεον. τῶν δὲ μαντηῶν ἀμφοτέρων ἐς τὸν αἰ γινῶμαι  
συνέδραμον, προλέγουσαι Κροίσῳ, ἣν στρατεύηται ἐπὶ Πέρ-  
σας, μεγάλην ἀρχὴν μιν καταλῦσαι. τοὺς δὲ Ἑλλήνων

CH. 52. τὴν πάθ.] Acc. to the legend, the earth opened and swallowed him up. Aesch. *Sept.* 583, ἔγωγε μὲν δὴ τήνδε πῖανώ χθόνα, | μάντις κεκευθὼς πολεμίας ὑπὸ χθονός (in Theban territory).

ὁμοίως] With χρ. πᾶν, ‘of gold, all over alike.’

αἰχμὴν] Properly the point, here used of the whole spear.

τὸ ξυστὸν] The part in apposition with the whole (II. 41. 4, n.). The plural λόγχῃσι denotes that the two ends of the spear are meant, both the point, the λόγχη proper (= αἰχμή) and the spike, σαυρωτήρ (VII. 41. 3), or στυράκιον (Thuc. II. 4. 3).

καὶ ἀμφοτέρω] 117. 1, n.

καὶ Θηβ.] 102. 4, n.

CH. 53. § 1. στρατεύηται... προσθέοιτο] Both subj. and opt. must have a deliberative sense. For the latter, cf. εἰ ἐπιχειρέοι, 46. 3. The exact force of the change of mood is very doubtful. Possibly the optative implies an additional con-

dition, and thus expresses a more remote contingency:—‘and *in that case* whether he should take to himself.’ See Jelf, *G. G.* 809. 2. G. Hermann (*Orusc.* IV. 90) renders προσθέοιτο ‘an censerent oracula socios adjungi.’ ‘Primo interrogat an debeat proficisci, quae ipsius est deliberatio; deinde, si debeat, an oracula id se velint cum sociis facere, idque est ex oraculorum mente dictum.’ Compare the use of the opt. with *ἴνα*, II. 93. 7, n. But a very possible explanation is simply that in the time of Hdt. grammatical rules had not acquired that fixity, which grammars lay down.

§ 2. ἐς τὰ] Sc. ἱρὰ.

ἐχρ. τοῖς χρηστ.] 47. 3, n.

τὰδε] Notice the plur. So ὑμῖν below = σοὶ, ὦ Φοῖβε, καὶ σοὶ, ὦ Ἀμφιάρεω. The form of words is one which would only be applicable to both oracles, if consulted together.

§ 3. καταλῦσαι] By the use of the aorist, all reference to time is

δυνατωτάτους συνεβούλευόν οἱ ἐξευρόντα φίλους προσθέσθαι.  
 54 Ἐπεὶ τε δὲ ἀνενειχθέντα τὰ θεοπρόπια ἐπύθετο ὁ Κροῖσος, ἰ  
 ὑπερήσθη τε τοῖσι χρηστηρίοις, πᾶγχυ τε ἐλπίσας κατα-  
 λύσειν τὴν Κύρου βασιληΐην, πέμψας αὐτὶς ἐς Πυθὼ Δελ-  
 φούς δωρέεται, πυθόμενος αὐτῶν τὸ πλῆθος, κατ' ἄνδρα δύο  
 στατήρσι ἕκαστον χρυσοῦ. Δελφοὶ δὲ ἀντὶ τούτων ἔδοσαν 2  
 Κροίσῳ καὶ Λυδοῖσι προμαντηΐην καὶ ἀτελείην καὶ προεδρίην,  
 καὶ ἐξεῖναι τῷ βουλομένῳ αὐτῶν γενέσθαι Δελφὸν ἐς τὸν αἰὲ  
 55 χρόνον. Δωρησάμενος δὲ τοὺς Δελφούς ὁ Κροῖσος ἐχρηστη- ἰ  
 ριάζετο τὸ τρίτον. ἐπεὶ τε γὰρ δὴ παρέλαβε τοῦ μαντηΐου  
 ἀληθείην, ἐνεφορέετο αὐτοῦ. ἐπειρώτα δὲ τάδε χρηστηρια-  
 ζόμενος, εἴ οἱ πολυχρόνιος ἔσται ἡ μουναρχίη. ἡ δὲ Πυθίη 2  
 οἱ χρᾶ τάδε·

Ἄλλ' ὅτ' ἂν ἡμίονος βασιλεὺς Μήδοις γένηται,  
 καὶ τότε, Λυδὲ ποδαβρὲ, πολυψήφιδά παρ' Ἑρμον  
 φεύγειν, μηδὲ μένειν, μηδ' αἰδεῖσθαι κακὸς εἶναι.

56 Τούτοις ἐλθοῦσι τοῖσι ἔπεσι ὁ Κροῖσος πολλόν τι μάλιστα ἰ  
 πάντων ἥσθη, ἐλπίζων ἡμίονον οὐδαμὰ ἀντ' ἀνδρὸς βασιλεύ-  
 σειν Μήδων· οὐδ' ὦν αὐτὸς, οὐδὲ οἱ ἐξ αὐτοῦ, παύσεσθαι

avoided: = 'foretelling to Croesus his overthrow of a great dominion.' The line was Κροῖσος Ἄλυν διαβάς μεγάλην ἀρχὴν καταλύσει (Aristot. *Rhet.* III. 5. 4); rendered by Cicero, 'Croesus Halym penetrans magnam pervertet opum vim' (*De Div.* II. 56).

CH. 54. § 1. Πυθῶ] 'Used instead of Δελφούς, because this latter follows immediately in another sense.' Stein.

κατ' ἄνδρα ἕκαστον] Cf. 9. 5.

§ 2. προμαντηΐην] Other people had to draw lots for precedence in consulting the oracle, which was only open on certain days. Aesch. *Eum.* 32, πάλῳ λαχόντες, ὡς νομίζεται.

ἀτελείην] This implies that there was a fee for consultation.

προεδρίην] At the Pythian games.

CH. 55. § 2. Ἄλλ' ὅτ' ἂν] See 47. 4, note. For ἡμίονος, see 91. 5.

ποδαβρὲ] The epithet suits the character of the later Lydians. Cf. κοθάρους ὑποδέεσθαι, 155. 6.

Ἑρμον] See 80. 1.

φεύγειν] 32. 12, n.

CH. 56. § 1. πολλόν τι] A very common use of τι in Hdt. (πολλὸς τις once in Homer, *Il.* VII. 156). Properly τις added to an adj. of quantity or numeral renders it less precise, e.g. ὀλίγοι τινές, 'some few,' τρεῖς τινές, 'three or so.' But τι is used by Hdt. in these phrases as a pure adverb (we have πολλῷ τι πλείστος, III. 116. 1, instead of πολλῷ τέῳ or πολλόν τι), and often derives from the context an emphasizing force: 'something much' = 'very much.' Cf. οὕτω δὴ τι, ὀλίγον τι, 185. 2, 5; μᾶλλον τι, 44. 1; σμικρόν τι, II. 7. 3; ὅσον τι, I. 185. 4.

οἱ ἐξ αὐτοῦ] The nom. (instead of the accus.) owing to αὐτός above.

κοτε τῆς ἀρχῆς. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐφρόντιζε ἱστορέων, τοὺς 2  
 αὖν Ἑλλήνων δυνατωτάτους ἔοντας προσκλήσαιο φίλους.  
 ἱστορέων δὲ εὔρισκε Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ Ἀθηναίους προέ-  
 χοντας, τοὺς μὲν τοῦ Δωρικοῦ γένεος, τοὺς δὲ τοῦ Ἰωνικοῦ.  
 ταῦτα γὰρ ἦν τὰ προκεκριμένα ἔοντα τὸ ἀρχαῖον, τὸ μὲν 3  
 Πελασγικόν, τὸ δὲ Ἑλληνικόν ἔθνος. καὶ τὸ μὲν οὐδαμῇ  
 κω ἐξεχώρησε, τὸ δὲ πούλυπλάνητον κάρτα. ἐπὶ μὲν γὰρ 4  
 Δευκαλίωνος βασιλέος οἴκεε γῆν τὴν Φθιώτιν, ἐπὶ δὲ Δώρου  
 τοῦ Ἑλλήνος τὴν ὑπὸ τὴν Ὀσσαν τε καὶ τὸν Οὔλυμπον  
 χώραν, καλεομένην δὲ Ἰστιαιώτιν ἐκ δὲ τῆς Ἰστιαϊώτιδος  
 ὡς ἐξανέστη ὑπὸ Καδμείων, οἴκεε ἐν Πίνδῳ, Μακεδνὸν  
 καλεόμενον. ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ αὐτίς ἐς τὴν Δρυοπίδα μετέβη, καὶ 5  
 ἐκ τῆς Δρυοπίδος οὕτως ἐς Πελοπόννησον ἐλθὼν, Δωρικὸν  
 ἐκλήθη.

57 Ἦν τινα δὲ γλῶσσαν ἴεσαν οἱ Πελασγοὶ, οὐκ ἔχω 1

§ 2. τοὺς] Hdt. often uses the simple relative in indirect questions, just as conversely he uses *ὅστις* for *ὅς* (7. 4). 'The optative with *ἄν* stands in dependent interrogative sentences which would have the same form in *oratio recta*.' Madv. G. S. 137.

§ 3. ταῦτα γὰρ] Two MSS. omit the whole of this passage down to the end of ch. 68. Possibly we have here one of the later additions made by the author to his work.

τὸ μὲν] This in both cases = τὸ Ἰωνικόν. Stein thus sums up the difficulties of the passage:—'If the assertion τὸ μὲν...ἐξεχώρησε is understood of the Πελασγικὸν ἔθνος, it is inconsistent with the accounts given of the early diffusion of the Pelasgi (57. 2, 4); if it be understood of the Ἰωνικὸν ἔθνος, it is inconsistent with the migrations of the Ionians into and out of Attica, (VII. 94; I. 146. 4; 147. 2): if it be restricted to the inhabitants of Attica (cf. VII. 161. 6; Thuc. I. 2. 5) it only applies to them, in so far as they were not of Ionian descent, and does not therefore suit in this connection.' Prob. the third hypothesis is the best. Hdt.'s general assertion

will really only apply to that branch of the so-called Ionian or Pelasgic race which remained in Attica.

§ 4. ἐπὶ μὲν γὰρ κ.τ.λ.] 'This connected account can only be viewed as an attempt to arrange and reconcile various legends. The chain of Olympus is the place in which the Dorians first appear in the history of Greece.' Müller's *Dorians*, I. I. 1. Hellen acc. to the legend had three sons, Dorus Aeolus and Xuthus, this last the father of Achaeus and Ion.

Μακεδνὸν] 'The Macedonian dialect was full of primitive Greek words, but there does not appear to be any peculiar connection with the Doric dialect. Prob. Hdt. followed some Macedonian accounts.' Müller.

§ 5. αὐτίς] With ἐνθεῦτεν. The idea of repetition belongs only to μετέβη, not to ἐς τὴν Δρ.

Δρυοπίδα] The district afterwards called Doris, between Oeta and Parnassus.

οὕτως] 'After all this.'

ἐς Πελ.] The migration, which is called in legend the return of the Heracleidae. See Grote, *H. G.* I. 82 (I. 130); Curtius, *Hist. Greece (E.T.)*, I. 109; 162.

ἀτρεκέως εἶπαι. εἰ δὲ χρεὼν ἐστὶ τεκμαιρόμενον λέγειν τοῖσι νῦν ἔτι ἐοῦσι Πελασγῶν, τῶν ὑπὲρ Τυρσηνῶν Κρηστώνη πόλιν οἰκεόντων, οἱ ὅμουροί κοτε ἦσαν τοῖσι νῦν Δωριεῦσι καλεομένοισι, οἴκεον δὲ τηνικαῦτα γῆν τὴν νῦν Θεσσαλιῶτιν καλεομένην· καὶ τῶν Πλακίην τε καὶ Σκυλάκην 2 Πελασγῶν οἰκισάντων ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ, οἱ σύνοικοι ἐγένοντο Ἀθηναίοισι· καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα Πελασγικὰ ἑόντα πολίσματα τὸ οὔνομα μετέβαλε· εἰ τούτοισι τεκμαιρόμενον δεῖ λέγειν, ἦσαν 3 οἱ Πελασγοὶ βάρβαρον γλῶσσαν ἰέντες. εἰ τοίνυν ἦν καὶ πᾶν τοιοῦτο τὸ Πελασγικόν, τὸ Ἀττικὸν ἔθνος, ἐὼν Πελασ-

CH. 57. § 1. ὑπὲρ Τυρσ. Κρηστώνη] Niebuhr (*Hist. Rome*, I. 34) proposes to read Κροτώνη, i.e. Croton or Cortona in Etruria. But Hdt. mentions a district called Crestonia in Thrace (VII. 124. 3; 127. 2; VIII. 116. 1) and Thuc. places Τυρσηνοὶ in the neighbourhood of Mount Athos (IV. 109. 4). The main argument in Niebuhr's favour is that these Τυρσηνοὶ were Pelasgi (Thuc. *l. c.*) and ought therefore to have spoken the same language as the people of Creston, which acc. to Hdt. was not the case (below, § 4). This however is not a sufficient reason for altering the reading of the MSS.

οἱ ὅμουροι] i. e. these Pelasgians formerly occupied Thessaliotis (one district of Thessaly) which borders on Histiaeotis, where the Dorians formerly lived (56. 4).

§ 2. Ἑλλησπόντῳ] Placia and Scylace were really on the Propontis, but compare the use of Ἑλλήσποντος, IV. 38. 2.

σύνοικοι ἐγ. Ἀθ.] Cf. II. 51. 2; VI. 137; Thuc. IV. 109. 4.

τὸ οὔνομα μετέβαλε] Changed the name (though they really are Pelasgic).

βάρβαρον γλῶσσαν] Grote rightly points out that these words imply 'a substantive language different from Greek,' *H. G.* II. 46 (II. 354): but the difference need not be greater than that between Latin and Greek, or Anglo-Saxon and English. On the Indo-European origin of

the Pelasgi most modern authorities are agreed. The main difficulty in Hdt.'s account is the relation between the Pelasgi and Hellenes. If the latter were originally a branch of the former (cf. 58. 2), it is not easy to see the force of the sharp contrast which he draws between the two. The explanation prob. is (1) that the term Pelasgic is used by Hdt., both (i.) in a wider sense to denote the whole mass of races, some of which afterwards became Hellenic (so the ancient name of Hellas is said to have been Pelasgia, II. 56. 1), and (ii.) in a narrower sense to denote a special tribe (with a distinct language of its own) which resisted Hellenic influence: (2) that Hdt.'s notion of nationality was different from the modern idea. With him it was a religious question, since every nation derived its origin from some divine or semi-divine ἐπώνυμος. Thus by the adoption of the religious rites (and ἐπώνυμοι) of other tribes it was possible for nations really to *change* (cf. μεταβολὴ ἐς Ἑλλήνας, § 3) their nationality. For a summary of modern theories on the Pelasgi see Smith's *Dict. Geogr.* Add Curtius I. 30, foll.

§ 3. τὸ Ἀττ. ἔθνος κ.τ.λ.] 'The converse conclusion, that the Ἀττικὸν ἔθνος could not have been Pelasgic, would have been more correct.' Stein. But see Curtius, I. 124.

γικόν, ἅμα τῇ μεταβολῇ τῇ ἐς Ἑλληνας καὶ τὴν γλῶσσαν μετέμαθε. καὶ γὰρ δὴ οὔτε οἱ Κρηστωνιῆται οὐδαμοῖσι τῶν 4 νῦν σφέας περιοικούντων εἰσὶ ὁμόγλωσσοι, οὔτε οἱ Πλακίηνοί, σφίσι δὲ ὁμόγλωσσοι· δηλοῦσί τε, ὅτι, τὸν ἠνείκαντο γλώσσης χαρακτῆρα μεταβαίνοντες ἐς ταῦτα τὰ χωρία, 58 τοῦτον ἔχουσι ἐν φυλακῇ. Τὸ δὲ Ἑλληνικὸν γλώσση μὲν, 1 ἐπεὶ τε ἐγένετο, αἰεὶ κοτε τῇ αὐτῇ διαχρᾶται, ὡς ἐμοὶ καταφαίνεται εἶναι. ἀποσχισθὲν μέντοι ἀπὸ τοῦ Πελασγικοῦ, 2 ἐὼν ἀσθενὲς, ἀπὸ σμικροῦ τέο τὴν ἀρχὴν ὀρμεώμενον, αὖξεται ἐς πλῆθος τῶν ἐθνέων πολλῶν, μάλιστα προσκεχωρηκότων αὐτῷ καὶ ἄλλων ἐθνέων βαρβάρων συχνῶν. πρὸς δὴ ὧν 3 ἐμοί τε δοκέει οὐδὲ τὸ Πελασγικὸν ἔθνος, ἐὼν βάρβαρον, οὐδαμὰ μέγας αὖξηθῆναι.

CH. 58. § 1. γλώσση μὲν] Their *language* (unlike that of the Ἀττικὸν ἔθνος) has always been the same (i.e. distinct from that of the Pelasgi) since they became a distinct nation: but still (μέντοι) they were originally a branch of the Pelasgi.

ἐπεὶ τε = ἐξ οὗ.

§ 2. ἀποσχισθὲν] So Thuc. τὰ μὲν πρὸ Ἑλλήνων τοῦ Δευκαλίωνος καὶ πάνυ οὐδὲ εἶναι (δοκεῖ μοι) ἢ ἐπικλήσις αὕτη (Ἑλλάς), κατὰ ἔθνη δὲ ἄλλα τε καὶ τὸ Πελασγικὸν ἐπὶ πλείστον ἀφ' ἐαυτῶν τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν παρέχουσιν, I. 3. 2.

σμικροῦ τέο] 56. 1, n.

τῶν ἐθνέων π.] πολλὸν and τῶν πολλῶν have been conjectured. Stein reads τῶν ἐθνέων, Πελασγῶν μάλιστα(!). But the repetition πλῆθος—πολλῶν is not unlike Hdt., and the text may stand, if πολλῶν be pressed as predicate. Translate: 'though starting from very small beginnings, it has waxed great, and many are the nations into which it has multiplied.' τῶν ἐθν. = the well-known tribes which compose it.

καὶ ἄλλων] 'Besides.' Lit. 'other than themselves,' the Ἕλληνες being thus acc. to the Greek idiom regarded as forming part of the class, βάρβαροι; see 193, 4, note. For in-

stances of barbarian races which have been incorporated with the Hellenic, see I. 146. 2, 3; VIII. 43. 3; 44. 3; 46. 4.

§ 3. πρὸς δὴ ὧν] Bähr adopts Matthiä's rendering: 'accedit—et sic mihi videtur—quod Pelasgica gens, etc.' But πρὸς with δὴ cannot mean 'besides' as in the phrases πρὸς δέ, καὶ πρὸς, says Krüger, who suggests πρὸς δὲ δὴ ὧν. Stein proposes πρόσθε δὲ ὧν, 'earlier at least,' i.e. before their union with the Hellenes: but this involves reading Πελασγῶν above. Notwithstanding Krüger's objection (if we have πρὸς γάρ, III. 91. 4, why not πρὸς δὴ here?) it is best to follow Matthiä, who also rightly defends ἐμοί τε, 'quasi supplendum καὶ ἄλλω.' So often ἐμοὶ μὲν without any following δέ.

οὐδέ] Any more than the Hellenic, before it separated from its parent-stock.

ἐὼν βάρβ.] So long as it was barbarian. Hdt. is referring to instances in which Pelasgic tribes became Hellenized. As the Hellenic race made no advance till it had separated from the Pelasgic, so Pelasgic tribes made no advance unless they submitted themselves to the civilizing influence of the now separated Hellenes.

59 Τούτων δὴ ὧν τῶν ἐθνέων τὸ μὲν Ἀττικὸν κατεχόμενον<sup>1</sup> τε καὶ διεσπασμένον ἐπυνθάνετο ὁ Κροῖσος ὑπὸ Πεισι-  
 τράτου τοῦ Ἰπποκράτεος, τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον τυραννεύοντος  
 Ἀθηναίων. Ἰπποκράτει γὰρ ἔοντι ἰδιώτῃ καὶ θεωρέοντι τὰ<sup>2</sup>  
 Ὀλύμπια τέρας ἐγένετο μέγα. θύσαντος γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὰ ἱρά,  
 οἱ λέβητες ἐπεστεῶτες, καὶ κρεῶν τε ἔοντες ἔμπλεοι καὶ  
 ὕδατος, ἄνευ πυρὸς ἔξεσαν καὶ ὑπερέβαλον. Χίλων δὲ ὁ<sup>3</sup>  
 Λακεδαιμόνιος παρατυχὼν καὶ θεησάμενος τὸ τέρας συνε-  
 βούλευε Ἰπποκράτει, πρῶτα μὲν γυναῖκα τεκνοποιὸν μὴ  
 ἄγεσθαι ἐς τὰ οἰκία· εἰ δὲ τυγχάνει ἔχων, δεύτερα τὴν  
 γυναῖκα ἐκπέμπειν· καὶ εἴ τις οἱ τυγχάνει ἐὼν παῖς, τοῦτον  
 ἀπείπασθαι· οὐκ ὦν, ταῦτα παραινέσαντος Χίλωνος, πεί-<sup>4</sup>  
 θεσθαι θέλειν τὸν Ἰπποκράτεια· γενέσθαι οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα τὸν  
 Πεισίστρατον τοῦτον, ὃς, στασιαζόντων τῶν παράλων καὶ  
 τῶν ἐκ τοῦ πεδίου Ἀθηναίων, καὶ τῶν μὲν προεστεῶτος  
 Μεγακλέος τοῦ Ἀλκμαίωνος, τῶν δὲ ἐκ τοῦ πεδίου Λυκούργου  
 τοῦ Ἀριστολαΐδew, καταφρονήσας τὴν τυραννίδα ἤγειρε  
 τρίτην στάσιν. συλλέξας δὲ στασιώτας, καὶ τῷ λόγῳ τῶν<sup>5</sup>  
 ὑπερακρίων προστὰς, μηχανᾶται τοιάδε. τρωματίσας ἐωυτόν  
 τε καὶ ἡμιόνους ἤλασε ἐς τὴν ἀγορὴν τὸ ζεῦγος, ὡς ἐκπε-  
 φευγῶς τοὺς ἐχθροὺς, οἳ μιν ἐλαύνοντα ἐς ἀγρὸν ἠθέλησαν  
 ἀπολέσαι δῆθεν· ἐδέετό τε τοῦ δήμου φυλακῆς τινος πρὸς  
 αὐτοῦ κυρῆσαι, πρότερον εὐδοκιμήσας ἐν τῇ πρὸς Μεγαρέας

CH. 59. § 1. τὸ μὲν] See 65. 1. ὑπὸ Πεισ.] This strictly only belongs to κατεχόμενον.

διεσπασμένον] Sc. ὑπὸ στάσεων. Pisistratus first made himself despot B.C. 560. He died B.C. 527. According to the 'Parian Chronicle,' (an old inscription which forms part of the Arundel marbles,) the second embassy of Croesus to Delphi (53. 1) took place B.C. 556.

§ 2. [ιδιώτῃ] i.e. he was not a τύραννος, though his son became one.

ἐπεστεῶτες] ἐπ.= over the unlighted fuel.

§ 4. οὐκ ὦν] See note, II. 139. 3.

τῶν παράλων κ.τ.λ.] See Grote, H. G. II. 300 (III. 127). The Megacles mentioned here was the son-

in-law of Cleisthenes, tyrant of Sicyon, and the father of Cleisthenes the Athenian reformer. VI. 130.

Ἀριστολαΐδew] τοῦ which had prob. dropped out before this word was inserted by Schäfer.

καταφρονήσας] καταφρ. lit. = 'to think at' (κατα- denoting fixity) and so 'to aim at' a thing. Cf. καταφρονούντες ταῦτα (VIII. 10), which combines this meaning with the more common one of thinking *downton*.

§ 5. τῷ λόγῳ] Cf. 205. 1.

ἐδέετο τ. δ. φ.] Plato mentions τὸ τυραννικὸν αἶτημα τὸ πολυθρύλητον... αἰτεῖν τὸν δῆμον φυλακὰς τινὰς τοῦ σώματος, ἵνα σῶς αὐτοῖς ᾖ ὁ τοῦ δήμου βοηθός. Rep. VIII. 566.

πρὸς Μεγαρέας] 'This may pos-



γενομένη στρατηγίῃ, Νίσαιάν τε ἐλὼν καὶ ἄλλα ἀποδεξάμενος  
 μεγάλα ἔργα. Ὁ δὲ δῆμος ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐξαπατηθεὶς 6  
 ἔδωκέ οἱ τῶν ἀσπῶν καταλέξας ἄνδρας τούτους, οἳ δορυφόροι  
 μὲν οὐκ ἐγένοντο Πεισιστράτου, κορυνηφόροι δέ. ξύλων γὰρ  
 κορύνας ἔχοντες εἶποντό οἱ ὅπισθε. συνεπαναστάντες δὲ 7  
 οὔτοι ἅμα Πεισιστράτῳ ἔσχον τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. ἔνθα δὲ ὁ  
 Πεισίστρατος ἦρχε Ἀθηναίων, οὔτε τιμὰς τὰς εἰσέουσας συντα-  
 ράξας, οὔτε θέσμια μεταλλάξας· ἐπὶ τε τοῖσι κατεστεῶσι  
 60 ἔνεμε τὴν πόλιν, κοσμέων καλῶς τε καὶ εὖ. Μετὰ δὲ οὐ 1  
 πολλὸν χρόνον τῷτὸ φρονήσαντες οἳ τε τοῦ Μεγακλέους  
 στασιῶται καὶ οἱ τοῦ Λυκούργου ἐξελαύνουσί μιν. οὕτω μὲν 2  
 Πεισίστρατος ἔσχε τὸ πρῶτον Ἀθήνας, καὶ τὴν τυραννίδα  
 οὐκω κάρτα ἐρριζωμένην ἔχων ἀπέβαλε. οἱ δὲ ἐξελάσαντες 3  
 Πεισίστρατον αὐτὶς ἐκ νέης ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισι ἐστασίασαν.  
 περιελαυνόμενος δὲ τῇ στάσει ὁ Μεγακλῆς ἐπεκηρυκεύετο  
 Πεισιστράτῳ, εἰ βούλοιτό οἱ τὴν θυγατέρα ἔχειν γυναῖκα ἐπὶ  
 τῇ τυραννίδι. ἐνδεξαμένου δὲ τὸν λόγον καὶ ὁμολογήσαντος 4  
 ἐπὶ τούτοις Πεισιστράτου, μηχανῶνται δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ κατόδῳ  
 πρῆγμα εὐηθέστατον, ὥς ἐγὼ εὐρίσκω, μακρῷ, ἐπεὶ γε ἀπε-  
 κρίθη ἐκ παλαιτέρου τοῦ βαρβάρου ἔθνους τὸ Ἑλληνικόν,  
 εἶν καὶ δεξιώτερον, καὶ εὐηθίης ἡλιθίου ἀπηλλαγμένον μᾶλλον,

sibly refer to some later war than that between Athens and Megara which took place before B.C. 594 (see note, 30. 9), i. e. nearly forty years before this movement of Pisistratus to acquire the despotism.' Grote:—who however thinks that this allusion is really a mistake on the part of Hdt., and compares it with Hdt.'s account of the interview between Solon and Croesus. *H. G.* II. 350 (III. 208). Nisaea was the harbour of Megara.

§ 6. δ. μὲν οὐκ...κ. δέ] 36. 2, n.

§ 7. ἐπὶ τε τοῖσι κατεστ.] 'It is said that he once even suffered himself to be cited for trial before the senate of Areopagus.' Aristot. *Pol.* VIII. 12. 2 (Congr.). Thuc. says ἐπετήδευσαν ἐπὶ πλείστον δὴ τύραννοι οὔτοι (P. and his sons) ἀρετὴν

καὶ ξύνεσιν. VI. 54. 5.

ἔνεμε] Put for νέμων (19. 4, n.).

CH. 60. § 3. ἐκ νέης] Cf. 108. 6.

ἐπὶ τῇ τυρ.] Lit. 'on condition of,' and so = 'for,' like ἐπὶ μισθῷ, 160. 4.

§ 4. ἐπὶ τῇ κ.] 'To bring about his return.'

εὐηθέστατον] 'Hdt.'s criticism brings to our view the alteration and enlargement which had taken place in the Greek mind during the century between Pisistratus and Pericles.' Grote.

ἐπεὶ γε...εἰ καὶ] Both clauses depend on the notion of wonder implied in the superlative, 'marvellously simple,' considering (1) the general character of the nation, (2) the particular time and place.

ἀπεκρ. ἐκ παλ...ἔδν] 'Was from ancient times marked off by being.'



εἰ καὶ τότε γε οὗτοι ἐν Ἀθηναίοισι, τοῖσι πρώτοισι λεγο-  
 μένοισι εἶναι Ἑλλήνων σοφίην, μηχανῶνται τοιάδε. Ἐν τῷ 5  
 δήμῳ τῷ Παιανιέϊ ἦν γυνή, τῇ οὖνομα ἦν Φύη, μέγαθος ἀπὸ  
 τεσσέρων πηχέων ἀπολείπουσα τρεῖς δακτύλους καὶ ἄλλως 6  
 εὐειδής. ταύτην τὴν γυναῖκα σκευάσαντες πανοπλίῃ, ἐς  
 ἄρμα ἐσβιβάσαντες, καὶ προδέξαντες σχῆμα οἷόν τι ἔμελλε  
 εὐπρεπέστατον φανέεσθαι ἔχουσα, ἤλαυνον ἐς τὸ ἄστυ,  
 προδρόμους κήρυκας προπέμψαντες, οἱ τὰ ἐντεταλμένα ἡγό-  
 ρεον ἐς τὸ ἄστυ ἀπικόμενοι, λέγοντες τοιάδε: “ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, 7  
 δέκεσθε ἀγαθῷ νόῳ Πεισίστρατον, τὸν αὐτὴ ἡ Ἀθηναίη  
 τιμήσασα ἀνθρώπων μάλιστα κατάγει ἐς τὴν ἐωυτῆς ἀκρό-  
 πολιν.” Οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα διαφοιτέοντες ἔλεγον· αὐτίκα δὲ 8  
 ἔς τε τοὺς δήμους φάτις ἀπίκετο, ὡς Ἀθηναίη Πεισίστρατον  
 κατάγει· καὶ οἱ ἐν τῷ ἄστει πειθόμενοι τὴν γυναῖκα εἶναι  
 αὐτὴν τὴν θεὸν, προσεύχοντό τε τὴν ἄνθρωπον, καὶ ἐδέκοντο  
 τὸν Πεισίστρατον.

61 Ἀπολαβὼν δὲ τὴν τυραννίδα τρόπῳ τῷ εἰρημένῳ ὁ 1  
 Πεισίστρατος, κατὰ τὴν ὁμολογίην τὴν πρὸς Μεγακλέα  
 γενομένην γαμέει τοῦ Μεγακλέους τὴν θυγατέρα. οἷα δὲ 2  
 παίδων τέ οἱ ὑπαρχόντων νεηνιέων, καὶ λεγομένων ἐναγέων  
 εἶναι τῶν Ἀλκμαιωνιδέων, οὐ βουλόμενός οἱ γενέσθαι ἐκ τῆς  
 νεογάμου γυναικὸς τέκνα, ἐμίσγετό οἱ οὐ κατὰ νόμον. τὰ 3  
 μὲν νυν πρῶτα ἔκρυπτε ταῦτα ἡ γυνή· μετὰ δὲ εἴτε ἱστορεύσῃ,  
 εἴτε καὶ οὐ, φράζει τῇ ἐωυτῆς μητρί· ἡ δὲ τῷ ἀνδρί. τὸν δὲ 4

§ 5. τρεῖς δακτύλους] Hdt.'s smaller measures of length are the δάκτυλος (=  $\frac{3}{4}$  in.); παλαιστή (only in adjectival forms := 4 δακτ., 3 in.); σπιθαμή (= 12 δακτ., 9 in.); ποῦς (= 16 δακτ., 12 in.); πυγών (= 20 δακτ., 15 in.); πήχυς (= 24 δακτ., 18 in.); ὀργυιή (= 96 δακτ., 6 feet). In Hom. we have the δῶρον (= παλαιστή), the ποῦς, the πυγών (all in adj. forms), and the ὀργυιά.

§ 6. οἷόν τι] The order is οἷον τι ἔχουσα ἔμελλε εὐπρεπέστατον (ἔχουσα) φανέεσθαι.

§ 8. δήμους] 'The village communities' opposed to οἱ ἐν τῷ ἄστει. Cf. 62. 2. For an account of them,

see Grote, *H. G.* II. 273 (III. 85).

ἄνθρωπον] Used instead of γυναῖκα, to heighten the contrast with θεόν. Tr. 'their fellow-mortal.'

CH. 61. § 2. οἷα] οἷα like ἄτε and ὥστε (8. 2, n.) implies that the gen. states the reason, ὡς on the other hand (e. g. 124. 7) represents the action of the participle as the view of some particular person. The full phrase would be τοιαῦτα ποιέων οἷα εἰκὸς ἦν ποίειν τινὰ, κ.τ.λ.

ἐναγέων] See v. 70, 71; Thuc. I. 126. The Megacles who incurred the curse would seem to have been the grandfather of the Megacles mentioned here.

δεινόν τι ἔσχε, ἀτιμάζεσθαι πρὸς Πείσιστράτου. ὀργῇ δέ, ὡς εἶχε, καταλλάσσετο τὴν ἔχθρην τοῖσι στασιώτησι. μα- 5  
θὼν δὲ ὁ Πεισίστρατος τὰ ποιούμενα ἐπ' ἐωυτῷ ἀπαλλάσ-  
σετο ἐκ τῆς χώρας τὸ παράπαν. ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐς Ἐρέτριαν  
ἐβουλεύετο ἅμα τοῖσι παισὶ. Ἰππίεω δὲ γνώμην νικήσαν- 6  
τος, ἀνακτᾶσθαι ὀπίσω τὴν τυραννίδα, ἐνθαῦτα ἡγειρον δω-  
τίνας ἐκ τῶν πολίων, αἵ τινές σφι προηδέατό κού τι. πολλῶν  
δὲ μεγάλα παρασχόντων χρήματα, Θηβαῖοι ὑπερεβάλλοντο  
τῇ δόσει τῶν χρημάτων. μετὰ δὲ, οὐ πολλῷ λόγῳ εἰπεῖν, 7  
χρόνος διέφυ, καὶ πάντα σφι ἐξήρτυτο ἐς τὴν κάτοδον. καὶ 8  
γὰρ Ἀργεῖοι μισθωτοὶ ἀπίκοντο ἐκ Πελοποννήσου· καὶ  
Νάξιός σφι ἀνὴρ ἀπιγμένος ἐβελοντῆς, τῷ οὖνομα ἦν Λύγ-  
δαμῖς, προθυμίην πλείστην παρείχετο, κομίσας καὶ χρήματα  
62 καὶ ἄνδρας. Ἐξ Ἐρετρίας δὲ ὀρμηθέντες διὰ ἐνδεκάτου ἔτεος 1  
ἀπίκοντο ὀπίσω. καὶ πρῶτον τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἴσχουσι Μαρα-  
θῶνα. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ χώρῳ σφι στρατοπεδευομένοισι οἳ τε 2  
ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεος στασιῶται ἀπίκοντο, ἄλλοι τε ἐκ τῶν δήμων  
προσέρρεον, οἷσι ἡ τυραννὶς πρὸ ἐλευθερίας ἦν ἀσπαστότε-  
ρον. οὗτοι μὲν δὴ συνηλίζοντο. Ἀθηναίων δὲ οἱ ἐκ τοῦ 3  
ἄστεος, ἕως μὲν Πεισίστρατος τὰ χρήματα ἡγείρε, καὶ μετ-  
αὐτὶς ὡς ἔσχε Μαραθῶνα, λόγον οὐδένα εἶχον. ἐπεὶ τε δὲ  
ἐπύθοντο ἐκ τοῦ Μαραθῶνος αὐτὸν πορεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὸ ἄστυ,  
οὕτω δὴ βοηθέουσι ἐπ' αὐτόν. καὶ οὗτοί τε πανστρατιῇ 4  
ἦϊσαν ἐπὶ τοὺς κατιόντας· καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ Πεισίστρατον, ὡς ὀρ-  
μηθέντες ἐκ Μαραθῶνος ἦϊσαν ἐπὶ τὸ ἄστυ, ἐς τὸντο συνιόν-  
τες ἀπικνέονται ἐπὶ Παλληνίδος Ἀθηναίης ἱρὸν, καὶ ἀντία

§ 4. δεινόν τι] 'He was seized with indignation.' Properly δεινόν τι (= 'a monstrous thing') describes the language which he would apply to the insult. Cf. δεινόν τι ἐσέδυνε, 'a fearful thought came over them,' VI. 138. 5. With the use of ἔσχε, compare the instances quoted II. 33. 2, n.

§ 5. ἐπ' ἐωυτῷ] 66. 2, n.

§ 6. δωτίνας] His goods in Attica were confiscated, VI. 138. 2.

προηδέατο] Cf. εὐεργέτης, ᾧ ἐγὼ προαιδεύμαι, III. 140. 5.

§ 7. χρόνος διέφυ, καὶ] Instead

of χρόνου διελθόντος. See II. 93. 8, n.

CH. 62. § 1. διὰ ἐνδεκάτου [τ.]

A mixture of διὰ ἐνδεκα ἐτέων (cf. II. 73. 1) and ἐν ἐνδεκάτῳ ἔτει. The former would mean 'after eleven,' the latter 'after ten years.' But the frequency of the Greek idiom which uses ordinal numbers in such a way that both ends of the series have to be counted (cf. πεμπτήν, 13. 5), leaves no doubt that here the meaning is 'after an interval of ten years.'

§ 4. ἐς τὸντο] τοῖσι ἐναντίοις. Παλληνίδος] i. e. at Pallene: see

Dict. Geogr. Attica, 32.

ἔθεντο τὰ ἔπλα. ἐνθαῦτα θείῃ πομπῇ χρεώμενος παρίσταται 5  
Πεισιστράτῳ Ἀμφίλυτος ὁ Ἀκαρνάν, χρησμολόγος ἀνὴρ, ὃς  
οἱ προσιῶν χρᾶ ἐν ἑξαμέτρῳ τόνῳ, τάδε λέγων·

Ἐρριπται δ' ὁ βόλος, τὸ δὲ δίκτυον ἐκπεπέτασται·  
θύννοι δ' οἰμήσουσι σεληναίης διὰ νυκτός.

63 Ὁ μὲν δὴ οἱ ἐνθεάζων χρᾶ τάδε· Πεισίστρατος δὲ, συλ- 1  
λαβὼν τὸ χρηστήριον, καὶ φὰς δέκεσθαι τὸ χρησθὲν, ἐπήγε  
τὴν στρατιήν. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ οἱ ἐκ ἄστεος πρὸς ἄριστον τε- 2  
τραμμένοι ἦσαν δὴ τηνικαῦτα, καὶ μετὰ τὸ ἄριστον μετε-  
ξέτεροι αὐτῶν, οἱ μὲν πρὸς κύβους, οἱ δὲ πρὸς ὕπνον. οἱ δὲ  
ἀμφὶ Πεισίστρατον ἐσπεσόντες τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τρέπουσι.  
φευγόντων δὲ τούτων, βουλὴν ἐνθαῦτα σοφωτάτην Πεισί- 3  
στρατος ἐπιτεχνᾶται, ὅπως μήτε ἀλισθεῖεν ἔτι οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι,  
διεσκεδασμένοι τε εἶεν. ἀναβιβάσας τοὺς παῖδας ἐπὶ ἵππους  
προέπεμπε· οἱ δὲ καταλαμβάνοντες τοὺς φεύγοντας, ἔλεγον 4  
τὰ ἐντεταλμένα ὑπὸ Πεισιστράτου, θαρσέειν τε κελεύοντες,  
64 καὶ ἀπιέναι ἕκαστος ἐπὶ τὰ ἐωυτοῦ. Πειθομένων δὲ τῶν 1

**ἔθεντο τὰ ἔπλα]** In many passages where this phrase is used immediately before an engagement (e.g. v. 74, 3) it seems to mean no more than 'armati consistebant,' i.e. kept their line with grounded arms. See Grote IV. 242 (VI. 153). But elsewhere (clearly here) it denotes *piling arms* as a preliminary to bivouacking. See IX. 52. 3, where it is used as equivalent to *στρατοπεδεύεσθαι*. So τοῖσι πρὸ τοῦ τείχεος τὰ ἔπλα ἔκειτο, of the Spartans stationed in front of the rampart at Thermopylae (VII. 208. 3).

§ 5. **θείῃ πομπῇ χρ.** = ἐνθεάζων below. Cf. *θείῃ τύχῃ*, 126. 7.

**Ἀκαρνάν]** Plato (*Theages*, 124. D) calls Amphilytus τὸν ἡμεδαπὸν, which has led Valckenār to suggest Ἀχαρνεύς as the true reading. But Bähr is right in retaining Ἀκαρνάν. We hear of other soothsayers from Acarnania, and neighbouring districts (VII. 221. 1; IX. 38), and the form Amphilytus is illustrated by the fact

that Thuc. mentions an Acarnanian named Theolytus, II. 102. 2. (Schw.)

**χρησμολόγος]** Used of an interpreter and arranger of oracles VII. 6. 4. Cf. VII. 142. 7.

**Ἐρριπται δ']** If we are to attempt to explain the particle δ', its occurrence would seem to imply that the prophecy was an adaptation and not original (so Stein). But see 47. 4, note. With the metaphor of δίκτυον, cf. κύρτη, 191. 8; ἐσαγήνευον, VI. 31. 2.

CH. 63. § 2. **δή]** 'Scilicet:' in colloquial English, 'only fancy that.'

**μετέξτεροι]** Subdivided into οἱ μὲν—οἱ δέ.

§ 3. **μήτε...τε]** 'Nec (non solum non)—et (sed etiam).' Bähr. Cf. 99. 2; 119. 6; 160. 6.

**τοὺς παῖδας]** His sons were Hippias, Hipparchus and Thessalus (Thuc. I. 20. 3).

§ 4. **ἕκαστος]** Probably right, though most recent editors have corrected to ἕκαστον. The passage is

Ἀθηναίων, οὕτω δὲ Πεισίστρατος τὸ τρίτον σχὼν Ἀθήνας, ἐρρίζωσε τὴν τυραννίδα ἐπικούροισι τε πολλοῖσι καὶ χρημάτων συνόδοισι, τῶν μὲν αὐτόθεν, τῶν δὲ ἀπὸ Στρυμόνος ποταμοῦ συνιόντων ὁμήρους τε τῶν παραμεινάντων Ἀθηναίων καὶ μὴ αὐτίκα φυγόντων παῖδας λαβὼν, καὶ καταστήσας ἐς Νάξον· καὶ γὰρ ταύτην ὁ Πεισίστρατος κατεστρέψατο πολέμῳ, καὶ ἐπέτρεψε Λυγδάμι· πρὸς γε ἔτι τούτοις, τὴν νῆσον Δῆλον καθήρας ἐκ τῶν λογίων, καθήρας δὲ ὧδε· ἐπ' ὅσον ἔποψις τοῦ ἱεροῦ εἶχε, ἐκ τούτου τοῦ χώρου παντὸς ἐξορύξας τοὺς νεκροὺς, μετεφόρεε ἐς ἄλλον χώρον τῆς Δήλου. καὶ Πεισίστρατος μὲν ἐτυράννευε Ἀθηναίων· Ἀθηναίων δὲ οἱ μὲν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ἐπεπτώκεσαν, οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν μετὰ Ἀλκμαιωνίδεω ἔφευγον ἐκ τῆς οἰκητῆς.

65 Τοὺς μὲν νυν Ἀθηναίους τοιαῦτα τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον ἔπυνθάνετο ὁ Κροῖσος κατέχοντα· τοὺς δὲ Λακεδαιμονίους ἐκ κακῶν τε μεγάλων πεφευγότας, καὶ ἔοντας ἤδη τῷ πολέμῳ

a strong instance of that mixture of *oratio obliqua* and *oratio recta*, which is so common in narratives of past events, e. g. ἐκέλευσε τῆς ἐνυτοῦ χώρας οἰκῆσαι ὅκου βούλονται (for βούλονται, the actual word used being βούλεσθε) I. 163. 3. So here ἕκαστος is retained, notwithstanding ἀπιέναι. With this passage may be compared Thuc. v. 50. 1, ἡξίουσι (οἱ Ἡλείοι) Λέπρεον μὲν μὴ ἀποδοῦναι (τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους), εἰ μὴ βούλονται· ἀναβάντες δὲ (three MSS. ἀναβάντας) ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν τοῦ Διὸς, ἐπειδὴ προθυμοῦνται χρῆσθαι τῷ ἱερῷ, ἀπομόσαι κ.τ.λ. VII. 48. 1, (ὁ Νικίας οὐκ ἐβούλετο) ἐμφανῶς σφᾶς ψηφίζομένους τοῖς πολεμίοις καταγγέλτους γίγνεσθαι· λαθεῖν γὰρ ἂν, ὅποτε βούλονται, τοῦτο ποιοῦντες πολλῷ ἦσσαν. Hom. II. XIX. 257, ἴστω νῦν Ζεὺς πρῶτα...μὴ μὲν ἐγὼ κούρη Βρισητῖδι χεῖρ' ἐπενεῖκαι, | οὐτ' εὐνῆς πρόφασιν κεχρημένος οὔτε τευ ἄλλου.

CH. 64. § 1. τὸ τρίτον σχὼν] 'The exact place of the years of exile in the reign of Pisistratus has been differently determined by the conjectures of chronologers.' Grote.

τῶν μὲν...τῶν δὲ] Grote suggests that τῶν μὲν refers to χρημάτων and τῶν δὲ to ἐπικούροισι, but the natural sense of the passage is that P. had property both in Attica and Thrace. There is nothing so strange in the fact that this is the only notice which we find of his possessions on the Strymon.

αὐτόθεν] The sources of his revenues in Attica were partly the silver mines at Laurium (VII. 144. 1), partly the tax of five per cent. (εἰκοστήν) which he imposed. Thuc. VI. 54. 5.

§ 2. Δῆλον καθήρας] Thuc. (III. 104) mentions this in very similar words (οὐχ ἅπασαν ἀλλ' ὅσον ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἐφεωράτο τῆς νήσου).

ἐκ τῶν λογίων] The Athenians were also said to have carried out their later purification (B.C. 426) in obedience to an oracle, but Thuc. (l. c.) rather implies that the oracle was invented for the occasion (κατὰ χρησμόν δὴ τινα).

CH. 65. § 1. τῷ πολέμῳ] The article assumes that the war is already known, and thus serves to introduce the story more naturally. Cf. II. 126. 3.

κατυπερτέρους Τεγεητέων. ἐπὶ γὰρ Λέοντος βασιλεύοντος 2  
καὶ Ἡγησικλέος ἐν Σπάρτῃ τοὺς ἄλλους πολέμους εὐτυ-  
χέοντες οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πρὸς Τεγεήτας μούνους προσέ-  
πταιον. τὸ δὲ ἔτι πρότερον τούτων καὶ κακονομώτατοι ἦσαν 3  
σχεδὸν πάντων Ἑλλήνων, κατὰ τε σφέας αὐτοὺς, καὶ  
ξείνοισι ἀπρόσμικτοι. μετέβαλον δὲ ὧδε ἐς εὐνομίην. Λυ- 4  
κούργου, τῶν Σπαρτιητέων δοκίμου ἀνδρὸς, ἐλθόντος ἐς Δελ-  
φοὺς ἐπὶ τὸ χρηστήριον, ὡς ἐσήϊε ἐς τὸ μέγαρον, εὐθὺς ἡ  
Πυθίη λέγει τάδε·

Ἦκεις, ὦ Λυκούργε, ἐμὸν ποτὶ πύονα νηὸν, 5  
Ζηνὶ φίλος καὶ πᾶσιν Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχουσι.  
διζῶ ἢ σε θεὸν μαντεύσομαι ἢ ἄνθρωπον.  
ἀλλ' ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον θεὸν ἔλπομαι, ὦ Λυκούργε.

Οἱ μὲν δὴ τινες πρὸς τούτοις λέγουσι καὶ φράσαι αὐτῷ τὴν 6  
Πυθίην τὸν νῦν κατεστεῶτα κόσμον Σπαρτιήτησι. ὡς δ'  
αὐτοὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι λέγουσι, Λυκούργον ἐπιτροπεύσαντα  
Λεωβώτῳ, ἀδελφιδέῳ μὲν ἐωυτοῦ, βασιλεύοντος δὲ Σπαρ-

§ 2. ἐπὶ γὰρ Λ. κ.τ.λ.] About  
600 B.C. Leon was the father of A-  
naxandridas and the grandfather of  
Leonidas: Hegesikles (Dor. Ἀγα-  
σικλῆς) the father of Ariston (67. 1).

τοὺς ἄλλους π.] 'Perhaps this re-  
fers to the wars for the possession of  
Thyrea, ch. 82.' St. Probably also  
to the Messenian wars.

§ 3. καὶ κακόν.] Lat. *vel.* 117. 1, n.  
κατὰ τε σφέας αὐτοὺς] This  
is not an instance of the misplace-  
ment of τε. Hdt. means that they  
were κακονομώτατοι in two respects,  
partly in their domestic, partly in  
their foreign relations: but in the  
second clause, instead of καὶ πρὸς  
ξείνους, he has written καὶ ξείν. ἀπρόσ-  
μικτοι, in order to make his mean-  
ing clearer, and has thus disturbed  
the grammatical construction.

ξείνοισι] ξ. was the Spartan term  
for βάρβαροι (IX. 11. 4; 55. 3), but  
here it has a wider meaning.

εὐνομίην] Thuc. I. 18. 1, ἡ γὰρ  
Λακεδαίμων ἐπὶ πλείστον ὧν ἴσμεν  
χρόνον στασιάσασα ὁμῶς ἐκ παλαιτά-  
του καὶ εὐνομήθη καὶ αἰετὶ ἀτυράννευ-

τος ἦν.

§ 5. ἢ σε θεόν] ἢ = Att. *ei* or *πό-  
τερον*. Hom. *Od.* VI. 141, ὁ δὲ μερ-  
μήριξεν Ὀδυσσεὺς | ἢ γούνων λίσσοιτο  
λαβὼν εὐώπιδα κούρην, | ἢ αὐτῶς ἐπέ-  
εσσιν ἀπόσταδα μελιχλοῖσιν. Prob.  
the question is really direct: 'I  
doubt, shall I—or shall I?'

§ 6. ἐπιτρ. Λεωβώτῳ] 'This  
would place Lycurgus about B.C. 996.'  
Grote. On the other hand Thuc.  
(I. 18), without mentioning Lycurgus  
by name, places the origin of the  
Spartan constitution rather more  
than 400 years before the end of the  
Peloponnesian war, i. e. about 820  
B.C. Again all other writers repre-  
sent Lycurgus as belonging to the  
Proclid line of kings, whereas Labo-  
tas was an Eurysthenid. 'We have  
absolutely no account whatever of  
Lycurgus as an individual person.'  
Müll. *Dor.* I. 7. 6.

ἐκ Κρήτης] Aristot. *Pol.* II. 10.  
1, καὶ γὰρ ἔοικε καὶ λέγεται δὲ τὰ  
πλείστα μεμιμῆσθαι τὴν Κρητικὴν πο-  
λιτείαν ἢ τῶν Λακῶνων. See how-  
ever *Dict. Geogr. Creta*.

τιητέων, ἐκ Κρήτης ἀγαγέσθαι ταῦτα. ὥς γὰρ ἐπετρόπευσε  
τάχιστα, μετέστησε τὰ νόμιμα πάντα καὶ ἐφύλαξε ταῦτα μὴ  
παραβαίνειν. μετὰ δὲ τὰ ἐς πόλεμον ἔχοντα, ἐνωμοτίας καὶ 7  
τριηκάδας καὶ συσσίτια, πρὸς τε τούτοις τοὺς ἐφόρους καὶ  
66 γέροντας ἔστησε Λυκούργος. Οὕτω μὲν μεταβαλόντες εὐ- 1  
νομήθησαν. τῷ δὲ Λυκούργῳ τελευτήσαντι ἱρὸν εἰσάμενοι,  
σέβονται μέγας. οἷα δὲ ἓν τε χώρα ἀγαθὴ καὶ πλήθει  
οὐκ ὀλίγων ἀνδρῶν, ἀνά τε ἔδραμον αὐτίκα καὶ εὐθηνήθησαν.  
καὶ δὴ σφί οὐκέτι ἀπέχρα ἡσυχίην ἄγειν, ἀλλὰ καταφρονή- 2  
σαντες Ἀρκάδων κρέσσονες εἶναι, ἐχρηστηριάζοντο ἐν Δελ-  
φοῖσι ἐπὶ πάσῃ τῇ Ἀρκάδων χώρῃ. ἡ δὲ Πυθίη σφί χρᾶ τάδε·

Ἀρκαδίην μ' αἰτεῖς; μέγα μ' αἰτεῖς· οὗ τοι δώσω.  
πολλοὶ ἐν Ἀρκαδίῃ βαλανηφάγοι ἄνδρες ἔασιν,  
οἳ σ' ἀποκωλύουσιν. ἐγὼ δέ τοι οὗ τι μεγαίρω·  
δώσω τοι Τεγέην ποσσίκροτον ὀρχήσασθαι,  
καὶ καλὸν πεδίον σχοίνῳ διαμετρήσασθαι.

3

ἀγαγέσθαι] Used, as if λέγουσι  
had preceded instead of ὥς λέγ. Cf.  
II. 125. 5. ταῦτα refers to κόσμον.

§ 7. ἐνωμοτίας] See Thuc. v. 68.  
*Dict. Ant. Exercitus.*

τριηκάδας] *Dict. Ant. Tribus.*

ἐφόρους] One of the very rare  
exceptions to the non-aspiration of  
compounded prepositions in Ionic.  
Cf. ἀφίξει, 69. 3. In illustration  
of this passage, read Grote, *H. G.*  
Part II. ch. 6; Curtius, Bk. II. ch. 1.

CH. 68. § 1. οἷα δὲ κ.τ.λ.] i.e.  
οἷα ἐν χώρῃ ἀγαθῇ τε (οὕσῃ) καὶ ἀν-  
δρῶν πλήθει οὐκ ὀλίγων. Cf. μεγάθει  
μεγάλους, 51. 1. Bähr unnecessarily  
supplies ἐν with πλήθει.

ἀνά τε ἔδρ.] Hom. *Il.* xviii. 56,  
ὁ δ' ἀνέδραμεν ἔρνεϊ Ἴσος (of Achilles).  
In Hdt. the attachment of preposi-  
tion to verb is less close than in  
later writers, the prep. still partially  
retaining its original adverbial force  
(II. 60. 2, n.). Cf. ἀπ' ὧν ἐκήρυξαν,  
194. 6; κατὰ με ἐφάρμαξας, II. 181.  
4; μετὰ δὴ βουλεύει, VII. 12. 2.  
See also II. 141. 5.

§ 2. ἐπὶ] 'Touching the conquest  
of:' lit. 'with a view to,' the object

of the intention (here a hostile one)  
being regarded as the foundation of  
the action. So *συνομοσάντων ἐπὶ σοί*,  
VII. 235. 6; *θύεσθαι ἐπὶ τῷ Πέρσῃ*,  
IX. 10. 4.

§ 3. βαλανηφάγοι] An allusion  
to the supposed antiquity of the Ar-  
cadian race (*αὐτόχθονες*, VIII. 73. 1).  
Cf. *προσέληνοι*. Ov. *Fast.* I. 469,  
'Orta prior Luna (de se si creditur  
ipso) A magno tellus Arcade nomen  
habet.'

ὀρχήσασθαι] Acc. to Stein, 'Te-  
gea which lay in a plain shut in all  
round by hills (67. 4) is on that ac-  
count compared to an ὀρχήστρα, just  
as Epaminondas called the Boeotian  
plain ὀρχήστρα πολέμου (Plut. *Mor.*  
193).' Müller's explanation is still  
more elaborate (*Dor.* I. 7. 12):—  
'the ambiguity in ὀρχήσασθαι is that  
it may be derived from ὄρχος,' the  
word thus referring to the cultiva-  
tion of the vineyards by the Lac.  
captives (§ 5). More probably, as  
in *ποσσίκροτον* there is an allusion  
to the clanking of the fetters, so ὄρχ.  
simply refers to the ungainly move-  
ments of the fettered captives.

Ταῦτα ὡς ἀπενειχθέντα ἤκουσαν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, Ἀρκάδων 4  
μὲν τῶν ἄλλων ἀπείχοντο· οἱ δὲ, πέδας φερόμενοι, ἐπὶ Τεγε-  
ήτας ἐστρατεύοντο, χρησμῶ κιβδήλῳ πίσυνοι, ὡς δὴ ἐξαν-  
δραποδιούμενοι τοὺς Τεγεήτας. ἐσσωθέντες δὲ τῇ συμβολῇ, 5  
ὅσοι αὐτῶν ἐξωγρήθησαν, πέδας τε ἔχοντες τὰς ἐφέροντο αὐ-  
τοῖ, καὶ σχοίνῳ διαμετρησάμενοι τὸ πεδίου τὸ Τεγεητέων  
ἐργάζοντο. αἱ δὲ πέδαι αὗται, ἐν τῇσι ἐδεδέετο, ἔτι καὶ 6  
ἐς ἐμὲ ἦσαν σῶαι ἐν Τεγέῃ, περὶ τὸν νηὸν τῆς Ἀλέης Ἀθη-  
ναίης κρεμάμεναι.

- 67 Κατὰ μὲν δὴ τὸν πρότερον πόλεμον συνεχέως αἰεὶ κακῶς 1  
ἀέθλεον πρὸς τοὺς Τεγεήτας. κατὰ δὲ τὸν κατὰ Κροῖσον  
χρόνον καὶ τὴν Ἀναξανδρίδεώ τε καὶ Ἀρίστωνος βασιληίην  
ἐν Λακεδαίμονι ἤδη οἱ Σπαρτιῆται κατυπέρτεροι τῷ πολέμῳ  
ἐγεγόνεσαν, τρόπῳ τοιῷδε γενόμενοι. ἐπειδὴ αἰεὶ τῷ πολέμῳ 2  
ἐσσοῦντο ὑπὸ Τεγεητέων, πέμψαντες θεοπρόπους ἐς Δελ-  
φοὺς, ἐπειρώτεον, τίνα ἂν θεῶν ἱλασάμενοι κατύπερθε τῷ  
πολέμῳ Τεγεητέων γενοίατο. ἡ δὲ Πυθίη σφι ἔχρησε, τὰ 3  
Ὀρέστω τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος ὅστέα ἐπαγαγομένους, ὡς δὲ ἀν-  
ευρεῖν οὐκ οἶοί τε ἐγινέετο τὴν θήκην τοῦ Ὀρέστω, ἔπεμπον  
αὐτὶς τὴν ἐς θεὸν ἐπειρησομένους τὸν χῶρον ἐν τῷ κέοιτο ὁ  
Ὀρέστης. εἰρωτῶσι δὲ ταῦτα τοῖσι θεοπρόποισι λέγει ἡ 4  
Πυθίη τάδε·

§ 4. οἱ δὲ] See 107. 4, n.

δῆ] Ironical:='they were quite sure of that.' Cf. 63. 2; II. 93. 7.

§ 5. ἐφέροντο] 'Which they were all the while bringing for themselves' (81. 2).

σχοίνῳ] i.e. the rope fastening the gang together, which lay stretched along the ground like a measuring-tape in the intervals between man and man.

§ 6. σῶαι ἐν T.] Tegea still retained its independence (IX. 37. 6) notwithstanding its defeats (68. 7).

Ἀλέης] It is uncertain whether this title is connected with ἀλέη, 'escape,' or ἀλέη, 'warmth.'

CH. 67. § 1. τὴν Ἀναξ.] The exact dates of the accession and death of both Anaxandridas and Ariston are unknown. This passage

proves that they were both reigning in B.C. 560, and apparently neither could have been long king. Clinton, *F. H.* II. 207.

§ 3. Ὀρέστω τοῦ Ἀγ.] Stein thinks that there is a confusion here between the son of Agamemnon and an old *Arcadian* hero Ὀρέσθης, from whom was named the district of Oresthasium, W. of Tegea (ἐν Ὀρεστείῳ, IX. 11. 4; ἐς Ὀρέστειον, Thuc. v. 64. 3). More probably however the removal of the relics really implied the recognition of the Heraclidae as the successors of Agamemnon. See Curtius I. 229.

τὴν ἐς θεόν] Supply πομπήν or ὁδόν (109. 1, note). If the former, ἐπειρησομένους is an instance of *constructio ad sensum*: cf. 16. 3; 151. 2; II. 90. 1.



Ἔστι τις Ἀρκαδίας Τεγέη λευρῷ ἐνὶ χώρῳ,  
 ἐνθ' ἄνεμοι πνείουσι δύο κρατερῆς ὑπ' ἀνάγκης,  
 καὶ τύπος ἀντίτυπος, καὶ πῆμ' ἐπὶ πῆματι κείται.  
 ἐνθ' Ἀγαμεμνονίδην κατέχει φυσίζοος αἶα·  
 τὸν σὺ κομισσάμενος, Τεγέης ἐπιτάρροθος ἔσση.

Ὡς δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ἤκουσαν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἀπείχον τῆς 5  
 ἔξευρέσιος οὐδὲν ἔλασσον, πάντα διζήμενοι, ἐς οὗ δὴ Λίχης,  
 τῶν ἀγαθοεργῶν καλεομένων Σπαρτιητέων, ἀνεῦρε. οἱ δὲ 6  
 ἀγαθοεργοὶ εἰσὶ τῶν ἀστῶν, ἐξιόντες ἐκ τῶν ἱππέων αἰεὶ οἱ  
 πρεσβύτατοι, πέντε ἔτεος ἐκάστου· τοὺς δεῖ τοῦτον τὸν ἐνι-  
 αὐτὸν, τὸν ἂν ἐξίωσι ἐκ τῶν ἱππέων, Σπαρτιητέων τῷ κοινῷ  
 68 διαπεμπομένους μὴ ἐλινύειν ἄλλους ἄλλη. Τούτων ὦν τῶν 1  
 ἀνδρῶν Λίχης ἀνεῦρε ἐν Τεγέῃ, καὶ συντυχίῃ χρησάμενος  
 καὶ σοφίῃ. εὐούσης γὰρ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἐπιμιξίης πρὸς  
 τοὺς Τεγεήτας, ἐλθὼν ἐς χαλκήϊον, ἐθηεῖτο σίδηρον ἐξελαυ-

§ 4. Ἔστι...ἐνθ' Ἀγ.] See 175.  
 1, n.

τις] Ironical: 'a certain Tegea:'  
 =you seem not to know of it.  
 λευρῷ ἐνὶ χώρῳ and κατέχει φυσίζοος  
 αἶα are Homeric (*Od.* VII. 123; *Il.*  
 III. 243).

τύπος ἀντίτυπος] Virtually =τύ-  
 πος τε καὶ ἀντίτυπος (68. 4), 'stroke  
 and stroke in return.' The ἀντίτυ-  
 πος is the blow struck by the anvil  
 (simultaneously with the hammer-  
 stroke) on the piece of iron being  
 wrought.

ἐπιτάρροθος] Bähr translates  
 'conqueror.' But in Homer the  
 word always means 'helper,' and  
 accordingly Stein explains it to mean  
 'patron' here:—'by the removal of  
 the protecting hero the patronage of  
 the country would pass to Sparta.'  
 But this (though apparently sanc-  
 tioned by Curtius) seems rather  
 forced. Probably the true explana-  
 tion is to be found in the fact  
 that Homer always uses the dat.  
 (not the gen.) of *the person helped*,  
 the gen. denoting *the thing in*  
*which* the help is given, e.g. (θεοὶ)  
 ὅσοι Δαναοῖσι μάχης ἐπιτάρροθοι ἦσαν,

*Il.* XII. 180. So here ἐπιτάρροθος  
 ἔσση τοῖσι Λακεδαιμονίοισι (σύ de-  
 noting the chief of the θεόπροποι)  
 Τεγέης, =τῆς πρὸς τοὺς Τεγεήτας  
 μάχης, 'in the matter of Tegea.'

§ 5. καὶ ταῦτα] Even after this  
 they were no nearer.

ἐς οὗ] Used (as well as ἐς δ) se-  
 veral times by Hdt., and to be ex-  
 plained either simply on the ground  
 that the ear was accustomed to the  
 use of the genitive in this significa-  
 tion, e.g. ἕως οὗ, ἄχρις οὗ (cf. 35.  
 5, n.), or possibly as an instance of  
 attraction from μεχρὶ τούτου, ἐς δ.  
 Cf. ἐς οὗ ἀποθάνωσι...μεχρὶ τούτου,  
 III. 31. 3. Bredow thinks that ἐς δ  
 should be always read.

Σπαρτιητέων] Used in its strict  
 sense: =ἀστῶν below.

§ 6. ἐξιόντες...οἱ πρ.] 'The  
 oldest of them, that is, as they pass  
 out of the order of the knights, five  
 each year.' Stein thinks that ἀστῶν  
 is superfluous, and needlessly con-  
 jectures τῶν ἐξιόντων. For ἐκ, see  
 note on ἐς, 42. 1.

CH. 68. § 1. ἐπιμιξίης] i. e. there  
 was a truce.

χαλκήϊον...χαλκεὺς] 'Prior aeris



νόμενον καὶ ἐν θῶνυματι ἦν, ὁρέων τὸ ποιούμενον. μαθὼν δέ 1  
 μιν ὁ χαλκεὺς ἀποθωνυμάζοντα εἶπε παυσάμενος τοῦ ἔργου·  
 “Ἦ κου ἂν, ὦ ξεῖνε Λάκων, εἴ περ εἶδες τό περ ἐγὼ, κάρτα  
 ἂν ἐθῶνμαζες, ὅκου νῦν οὕτω τυγχάνεις θῶνυμα ποιούμενος  
 τὴν ἐργασίην τοῦ σιδήρου. ἐγὼ γὰρ ἐν τῇδε θέλων τῇ αὐλῇ 3  
 φρέαρ ποιήσασθαι, ὀρύσσων ἐπέτυχον σορῶ ἐπταπήχει· ὑπὸ  
 δὲ ἀπιστίας, μὴ μὲν γενέσθαι μηδαμὰ μέζοντας ἀνθρώπους  
 τῶν νῦν, ἀνῶξα αὐτήν, καὶ εἶδον τὸν νεκρὸν μήκει ἴσον ἔοντα  
 τῇ σορῶ. μετρήσας δὲ συνέχωσα ὀπίσω.” Ὁ μὲν δὴ οἱ 4  
 ἔλεγε τά περ ὀπώπες· ὁ δὲ, ἐννώσας τὰ λεγόμενα, συνεβάλλετο  
 τὸν Ὀρέστεα κατὰ τὸ θεοπρόπιον τοῦτον εἶναι, τῇδε  
 συμβαλλόμενος· τοῦ χαλκέος δύο ὁρέων φύσας τοὺς ἀνέμους  
 εὔρισκε ἔοντας, τὸν δὲ ἄκμονα καὶ τὴν σφύραν τὸν τε τύπον  
 καὶ τὸν ἀντίτυπον, τὸν δὲ ἐξελαυνόμενον σίδηρον τὸ πῆμα  
 ἐπὶ πῆματι κείμενον, κατὰ τοιόνδε τι εἰκάζων, ὥς ἐπὶ κακῶ  
 ἀνθρώπου σίδηρος ἀνεύρηται. Συμβαλλόμενος δὲ ταῦτα 5  
 καὶ ἀπελθὼν ἐς Σπάρτην ἔφραζε Λακεδαιμονίοισι πᾶν τὸ  
 πρῆγμα. οἱ δὲ, ἐκ λόγου πλαστοῦ ἐπενείκαντές οἱ αἰτίην,  
 ἐδίωξαν. ὁ δὲ, ἀπικόμενος ἐς Τεγέην, καὶ φράζων τὴν ἑω- 6  
 τοῦ συμφορὴν πρὸς τὸν χαλκέα, ἐμισθοῦτο παρ’ οὐκ ἐκδιδόν-  
 τος τὴν αὐλήν. χρόνῳ δὲ ὥς ἀνέγνωσε, ἐνοικίσθη. ἀνορύξας

erat quam ferri cognitus usus,’ and the old names were long retained and applied to the working of the more recent metal. *σιδηρεὺς* is used by Xenophon and *σιδηρεῖον* by Aristotle.

ἐν θῶ. ἦν] This is curious; because working in iron, though not very common, was known in Homer’s time. See *Od.* ix. 391—3, where *χαλκεὺς* and *σίδηρος* are combined as here. Possibly *ἐξελαυνόμενον* denotes some peculiar process.

§ 2. μαθὼν] See 80. 7, n.

ὅκου] *Quandoquidem.* II. 125. 6.

θῶνυμα] This may be taken as predicate, or we may say that *θ. ποιούμενος* has the construction of *θωνυμάζων* (160. 6, n.).

§ 3. ἐπταπήχει] Orestes would thus have been smaller than Perseus (II. 91. 4), and than Otus and Ephialtes

(Hom. *Od.* xi. 308). Compare the Homeric phrase *οἱ νῦν βροτοὶ εἰσι*.

μὴ μὲν] II. 118. 3, n.

§ 4. τὸν Ὀρέστεα] ‘The (long-sought) Orestes.’ So τοὺς ἀνέμους below, — those mentioned by the oracle. The article thus stands with the predicate, with which too the copula is constructed (*ἔοντας* for *έούσας*).

ἐπὶ κακῶ] ‘To work ill for man.’

§ 5. ἐκ λόγου πλ.] ‘On a feigned plea.’ Both the trial and the banishment were a story made up for him to tell in Tegea.

§ 6. ἐμισθοῦτο] Strictly the *tempus imperfectum*: ‘tried to hire.’ So *ᾠέοντο*, 69. 4; *ἐμνᾶτο*, 205. 1.

παρ’ οὐκ ἐκδ.] i.e. παρὰ τούτου· ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἐξεδίδου. Cf. 26. 1,

δὲ τὸν τάφον, καὶ τὰ ὅστέα συλλέξας, οἷχeto φέρων ἐς Σπάρτην. καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦτου τοῦ χρόνου, ὅπως πειρώατο ἀλλήλων, 7 πολλῶ κατυπέρτεροι τῷ πολέμῳ ἐγίνοντο οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι· ἤδη δὲ σφι καὶ ἡ πολλὴ τῆς Πελοποννήσου ἦν κατεστραμμένη.

- 69 Ταῦτα δὴ ὦν πάντα πυνθανόμενος ὁ Κροῖσος, ἔπεμπε 1 ἐς Σπάρτην ἀγγέλους δῶρά τε φέροντας, καὶ δεησομένους συμμαχίης, ἐντειλάμενός τε τὰ λέγειν χρῆν. οἱ δὲ ἐλθόντες ἔλεγον· “Ἐπεμψε ἡμέας Κροῖσος ὁ Λυδῶν τε καὶ ἄλλων 2 ἐθνέων βασιλεὺς, λέγων τάδε· ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, χρήσαντος τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν Ἕλληνα φίλον προσθέσθαι, ὑμέας γὰρ πυνθάνομαι προεστάναι τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ὑμέας ὦν κατὰ τὸ χρηστήριον προσκαλέομαι, φίλος τε θέλων γενέσθαι καὶ σύμμαχος 3 ἄνευ τε δόλου καὶ ἀπάτης.” Κροῖσος μὲν δὴ ταῦτα δι’ ἀγγέλων ἐπεκηρυκεύετο. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ, ἀκηκοότες καὶ αὐτοὶ τὸ θεοπρόπιον τὸ Κροίσῳ γενόμενον, ἥσθησάν τε τῇ ἀφίξει τῶν Λυδῶν, καὶ ἐποιήσαντο ὅρκια ξεινίης πέρι καὶ 4 ξυμμαχίης· καὶ γὰρ τινες αὐτοὺς εὐεργεσίαι εἶχον ἐκ Κροίσου πρότερον ἔτι γεγονυῖαι. πέμψαντες γὰρ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐς Σάρδεις χρυσὸν ὠνέοντο, ἐς ἄγαλμα βουλόμενοι 5 χρήσασθαι τοῦτο, τὸ νῦν τῆς Λακωνικῆς ἐν Θόρνακι ἱδρυται Ἀπόλλωνος· Κροῖσος δὲ σφι ὠνεομένοισι ἔδωκε δωτίνην.

§ 7. **ὅπως]** As ὡς=ὅτε, so ὅπως in Hdt. often=ὅποτε.

**πειρώατο]** ‘Proved one another’ (in battle). Hom. *Il.* XXI. 580, οὐκ ἔθελεν φεύγειν, πρὶν πειρήσaiτ’ Ἀχιλλῆος. The MSS. have ἐπειρώατο, which some edd. alter into ἐπιπειρώατο (nowhere else used). Others take it as an irregular imperf. form.

**ἡ πολλή]** Cf. 24. 1. Krüg. says that the statement is an exaggeration, and that ἡ should probably be omitted. But look at the map.

CH. 69. § 1. **ἐντειλάμενός τε]** Coupled to δεησομένους. So πλήσαντες...καὶ...χωρέοντα, 70. 2.

§ 2. **τὸν Ἕλληνα]** Here of the nation, and therefore not parallel to τὸν Κόλχον (2. 4, n.). Cf. τὸν Ἀθηναῖον, Thuc. VI. 78. 2.

**ὦν]** Inserted owing to the parenthesis: cf. 144. 1.

**ἄνευ τε δ. κ. ἀ.]** Prob. a regular formula in treaties: = *nullo dolo malo* (VIII. 140. 6). Cf. σπονδὰς ἀδόλους καὶ ἀβλαβεῖς, Thuc. VI. 47. 1.

§ 3. **καὶ γὰρ]** This gives one reason for ἐποιήσαντο κ.τ.λ. The Lacedaemonians were ordinarily ξεινοῖσι ἀπρόσμικτοι (65. 3; Thuc. II. 37. 3).

**εὐεργ. εἶχον]** ‘Croesus even before had done them certain kind offices, for which they were beholden to him.’

§ 4. **Ἀπόλλωνος]** Join Ἀπ. with ἄγαλμα. Apollo was preeminently the *Dorian* deity. The scarcity of gold in early times in Greece is

70 Τούτων τε ὧν εἵνεκεν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὴν συμμαχίην ἐδέ-  
 ξαντο, καὶ ὅτι ἐκ πάντων σφέας προκρίνας Ἑλλήνων αἰρέετο  
 φίλους. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν αὐτοὶ ἦσαν ἐτοῖμοι ἐπαγγείλαντι,  
 τοῦτο δὲ ποιησάμενοι κρητῆρα χάλκεον, ζωδίων τε ἔξωθεν  
 πλήσαντες περὶ τὸ χεῖλος, καὶ μεγάθει τριηκοσίους ἀμφο-  
 ρέας χωρέοντα ἤγον, δῶρον βουλόμενοι ἀντιδοῦναι Κροίσῳ.  
 οὗτος ὁ κρητῆρ οὐκ ἀπίκητο ἐς Σάρδεις δι' αἰτίας διφασίας  
 λεγομένας τάσδε· οἱ μὲν Λακεδαιμόνιοι λέγουσι, ὥς ἐπεὶ τε  
 ἀγόμενος ἐς τὰς Σάρδεις ὁ κρητῆρ ἐγίνετο κατὰ τὴν Σαμίνην,  
 πυθόμενοι Σάμιοι ἀπελοίατο αὐτὸν, νηυσὶ μακρῇσι ἐπιπλώ-  
 σαντες. αὐτοὶ δὲ Σάμιοι λέγουσι, ὥς ἐπεὶ τε ὑστέρησαν οἱ  
 ἄγοντες τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων τὸν κρητῆρα, ἐπυνθάνοντο δὲ  
 Σάρδεις τε καὶ Κροῖσον ἠλωκέναι, ἀπέδοντο τὸν κρητῆρα ἐν  
 Σάμῳ, ἰδιώτας δὲ ἄνδρας πριαμένους ἀναθεῖναι μιν ἐς τὸ  
 Ἡραῖον· τάχα δὲ ἂν καὶ οἱ ἀποδόμενοι λέγοιεν, ἀπικόμενοί  
 ἐς Σπάρτην, ὥς ἀπαιρεθείησαν ὑπὸ Σαμίων. κατὰ μὲν νυν  
 τὸν κρητῆρα οὕτως ἔσχε.

71 Κροῖσος δὲ ἀμαρτῶν τοῦ χρησμοῦ ἐποιέετο στρατηγὴν  
 ἐς Καππαδοκίην, ἐλπίσας καταιρήσειν Κῦρόν τε καὶ τὴν  
 Περσέων δύναμιν. παρασκευαζομένου δὲ Κροίσου στρατεύ-  
 εσθαι ἐπὶ Πέρσας, τῶν τις Λυδῶν, νομιζόμενος καὶ πρόσθεν

illustrated by Soph. *Ant.* 1037, ἐμ-  
 πολᾶτε τὸν πρὸς Σάρδεων | ἤλε-  
 κτρον, εἰ βούλεσθε, καὶ τὸν Ἰνδικὸν |  
 χρυσόν. The possession of gold and  
 silver money at Sparta was forbid-  
 den by law.

ἀνεομένοις] *Empturientibus*.

CH. 70. § 2. τοῦτο μὲν] Cf. 30. 8.

αὐτοὶ] 'They themselves,' in op-  
 position to their present.

ζωδίων] This, like ζῶα, 203. 3;  
 II. 4. 5 (cf. ζῶα γραψάμενος, IV.  
 88. 2), denotes figures of any kind  
 (Schw.). The diminutive, because  
 the figures were not full size.

§ 3. διφασίας] This in mean-  
 ing goes closely with λεγομένας.  
 There were not two causes, but two  
 stories of the cause. Cf. αἰτίαι δι-  
 φασίαι λέγονται τοῦ θανάτου, III.  
 122. 1.

κατὰ τὴν Σ.] 'Off (cf. 76. 1) the

land of Samos,' Σαμίνην denoting not  
 the island but the territory belong-  
 ing to the city of Samos. This oc-  
 currence was afterwards made a  
 pretext for the Spartan expedition  
 against Samos, III. 47. 2.

§ 4. τὸ Ἡραῖον] The famous  
 temple at Samos.

ἂν λέγοιεν] Of a past event: cf.  
 2. 2, n. Spartan cupidity became  
 proverbial. Aristotle says that the  
 legislator at Sparta τὴν μὲν πόλιν  
 πεποίηκεν ἀχρήματον, τοὺς δ' ἰδιώτας  
 φιλοχρημάτους. *Pol.* II. 9. 37.

CH. 71. § 1. τοῦ χρησμοῦ] The  
 one given at 53. 3.

§ 2. τῶν τις Λ.] A common  
 collocation in Hdt. (I. 4, n.). So  
 in plur. τῶν τινὲς Φοινίκων, VIII. 90.  
 1. In Attic this only occurs where  
 the article has an epithet joined to  
 it, e.g. τῶν ἄλλων τινὰς Ἑλλήνων.

εἶναι σοφὸς, ἀπὸ δὲ ταύτης τῆς γνώμης καὶ τὸ κάρτα οὔνομα ἐν Λυδοῖσι ἔχων, συνεβούλευσε Κροίσῳ τάδε (οὔνομά οἱ ἦν Σάνδανις). “ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἐπ’ ἀνδρας τοιούτους στρατεύεσθαι 3 παρασκευάζει, οἷ σκυτῖνας μὲν ἀναξυρίδας, σκυτίνην δὲ τὴν ἄλλην ἐσθῆτα φορέουσι· σιτέονται δὲ οὐκ ὅσα ἐθέλουσι, ἀλλ’ ὅσα ἔχουσι, χώρην ἔχοντες τρηχεῖν· πρὸς δὲ οὐκ οἶνω διαχρέονται, ἀλλὰ ὑδροποτεύουσι· οὐ σῦκα δὲ ἔχουσι τρώγειν, οὐκ ἄλλο ἀγαθὸν οὐδέν. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ, εἰ νικήσεις, τί σφεας 4 ὑπαιρήσεις, τοῖσί γε μή ἐστι μηδέν; τοῦτο δὲ, ἦν νικηθῆς, μάθε ὅσα ἀγαθὰ ἀποβαλέεις. γευσάμενοι γὰρ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἀγαθῶν, περιέξονται, οὐδὲ ἀπωστοὶ ἔσονται. ἐγὼ μὲν 5 νυν θεοῖσι ἔχω χάριν, οἷ οὐκ ἐπὶ νόον ποιέουσι Πέρσησι στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ Λυδούς.” Ταῦτα λέγων, οὐκ ἔπειθε τὸν Κροίσον. Πέρσησι γὰρ, πρὶν Λυδούς καταστρέψασθαι, ἦν 72 οὔτε ἀβρὸν, οὔτε ἀγαθὸν οὐδέν. Οἱ δὲ Καππαδόκαι ὑπὸ 1 Ἑλλήνων Σύριοι οὔνομάζονται· ἦσαν δὲ οἱ Σύριοι οὗτοι, τὸ

καὶ τὸ κάρτα] See 117. 1, n. The phrase goes with ἔχων, not with οὔνομα.

οὔνομα ... οὔνομα] In different senses (II. 52. 4, n.).

§ 3. σκυτῖνας κ.τ.λ.] They afterwards adopted the Median dress (135. 1).

οὐκ οἶνω] Contrast 133. 4.

οὐ σῦκα δὲ] ‘No figs have they.’ Stein adds in explanation ‘the simplest and cheapest dessert.’ More prob. however figs are mentioned κατ’ ἐξοχήν. ‘The fig is the only fruit to which Homer allows sweetness.’ Notice the epithets given to the different trees in the garden of Alcinous, *Od.* VII. 115 foll.

τρώγειν] II. 37. 9, n.

§ 4. τοῖσί γε μή] = εἰ γέ σφι μή, ‘a relative clause in which the causal signification grazes on the hypothetical’ Ab.

μάθε] Not ‘learn from me,’ but ‘look round and see for yourself.’ Cf. 80. 7, n. There is therefore no need to assume (as Stein does) a *lacuna* after ἀποβαλέεις.

§ 5. ἐγὼ μὲν] The respect of the speaker leads him to suppress

the σὺ δέ, which would naturally follow (St.).

οὐκ ἔπειθε] The introduction of Sandanis heightens the moral. He plays the same part that Artabanus plays in the story of Xerxes (VII. 10). The doomed must always be warned and the warning must always be in vain.

Πέρσησι γάρ] γάρ refers to the whole story: =(I tell the tale) for. The strong contrast between Persians past and Persians present is of course in Hdt.’s thoughts.

CH. 72. § 1. ὑπὸ Ἑλλ.] The Persian name being Cappadocians (VII. 72. 3). ‘In the Persian inscriptions the name is *Katapatuka*.’ St. The Cappadocians are mentioned here because of ἐς Καππ., 71. 1.

Σύριοι] This is the reading of all the MSS. (Bähr), though at 6. 1 we have the form Σύροι used of the same nation. Stein thinks that Hdt. used Σύροι to denote the inhabitants of Palestine (e.g. II. 12. 2; 30. 4), and Σύριοι of the Cappadocians. But to carry out this rule, he has constantly to alter the readings of the MSS.

μὲν πρότερον ἢ Πέρσας ἄρξαι, Μήδων κατήκοι, τότε δὲ Κύρου. ὁ γὰρ οὖρος ἦν τῆς τε Μηδικῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ τῆς 1 Λυδικῆς ὁ Ἄλυσ ποταμός, ὃς ῥέει ἐξ Ἀρμενίου οὖρεος διὰ Κιλικίων, μετὰ δὲ Ματιηνοὺς μὲν ἐν δεξιῇ ἔχει ῥέων, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ἐτέρου Φρύγας· παραμειβόμενος δὲ τούτους, καὶ ῥέων ἄνω πρὸς βορέην ἄνεμον, ἔνθεν μὲν Συρίους Καππαδόκας ἀπέργει, ἐξ εὐωνύμου δὲ Παφλαγόνας. οὕτω ὁ Ἄλυσ ποτα- 3 μὸς ἀποτάμνει σχεδὸν πάντα τῆς Ἀσίας τὰ κάτω ἐκ θαλάσσης τῆς ἀντίου Κύπρου ἐς τὸν Εὐξείνου πόντον. ἔστι δὲ αὐχὴν οὗτος τῆς χώρας ταύτης ἀπάσης· μῆκος ὁδοῦ εὐζώνῳ ἀνδρὶ πέντε ἡμέραι ἀναισιμούνται.

§ 2. ὁ γὰρ οὖρος] They were subject to the Medes (for they lived to the east of the Halys), *for* the H. was the boundary: ὁ οὖρ., 'the (recognized) boundary,' Kr.

διὰ Κιλ...Καππ.] The later provinces of Cilicia and Cappadocia both lay farther south than this. But in early times these mountain-tribes would have had no definite frontier-lines: cf. II. 104. 6.

Ματιηνοὺς] 189. 1, n.

ἄνω] Here, and at 142. 2, this is usually explained to mean 'northwards.' But (1) how could this meaning have arisen in Hdt.'s time? The notion that the north is higher than the south ('hic vertex nobis semper sublimis,' Virg. *Georg.* I. 242) does not appear in his writings:—he says that nothing is known about the earth's northern limits (IV. 45. 1; V. 9. 1). Nor do we even know that the early Greek maps resembled our modern ones in having the north at the top. (2) As applied to the points of the compass, ἄνω and similar words cannot have a consistent meaning assigned to them. Thus where Priam's kingdom is described as ὅσον Λέσβος ἄνω...ἐντὸς ἐέργει | καὶ Φρυγίη καθύπερθε (Hom. *Il.* XXIV. 544) ἄνω must mean 'southwards' and καθύπερθε 'northwards:' and καθύπερθε Χίοιο (*Od.* III. 170) must mean 'to the west of Chios,' lit. 'further out to sea:' cf. ἀνωτέρω

(Σάμον) τὸ πρὸς ἐσπέρης, Hdt. VIII. 130. 4. In the present passage, either ἄνω has its usual meaning of 'inland,' i.e. *away from the Mediterranean* (Hdt.'s sea, τήνδε τὴν θ.), though properly the course of any river must be κάτω, whether it flow towards or away from the M.; or else it simply = 'on beyond' (παραμειψάμενος τούτους), like ἀνωτέρω, 190. 4. Probably the former explanation is the true one. For other instances of Hdt.'s use of relative terms from a Mediterranean point of view see notes I. 6. 1; II. 8. 1; 24. 2; 33. 5.

ἐνθεν μὲν] 'On this side,' i.e. on the right.

§ 3. τῆς Ἀ. τὰ κάτω = τὰ ἐντὸς Ἀλυσ (6. 1).

αὐχὴν οὗτος] οὗτ. is put for ταῦτα owing to the attraction of αὐχὴν. 'These parts (through which the H. flows) are a neck of the whole of this country (viz. both upper and lower Asia).' Thus the western part of Asia Minor is the head, Asia proper is the body, and the eastern part of Asia Minor, where it is narrowest, forms the neck.

πέντε] Hdt. considerably underestimates, the real distance being about 270 miles. A day's journey is reckoned at 100 stades, = 23 miles (IV. 101. 3), and assuming 30 miles a day for the εὐζώνος ἀνὴρ (Rennell) the journey would take nine days.

73 Ἐστρατεύετο δὲ ὁ Κροῖσος ἐπὶ τὴν Καππαδοκίην τῶνδε ἱ  
 εἵνεκα, καὶ γῆς ἱμέρῳ προσκτήσασθαι πρὸς τὴν ἑωυτοῦ  
 μοῖραν βουλόμενος, καὶ μάλιστα τῷ χρηστηρίῳ πίσυνος  
 ἑὼν, καὶ τίσασθαι θέλων ὑπὲρ Ἀστυάγεος Κῦρον. Ἀστυ- 2  
 άγεα γὰρ τὸν Κυαξάρειν ἔοντα Κροίσου μὲν γαμβρὸν, Μήδων  
 δὲ βασιλέα, Κῦρος ὁ Καμβύσειν καταστρεψάμενος εἶχε, γε-  
 νόμενον γαμβρὸν Κροίσῳ ὧδε. Σκυθέων τῶν νομάδων εἴλη  
 ἀνδρῶν στασιάσασα, ὑπεξῆλθε εἰς γῆν τὴν Μηδικήν. ἐτυ- 3  
 ράννευε δὲ τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον Μήδων Κυαξάρης ὁ Φραόρτειν  
 τοῦ Δηϊόκειν, ὃς τοὺς Σκύθας τούτους τὸ μὲν πρῶτον περιεῖπε  
 εὖ, ὡς ἔοντας ἰκέτας, ὥστε δὲ περὶ πολλοῦ ποιούμενος αὐ-  
 τοὺς, παῖδάς σφι παρέδωκε τὴν γλῶσσάν τε ἐκμαθέειν καὶ  
 τὴν τέχνην τῶν τόξων. χρόνου δὲ γενομένου, καὶ αἰεὶ φοιτε- 4  
 ὄντων τῶν Σκυθέων ἐπ' ἄγρην, καὶ αἰεὶ τι φερόντων, καί  
 κοτε συνήνεικε ἐλεῖν σφέας μηδὲν νοστήσαντας δὲ αὐτοὺς  
 κεινῇσι χερσὶ, ὁ Κυαξάρης (ἦν γὰρ, ὡς διέδεξε, ὀργὴν ἄκρος)

Cf. 104. 1, n. Dahlmann on this passage refers to VI. 106. 1 (cf. VI. 120. 1), where Phidippides is said to have gone from Athens to Sparta (117 miles) within two days. But the present tense (ἀναισιμούνται) implies that the estimate here is a general one, and not a reference to 'an experiment which was made once or twice' (Dahlm. *Life of Hdt. E. T.* p. 73).

CH. 73. § 2. καταστρ. εἶχε] This implies that A. was still alive (27. 4, n.). He seems to have lived for some time in captivity (130. 3).

νομάδων] See IV. 19.

ἀνδρῶν] Bähr and others take this in apposition with Σκυθέων τῶν νομ., like ἀνὴρ αὐλητής, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι. But the order of the words is against this. Prob. owing to the frequency with which ἀνδρῶν is added after nouns of multitude (στρατὸν ἀνδρ., 53. 1; πόλιν ἀνδρ., VII. 8. 13) εἴλη ἀνδρ. here is regarded as a single noun and takes the partitive genitive.

§ 3. ἐτυράννευε] 6. 1, n.

Κυαξ. ὁ Φρ.] See chs. 96—106.

περὶ πολλοῦ] Stronger than πολ-

λοῦ: lit. = 'above much,' περί being equivalent to πρᾶς, as in the Homeric περὶ πάντων ἔμμεναι ἄλλων. So περὶ οὐδένος in the orators, 'at less than nothing.'

τόξων] Cf. IV. 132. 3.

§ 4. καί κοτε] 'Once also,' i. e. besides the many occasions on which they had brought back something.

κεινῇσι] Att. κεναῖς.

διέδεξε] Probably impersonal (II. 134. 4). Cf. παρέξει, 9. 5.

ὀργὴν ἄκρος] Cf. ὀργὴν χαλεπῶ, III. 131. 1. Aristotle describes the ἀκρόχολοι ('the touchy') as ὑπερβολῇ ὀξεῖς καὶ πρὸς πᾶν ὀργίλοι καὶ ἐπὶ πάντι (Eth. IV. 5. 9). The majority of MSS. however read ὀργὴν οὐκ ἄκρος, which might fairly mean 'not eminent in point of temper:' cf. ψυχὴν οὐκ ἄκρος, V. 124. 1; Εὐρώπῃ ἀρετὴν ἄκρη, VII. 5. 5. And it is doubtful whether the omission of the negative can be justified by the analogy of ἀκρόχολος, which is usually written ἀκράχολος, and is perhaps a shortened form of ἀκρατόχολος. On the whole therefore it seems rather more prob. that the copyists have omitted οὐκ, than that they have inserted it.

τρηχέως κάρτα περιέσπε ἀεικείῃ. οἱ δὲ ταῦτα πρὸς Κυαξά- 5  
 ρεω παθόντες, ὥστε ἀνάξια σφέων αὐτῶν πεπονθότες, ἐβου-  
 λεύσαντο τῶν παρὰ σφίσι διδασκομένων παίδων ἓνα κατα-  
 κόψαι· σκευάσαντες δὲ αὐτὸν, ὥσπερ ἐώθεσαν καὶ τὰ θηρία  
 σκευάζειν, Κυαξάρει δοῦναι φέροντες, ὡς ἄγρην δῆθεν· δόν-  
 τες δὲ τὴν ταχίστην κομίζεσθαι παρὰ Ἀλυάττεα τὸν Σαδυ-  
 άττεω ἐς Σάρδις. ταῦτα καὶ δὴ ἐγένετο. καὶ γὰρ Κυαξάρης 6  
 καὶ οἱ παρέοντες δαιτυμόνες τῶν κρεῶν τούτων ἐπάσαντο·  
 καὶ οἱ Σκύθαι ταῦτα ποιήσαντες Ἀλυάττεω ἰκέται ἐγένοντο.  
 74 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα (οὐ γὰρ δὴ ὁ Ἀλυάττης ἐξεδίδου τοὺς Σκύθας 1  
 ἐξαιτέοντι Κυαξάρει) πόλεμος τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι καὶ τοῖσι Μή-  
 δοισι ἐγεγόνεε ἐπ' ἕτεα πέντε· ἐν τοῖσι πολλάκις μὲν οἱ  
 Μῆδοι τοὺς Λυδοὺς ἐνίκησαν, πολλάκις δὲ οἱ Λυδοὶ τοὺς  
 Μήδους· ἐν δὲ καὶ νυκτομαχίην τινὰ ἐποιήσαντο. διαφέ- 2  
 ρουσι δὲ σφί ἐπὶ ἴσης τὸν πόλεμον, τῷ ἕκτῳ ἔτει συμβό-  
 λῃς γενομένης, συνήνεικε ὥστε τῆς μάχης συνεστεώσης τὴν  
 ἡμέρην ἐξαπίνης νύκτα γενέσθαι. τὴν δὲ μεταλλαγὴν ταύ- 3  
 την τῆς ἡμέρης Θαλῆς ὁ Μιλήσιος τοῖσι Ἴωσι προηγόρευσε  
 ἔσεσθαι, οὐρον προθέμενος ἐνιαυτὸν τοῦτον, ἐν ᾧ δὴ καὶ  
 ἐγένετο ἡ μεταβολή. οἱ δὲ Λυδοὶ τε καὶ οἱ Μῆδοι ἐπεὶ τε 4

CH. 74. § 1. πόλεμος] 'The pas-  
 sage of such nomadic hordes from one  
 government in the East to another  
 is even down to the present day a  
 frequent cause of dispute between  
 the different governments.' Grote.

ἐν δὲ καὶ] We should rather have  
 expected πρὸς δέ or μετὰ δέ, since  
 the reference seems to be to the bat-  
 tle described below, which took  
 place in the *sixth* year.

νυκτομ. τινά] 'A sort of night-  
 battle,' i.e. not a real one, τινά im-  
 plying that the expression is merely  
 metaphorical. Cf. ἐξαιρετόν τι με-  
 ταίχμιον, VIII. 140. 10.

§ 2. διαφέρουσι δὲ] δέ for γάρ,  
 Hdt. often preferring to connect two  
 sentences coordinately, instead of  
 introducing one as the reason for the  
 other. Cf. 61. 7; 173. 3; 175. 1;  
 II. 93. 8.

ἐπὶ ἴσης] μόρης may be supplied,  
 but see 108. 6, n.

§ 3. Θαλῆς κ.τ.λ.] 'Not unlike-  
 ly. Thales had been in Egypt, to  
 which country the Greeks owed their  
 astronomical knowledge.' Ab. But  
 see Grote *H. G.* II. 417 (III. 314).

οὐρον προθ.] 'Having laid down  
 the year as a limit:' i.e. he did not  
 definitely name any day or month.

ἐνιαυτὸν τοῦτον] 'I have exa-  
 mined every total eclipse in Olt-  
 manns' tables, extending from B.C.  
 631 to B.C. 585, and I find only one  
 (that of B.C. 585, May 28) which  
 can have passed near to Asia Minor.  
 That of B.C. 610, Sept. 30, which  
 was adopted by Bailey and Olt-  
 manns is now thrown north even of  
 the sea of Azov.' Prof. Airy, quoted  
 by Grote. Hdt.'s account implies  
 a *total* eclipse.



εἶδον νύκτα ἀντὶ ἡμέρης γινομένην, τῆς μάχης τε ἐπαύσαντο, καὶ μᾶλλον τι ἔσπευσαν καὶ ἀμφότεροι εἰρήνην ἐωυτοῖσι γενέσθαι. οἱ δὲ συμβιβάσαντες αὐτοὺς ἦσαν οἶδε, Σύν- 5 νεσίς τε ὁ Κίλιξ καὶ Λαβύνητος ὁ Βαβυλώνιος· οὗτοί σφι καὶ τὸ ὄρκιον οἱ σπεύσαντες γενέσθαι ἦσαν, καὶ γάμων ἐπαλλαγὴν ἐποίησαν· Ἀλυάττεα γὰρ ἔγνωσαν δοῦναι τὴν θυγατέρα Ἀρίηνιν Ἀστυάγεϊ τῷ Κναξάρει παιδί. ἄνευ γὰρ ἀναγκαίης ἰσχυρῆς συμβάσιες ἰσχυραὶ οὐκ ἐθέλουσι συμμένειν. Ὅρκια δὲ ποιεῖται ταῦτα τὰ ἔθνεα τὰ περ τε 6 Ἕλληνες· καὶ πρὸς τούτοις, ἐπεὰν τοὺς βραχίονας ἐπιτάμω- μωνται ἐς τὴν ὁμοχροίτην, τὸ αἷμα ἀναλείχουσι ἀλλήλων.

75 Τοῦτον δὲ ὢν τὸν Ἀστυάγεα Κῦρος, εὐντα ἐωυτοῦ μη- 1 τροπάτορα, καταστρεφάμενος ἔσχε δι' αἰτίην τὴν ἐγὼ ἐν τοῖσι ὀπίσω λόγοις σημανέω. τὰ Κροῖσος ἐπιμεμφόμενος 2 τῷ Κύρῳ, ἔς τε τὰ χρηστήρια ἔπεμπε, εἰ στρατεύηται ἐπὶ Πέρσας, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἀπικομένου χρησμοῦ κιβδήλου, ἐλπίσας

§ 4. καὶ ἀμφότεροι] 117. 1, n.

§ 5. Σύννεσις] Prob. a title, not a proper name: since we find another S. of C. cotemporary with Darius (v. 118. 2), a third with Xerxes (vii. 98), and a fourth with Artaxerxes (Xen. An. I. 2. 12).

Λαβύνητος] See 188. 1, n.

ἀναγκαίης] The constraint produced by family-ties. Cf. Lat. *necessarius*, *necessitudo*.

ἰσχυραὶ] With συμμένειν.

§ 6. τὰ περ τε] Stein thinks that κατὰ (= καθ' α) should be read for τὰ. But ὄρκια = manner of taking oaths (cf. μάχη, 79. 4; ἄγραι II. 70. 1), and so denotes the ceremonies observed. τε is answered by καὶ πρὸς τ.

ἐπεὰν] See 17. 4, n.

τὴν ὁμοχρ.] 'The surface-skin.' ὁμο—'that which holds together all the bones and muscles.' St.

τὸ αἷμα...ἀλλήλων] The order of the words is opposed to the rule laid down by Krüger that the possessive genitive of reflexive or reciprocal pronouns is always preceded by the article. See notes 165. 1;

II. 107. 1. Tacitus describes a similar custom: 'levi ictu cruorem eliciunt, atque invicem lambunt.' Ann. XII. 47. 3.

CH. 75. § 1. καταστρ. ἔσχε] 'Had held in subjection,'—with reference to καταστρ. εἶχε, 73. 2. Except in the sense of the pluperfect, the aorist could hardly stand in an idiom which denotes continued action (27. 4).

ὀπίσω λόγ.] 'In the stories to follow,' chs. 107, foll. This Homeric use of ὀπίσω to denote the unseen future views each moment of time as something which overtakes us from behind and passes in front. The λόγοι are not the different 'books,' but the separate stories and episodes out of which the work seems to have been built. So we have Ἀσσύριοι λόγοι mentioned (184. 1, n.) and Λυβικοὶ λόγοι (II. 161. 3). The present passage would form part of a Λύδιος λόγος. Twice however Hdt. refers to passages in Bk. I. under the title of ὁ πρῶτος (οἱ πρῶτοι) τῶν λόγων,—at v. 36. 5 to I. 92. 2, and at VII. 93 to I. 171. 2.



πρὸς ἑωυτοῦ τὸν χρησμὸν εἶναι, ἐστρατεύετο ἐς τὴν Περσέων  
μοῖραν. Ὡς δὲ ἀπῆκετο ἐπὶ τὸν Ἄλυν ποταμὸν ὁ Κροῖσος, 3  
τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν, ὡς μὲν ἐγὼ λέγω, κατὰ τὰς εἰσάσας γεφύρας διε-  
βίβασε τὸν στρατὸν· ὡς δὲ ὁ πολλὸς λόγος Ἑλλήνων, Θαλῆς  
οἱ ὁ Μιλήσιος διεβίβασε. ἀπορέοντος γὰρ Κροίσου ὅπως οἱ 4  
διαβήσεται τὸν ποταμὸν ὁ στρατὸς (οὐ γὰρ δὴ εἶναι κω-  
τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον τὰς γεφύρας ταύτας), λέγεται παρεόντα  
τὸν Θαλῆν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ποιῆσαι αὐτῷ τὸν ποταμὸν,  
ἐξ ἀριστερῆς χειρὸς ῥέοντα τοῦ στρατοῦ, καὶ ἐκ δεξιῆς ῥεῖν·  
ποιῆσαι δὲ ὧδε. ἄνωθεν τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἀρξάμενον, διώ- 5  
ρυχα βαθέην ὀρύσσειν, ἄγοντα μηνοειδέα, ὅπως ἂν τὸ  
στρατόπεδον ἰδρυμένον κατὰ νώτου λάβοι, ταύτῃ κατὰ τὴν  
διώρυχα ἐκτραπόμενος ἐκ τῶν ἀρχαίων ῥέεθρων, καὶ αὗτις  
παραμειβόμενος τὸ στρατόπεδον, ἐς τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἐσβάλλοι·  
ὥστε, ἐπεὶ τε καὶ ἐσχίσθη τάχιστα ὁ ποταμὸς, ἀμφοτέρῃ 6  
διαβατὸς ἐγένετο. οἱ δὲ καὶ τὸ παράπαν λέγουσι καὶ τὸ  
ἀρχαῖον ῥέεθρον ἀποξηρανθῆναι. ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν οὐ προσ-

§ 2. πρὸς ἑωυτοῦ] *E sua parte*.  
πρὸς = from the direction of (IIO. 2,  
n.), from the point of view of, and  
so favourable towards. Cf. πρὸς  
τῶν ἐχόντων, Φοῖβε, τὸν νόμον τίθης,  
Eur. Alc. 57.

§ 3. τὰς εἰσάσας γ.] The plural  
of a single bridge (205. 3, n.).

§ 4. ταύτας = τὰς εἰσάσας, above.

λέγεται] Hdt.'s doubts about this  
story are prob. due to chronological  
difficulties (Ab.). 'The exact year  
of Thales' birth and the date of his  
death cannot be known.' Clinton.

ἐξ ἀριστερῆς] This implies that  
the army was marching, or that the  
camp was facing, upstream (i. e.  
southwards) at the time.

καὶ ἐκ δεξ.] 'Partly on the right  
hand as well' (§ 6).

§ 5. ὅπως ἂν... λάβοι] A com-  
mon construction in Hdt., as in  
Homer. Cf. 91. 2; 99. 3; 152. 2.  
Thuc. has μὴ ἂν—ἐπιπλεύσειαν, II.  
93. 2. Prob. ἂν renders the object  
in view rather less definite than it  
would otherwise be, by implying the  
existence of some condition := 'if

possible.' 'With the opt. ὡς ἂν,  
ὅπως ἂν = *quomodo* or *ut*. προμη-  
θοῦνται ὅπως ἂν εὐδαιμονοίης is derived  
from the direct interrogative, πῶς ἂν  
(εἰ δυνατόν εἴη) εὐδαιμονοίης;' Madv.  
G. S. App. 302. Tr. 'that so per-  
adventure (the river) might take the  
camp, there pitched, in the rear (i. e.  
might flow on the western side of  
the camp), having on this side been  
diverted from its ancient course into  
the channel.'

§ 6. καὶ ἐσχίσθη] 'καὶ leads one  
to expect a second καὶ before διαβατός  
which is omitted.' Kr. More prob.  
καὶ = 'actually,' the mere purpose  
(ὅπως above) now having the per-  
formance superadded.

καὶ τὸ παράπαν] 117. 1, n.

καὶ τὸ ἀρχ.] καὶ belongs to the ob-  
ject of λέγ. = 'say this also, viz. that.'

διέβησαν] 'How did they cross  
(on this supposition)?' i. e. how could  
they have crossed? Cf. 187. 5, n.  
Hdt.'s objection is hardly a valid  
one, since they might have dammed  
up the new stream and again divert-  
ed the river (into its old bed).

- 76 *ίεμαι* κῶς γὰρ ὀπίσω πορευόμενοι διέβησαν αὐτόν; Κροῖ-  
 σος δὲ, ἐπεὶ τε διαβὰς σὺν τῷ στρατῷ ἀπῆκετο τῆς Καππα-  
 δοκίης ἐς τὴν Πτερίην καλεομένην (ἡ δὲ Πτερίη ἐστὶ τῆς  
 χώρας ταύτης τὸ ἰσχυρότατον, κατὰ Σινώπην πόλιν τὴν ἐκ  
 Εὐξείνῳ πόντῳ μάλιστα κη κειμένη), ἐνθαῦτα ἐστρατοπε-  
 δεύετο, φθείρων τῶν Συρίων τοὺς κλήρους. καὶ εἶλε μὲν τῶν 2  
 Πτερίων τὴν πόλιν καὶ ἡνδραποδίσατο, εἶλε δὲ τὰς περιου-  
 κίδας αὐτῆς πάσας. Συρίους τε, οὐδὲν ἔοντας αἰτίους, ἀνα-  
 στάτους ἐποίησε. Κῦρος δὲ ἀγείρας τὸν ἑωυτοῦ στρατὸν; 3  
 καὶ παραλαβὼν τοὺς μεταξὺ οἰκέοντας πάντας, ἡντιοῦτο  
 Κροίσῳ. πρὶν δὲ ἐξελαύνειν ὀρμῆσαι τὸν στρατὸν, πέμ-  
 ψας κήρυκας ἐς τοὺς Ἰῶνας, ἐπειρᾶτο σφέας ἀπὸ Κροίσου  
 ὑπιστάναί. Ἰῶνες μὲν νυν οὐκ ἐπείθοντο. Κῦρος δὲ ὡς 4  
 ἀπῆκετο, καὶ ἀντεστρατοπεδεύσατο Κροίσῳ, ἐνθαῦτα ἐν τῇ  
 Πτερίῃ χώρα ἐπειρῶντο κατὰ τὸ ἰσχυρὸν ἀλλήλων. μάχης 5  
 δὲ καρτερῆς γενομένης καὶ πεσόντων ἀμφοτέρων πολλῶν,  
 τέλος οὐδέτεροι νικήσαντες διέστησαν, νυκτὸς ἐπελθούσης.  
 καὶ τὰ μὲν στρατόπεδα ἀμφοτέρα οὕτως ἡγωνίσατο.
- 77 Κροῖσος δὲ μεμφθεὶς κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος τὸ ἑωυτοῦ στρα- 1  
 τευμα (ἦν γὰρ οἱ ὁ συμβαλὼν στρατὸς πολλὸν ἐλάσσων ἢ ὁ  
 Κύρου), τοῦτο μεμφθεὶς, ὥς τῇ ὑστεραίῃ οὐκ ἐπειρᾶτο ἐπιὼν  
 ὁ Κῦρος, ἀπήλαυνε ἐς τὰς Σάρδεις, ἐν νόῳ ἔχων, παρακα-  
 λέσας μὲν Αἰγυπτίους κατὰ τὸ ὄρκιον, (ἐποιήσατο γὰρ καὶ 2  
 πρὸς Ἀμασιν βασιλεύοντα Αἰγύπτου συμμαχίην πρότερον  
 ἢ περ πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους,) μεταπεμψάμενος δὲ καὶ Βαβυ-

CH. 76. § 1. κατὰ Σ.] 'Over against (=near) Sinope, or thereabouts' (μάλιστα κη).

ἐν] On the shore of (II. 163. 3, n.).

§ 2. οὐδὲν ἔ. αἰτ.] This adds point to the moral. Cf. Κροῖσον ἄρ-ξαντα ἀδικίης, I 30. 4.

§ 3. ἐξελαύνειν] Depends on ὀρμῆσαι. 'Before he started to lead forth his host.' So ὀρμῆσαι στρατεύεσθαι, VII. 150. 1.

οὐκ ἐπείθοντο] Cf. I 41. 4, 5.

§ 4. κατὰ τὸ ἰσχ.] *Vi et armis.* 'Proved one another by force of

fighting.' κατὰ τὸ ἰσχυρὸν is opposed to δόλῳ, IV. 201. 2.

§ 5. ἀμφοτέρων] Governed by πολλῶν. So πεσόντων τῶν πάντων πολλῶν, V. 120.

CH. 77. § 1. τοῦτο] = τὸ πλῆθος, since μέμφομαι takes an accus. of the thing, as well as an accus. of the person (above): i. e. we may have μέμφομαι τινα τοῦτο, as well as μ. τινα κατὰ τοῦτο.

μεμφθεὶς] This form is more common in Hdt. than the regular Attic aorist, μέμψασθαι.

§ 2. Ἀμασιν] See II. 172.

λωνίους, (καὶ γὰρ πρὸς τούτους αὐτῷ ἐπεποιήτο συμμαχίῃ· ἐτυραννευε δὲ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον Λαβύνητος·) ἐπαγγείλας δὲ καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους παρῆναι ἐς χρόνον ῥητόν· ἀλίσας τε δὴ τούτους, καὶ τὴν ἐωντοῦ συλλέξας στρατιήν, ἐνένωτο, τὸν χειμῶνα παρεῖς, ἅμα τῷ ἡρι στρατεύειν ἐπὶ τοὺς Πέρσας. καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα φρονέων, ὥς ἀπίκητο ἐς 3 τὰς Σάρδεις, ἔπεμπε κήρυκας κατὰ τὰς συμμαχίας, προερέοντας ἐς πέμπτον μῆνα συλλέγεσθαι ἐς Σάρδεις. τὸν δὲ 4 παρέοντα καὶ μαχεσάμενον στρατὸν Πέρσησι, ὅς ἦν αὐτοῦ ξεινικός, πάντα ἀπείς, διεσκέδασε, οὐδαμὰ ἐλπίσας μὴ κοτε ἄρα ἀγωνισάμενος οὕτω παραπλησίως Κῦρος ἐλάσῃ ἐπὶ 78 Σάρδεις. Ταῦτα ἐπιλεγομένῳ Κροίσῳ τὸ προάστειον πᾶν ὀφίων ἐνεπλήσθη. φανέντων δὲ αὐτῶν, οἱ ἵπποι μετιέντες τὰς νομὰς νέμεσθαι, φοιτέοντες κατήσθιον. ἰδόντι δὲ τοῦτο Κροίσῳ, ὥσπερ καὶ ἦν, ἔδοξε τέρας εἶναι. αὐτίκα δὲ ἔπεμπε 2 θεοπρόπους ἐς τῶν ἐξηγητέων Τελμησσέων. ἀπικομένοισι

**Λαβύνητος]** See 188. 1, n.

**ἐνένωτο]** Repeats ἐν νόῳ ἔχων, the participle having become a finite verb owing to the numerous intervening clauses.

§ 3. **κατὰ τὰς σ.]** Not 'in accordance with the treaties,' but 'round to the allies' (συμμαχίας = συμμάχους, as at 82. 1). **κατὰ**, as in the phrase **κατὰ τοὺς θησαυρούς**, 30. 2.

§ 4. **ὅς ἦν αὐτοῦ ξ.]** 'Which army of his was a foreign one.' The form of expression is somewhat awkward, but the writer seems to have inserted αὐτοῦ because **ὅς ἦν ξ.** = τὸν ξεινικόν, so that the whole sentence might have run:—τὸν παρέοντα καὶ μαχεσάμενον καὶ ξεινικὸν αὐτοῦ στρατόν. Stein unnecessarily refers αὐτοῦ to στρατόν, so that **ὅς ἦν αὐτοῦ ξ.** = ὅ (or ὅσον) τοῦ στρατοῦ ἦν ξεινικόν, ὃ thus by attraction becoming **ὅς**, just as τὸ πολὺ τῆς Πελοποννήσου becomes ἡ πολλὴ τῆς II. (68. 7). He quotes Aesch. *Sep. t.* 818, **ἐξουσι δ' ἦν λάβωσιν ἐν ταφῇ χθονός** (which however is not parallel, ἦν χθονός not being the same thing as χθόνα,

ἦν αὐτῆς); Thuc. IV. 109. 1, **Μεγαρῆς τὰ μακρὰ τεῖχη, ἃ σφῶν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι εἶχον, κατέσκαψαν** (where either σφῶν = Μεγαρέων, or ἃ = 'those parts of them, I mean, which,' thus not having τεῖχη for its antecedent).

**μὴ]** ἐλπίσας implies fear. Cf. **ἐς φόβον κατιστέατο ἐλπίζοντες πάγχυ ἀπολέεσθαι**, VIII. 12. 2.

**ἄρα]** 111. 8, n.

CH. 78. § 1. **τὰς νομὰς]** 'The (i.e. their usual) pastures.'

**ὥσπερ καὶ ἦν]** 22. 2, n.

§ 2. **ἐς τῶν ἐξηγ. Τελμ.]** For the article (which acc. to Stein is irregular with the genitive in this idiom), cf. **ἐς τοῦ Ἀμφιάρεω**, 92. 3; **ἐς τοῦ Ἀρπάγου**, 113. 4. The collocation **τῶν ἐξ. Τελμ.** (as if ἐξηγητέων were an adjective) is probably to be explained by the fact that οἱ ἐξηγηταί was a well-known title, borne by the Telmessians, as by the Eumolpidae at Athens (see *Dict. Ant.*). Cf. **τὸν ἀγορανόμον Ζήλαρχον**, Xen. *An.* v. 7. 24. The correction **τοὺς ἐξηγητὰς** is certainly needless. The Telmessus here meant seems to have been in Lycia (see *Dict. Geogr.*).

δὲ τοῖσι θεοπρόποισι καὶ μαθοῦσι πρὸς Τελμησσέων, τὸ θέλει σημαίνειν τὸ τέρας, οὐκ ἐξεγένετο Κροίσῳ ἀπαγγεῖλαι. πρὶν γὰρ ἢ ὀπίσω σφέας ἀναπλῶσαι ἐς τὰς Σάρδεις, ἦλω 3 ὁ Κροῖσος. Τελμησσέες μὲν τοι τάδε ἔγνωσαν, στρατὸν ἀλλόθροον προσδόκιμον εἶναι Κροίσῳ ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν, ἀπικόμενον δὲ τοῦτον καταστρέψεσθαι τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους, λέγοντες ὕφιν εἶναι γῆς παῖδα, ἵππον δὲ πολέμιόν τε καὶ ἐπήλυδα. Τελμησσέες μὲν νυν ταῦτα ὑπεκρίναντο Κροίσῳ ἤδη ἦλω- 4 κότι, οὐδέν κω εἰδότες τῶν ἦν περὶ Σάρδεις τε καὶ αὐτὸν Κροῖσον.

79 Κῦρος δὲ, αὐτίκα ἀπελαύνοντος Κροίσου μετὰ τὴν μάχην 1 τὴν γενομένην ἐν τῇ Ἰπτερίῃ, μαθὼν ὡς ἀπελάσας μέλλοι Κροῖσος διασκεδᾶν τὸν στρατὸν, βουλευόμενος εὔρισκε πρῆγμά οἱ εἶναι ἐλαύνειν ὡς δύναιτο τάχιστα ἐπὶ τὰς Σάρδεις, πρὶν ἢ τὸ δεύτερον ἀλίσθῃναι τῶν Λυδῶν τὴν δύναμιν. ὡς δέ οἱ ταῦτα ἔδοξε, καὶ ἐποίεε κατὰ τάχος. 2 ἐλάσας γὰρ τὸν στρατὸν ἐς τὴν Λυδίην αὐτὸς ἄγγελος Κροίσῳ ἐληλύθει. ἐνθαῦτα Κροῖσος ἐς ἀπορίην πολλήν 3 ἀπιγμένος, ὡς οἱ παρὰ δόξαν ἔσχε τὰ πρήγματα ἢ ὡς αὐτὸς κατεδόκεε, ὅμως τοὺς Λυδοὺς ἐξῆγε ἐς μάχην. ἦν δὲ τοῦτον 4 τὸν χρόνον ἔθνος οὐδέν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ οὔτε ἀνδρειότερον οὔτε ἀλκιμώτερον τοῦ Λυδίου. ἡ δὲ μάχη σφέων ἦν ἀπ' ἵππων, δούρατά τε ἐφόρεον μεγάλα, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἦσαν ἱππεύεσθαι

§ 3. ἀναπλῶσαι] The sea-voyage would involve a long *détour*, but perhaps the land-route was already occupied by the enemy. Larch.

§ 4. τῶν] = τούτων τὰ (ᾧ). This form of attraction (called Attic) is seldom used, except where the relative should properly be in the accusative, e.g. *πρώτον τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν*, 23. 2. But the proposal to omit ἦν is unnecessary.

αὐτὸν Κρ.] Cf. 85. 1.

CH. 79. § 1. πρήγμα] See note on *ἔργον*, 17. 5.

§ 2. ἐληλύθει] This use of the pluperfect (which perhaps is meant to emphasize the *suddenness* of the action) is common in Homer with verbs of motion (e.g. οὐδ' ἀπίθῃσε |

μύθῳ Ἀθηναίης· ἡ δ' Οὐλυμπόνδε βεβήκει, *Il.* 1. 220) as well as in Hdt.

§ 3. ἦ] On the analogy of ἐναντίως ἦ (cf. 22. 3). The phrase is a combination of *παρὰ τὴν ἐωντοῦ δόξαν* and *ἐναντίως ἦ ὡς κ.τ.λ.*

§ 4. τοῦτον] Opposed to Hdt.'s own time. See chs. 155—6.

μάχη] Manner of fighting. Cf. *θυσίῃ*, *Il.* 39. 1; *μάχῃς εὖ εἰδοτε πάσης*, *Hom. Il.* 11. 823; *ὁ πυκτικὸς οὐ πᾶσι τὴν αὐτὴν μάχην περιτίθῃσιν*, *Aristot. Eth.* x. 9. 15.

ἀπ' ἵππων] Not in the Homeric sense, e.g. *ἐπιστάμενοι μὲν ἀπ' ἵππων* | *ἀνδρασι μάρνασθαι*, since that refers exclusively to the use of chariots.

αὐτοὶ] The men, as opposed to

80 ἀγαθοί. Ἐς τὸ πεδῖον δὲ συνελθόντων τούτο, τὸ πρὸ τοῦ<sup>1</sup>  
 ἄστεός ἐστι τοῦ Σαρδιηνοῦ, ἐὼν μέγα τε καὶ ψιλόν, (διὰ δὲ  
 αὐτοῦ ποταμοὶ ῥέοντες καὶ ἄλλοι καὶ Ἵλλος συρρηγνῦσι ἐς  
 τὸν μέγιστον, καλεόμενον δὲ Ἑρμον, ὃς ἐξ οὔρεος ἱροῦ  
 Μητρὸς Δινδυμήνης ῥέων ἐκδιδοῖ ἐς θάλασσαν κατὰ Φωκαίην  
 πόλιν,) ἐνθαῦτα ὁ Κῦρος ὡς εἶδε τοὺς Λυδοὺς ἐς μάχην<sup>2</sup>  
 τασσομένους, καταρρωδήσας τὴν ἵππον ἐποίησε, Ἀρπάγου  
 ὑποθεμένου ἀνδρὸς Μήδου, τοιόνδε. ὅσαι τῷ στρατῷ τῷ<sup>3</sup>  
 ἑωυτοῦ ἔποντο σιτοφόροι τε καὶ σκευοφόροι κάμηλοι, ταύτας  
 πάσας ἀλίσας καὶ ἀπελὼν τὰ ἄχθεια, ἄνδρας ἐπ' αὐτὰς  
 ἀνέβησε ἱππάδα στολὴν ἐνεσταλμένους. σκευάσας δὲ αὐτοὺς  
 προσέταξε τῆς ἄλλης στρατιῆς προῖέναι πρὸς τὴν Κροίσου  
 ἵππον, τῇ δὲ καμήλῳ ἔπεσθαι τὸν πεζὸν στρατὸν ἐκέλευε.  
 ὅπισθε δὲ τοῦ πεζοῦ ἐπέταξε τὴν πᾶσαν ἵππον. ὡς δὲ οἱ<sup>4</sup>  
 πάντες διετετάχατο, παραίνεσε τῶν μὲν ἄλλων Λυδῶν μὴ  
 φειδομένους, κτείνειν πάντα τὸν ἐμποδῶν γινόμενον, Κροῖσον  
 δὲ αὐτὸν μὴ κτείνειν, μηδὲ ἦν συλλαμβανόμενος ἀμύνηται.  
 ταῦτα μὲν παραίνεσε. τὰς δὲ καμήλους ἔταξε ἀντία τῆς<sup>5</sup>  
 ἵππου τῶνδε εἵνεκεν κάμηλον ἵππος φοβέεται, καὶ οὐκ  
 ἀνέχεται οὔτε τὴν ιδέην αὐτῆς ὀρέων, οὔτε τὴν ὁδμὴν  
 ὀσφραϊνόμενος. αὐτοῦ δὴ ὦν τούτου εἵνεκεν ἐσεσόφιστο,

their weapons: cf. 70. 2. A 'gloss,' which Bähr quotes, — ἱππεύεσθαι παθητικῶς Ἑρόδοτος πρώτῳ—seems to refer αὐτοὶ to ἵππων. But we have the deponent ἱππευόμενους at 27. 4, and why not here? Elsewhere Hdt. uses the active form.

CH. 80. § 1. πρὸ τοῦ ἄστ.] There are extensive plains both above and below Sardis. But it is prob. that by πρὸ Hdt. means 'on the side towards Persia,' i. e. above. Cf. ὅπισθε, 191. 2, n.

ἄλλοι] viz. the Pactolus (which flowed through the agora, V. 101. 3) and the Cogamus.

συρρηγνῦσι] 'Burst forth and join.' The word well denotes the impetuosity of a mountain stream. Notice the difference between the plural, and the singular συρρήγνυσι.

οὔρεος ἱροῦ] In Phrygia. See

Dict. Geogr. Cadi. Cybele is called a θεὸς ἐπιχωρίη of Sardis, V. 101. 3.

§ 2. τὴν ἵππον] So τῇ καμήλῳ, 'the camel-troop,' below, § 3. See 179. 3, n. This Harpagus is the one mentioned ch. 108, foll.

§ 4. ὡς δὲ οἱ πάντες] οἱ is the dative of the pronoun.

παραίνεσε] For the omission of the augment, see 19. 1, n.

§ 5. κάμηλον ἵππος] The asyndeton emphasizes, and is therefore very frequently used by Hdt. where an explanation is being introduced after an antecedent ὡδε, τότε or τοιόνδε. Cf. 84. 1; 93. 2; 96. 1, 2; 114. 1.

ἐσεσόφιστο] We find instances of passive deponents used by Hdt. (207. 8, n.), but here a passive meaning would involve the awkwardness of making the verb impersonal.

ἵνα τῷ Κροίσῳ ἄχρηστον ἦ τὸ ἵππικόν, τῷ δὲ τι καὶ ἐπείχε  
ἐλλάμψεσθαι ὁ Λυδός. ὡς δὲ καὶ συνήϊσαν ἐς τὴν μάχην, 6  
ἐνθαῦτα ὡς ὠσφραντο τάχιστα τῶν καμήλων οἱ ἵπποι καὶ  
εἶδον αὐτάς, ὀπίσω ἀνέστρεφον, διέφθαρτό τε τῷ Κροίσῳ ἡ  
ἐλπίς. οὐ μέντοι οἷ γε Λυδοὶ τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν δειλοὶ ἦσαν· 7  
ἀλλ', ὡς ἔμαθον τὸ γινόμενον, ἀποθορόντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων,  
πεζοὶ τοῖσι Πέρσησι συνέβαλλον. χρόνῳ δὲ, πεσόντων 8  
ἀμφοτέρων πολλῶν, ἐτράποντο οἱ Λυδοί. κατειληθέντες δὲ  
ἐς τὸ τεῖχος, ἐπολιορκέοντο ὑπὸ τῶν Περσέων.

- 81 Τοῖσι μὲν δὴ κατεστήκεε πολιορκίη. Κροῖσος δὲ δοκέων 1  
οἱ χρόνον ἐπὶ μακρὸν ἔσεσθαι τὴν πολιορκίην, ἔπεμπε ἐκ  
τοῦ τεύχεος ἄλλους ἀγγέλους ἐς τὰς συμμαχίας. οἱ μὲν γὰρ 2  
πρότερον διεπέμποντο, ἐς πέμπτον μῆνα προερέοντες συλλέ-  
γεσθαι ἐς Σάρδεις· τούτους δὲ ἐξέπεμπε τὴν ταχίστην  
82 δέεσθαι βοηθεῖν, ὡς πολιορκεομένου Κροίσου. Ἐς τε δὴ ὧν 1  
τὰς ἄλλας ἔπεμπε συμμαχίας, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐς Λακεδαίμονα.  
τοῖσι δὲ καὶ αὐτοῖσι τοῖσι Σπαρτιήτησι κατ' αὐτὸν τοῦτον  
τὸν χρόνον συνεπεπτώκεε ἕρις ἐούσα πρὸς Ἀργεῖους περὶ  
χώρου καλεομένου Θυρέης. τὰς γὰρ Θυρέας ταύτας, ἐούσας 2

τῷ δὲ τι] 'Wherewith he was actually setting his mind upon gaining no little glory.' With ἐπείχε supply τὸν νοῦν. For ὁ Λυδός, see 2. 4, n. καὶ adds emphasis:='far from thinking it useless.'

§ 6. τὴν μάχην] The one implied in the previous account. Cf. τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ, 166. 3.

ὠσφραντο] Compare L. and S. *Lex.*, ὠσφραίνομαι, with Buttman's *Lexilogus*, ἀπαυράν, § 5.

§ 7. ἔμαθον] Used by Hdt. of knowledge derived from the sense of sight. Cf 10. 3; 68. 2; 191. 7, n.

§ 8. τεῖχος] The citadel (98. 6). CH. 81. § 2. οἱ μὲν γὰρ πρότ.] Sc. πεμφθέντες.

διεπέμποντο] The imperfect (where we should have expected the pluperfect) is descriptive:—'were being sent,' i. e. at the time and under the circumstances described above

(77. 3). Cf. ἐφέροντο, 66. 5.

τὴν ταχίστην] See note on ἐξ ὑστέρης, 108. 6.

δέεσθαι] The infinitive expresses the intent of the action of the main verb: *Madv. G. S.* 148.

CH. 82. § 1. τοῖσι δὲ καὶ αὐτ.] 'And to them themselves too, I mean the Spartans.' The demonstrative τοῖσι simply anticipates Σπαρτιήτησι, according to the Homeric usage (e.g. αἱ δ' ἐπέμυξαν Ἀθηναῖη τε καὶ Ἥρη), though, unlike Homer, Hdt. repeats the article with the subst.

τοῦτον τὸν χρ.] About 547 B. C.

§ 2. Θυρέας] Above we have the sing. form, which Thuc. always uses (II. 27. 3; IV. 56. 2; 57. 3). So we have Μαλέων below, but Μαλέην at IV. 179. 1 (Thuc. uses the sing. form); Πλάταιαν, VIII. 50. 3, but Πλαταιάς, IX. 25. 3.

ἀποταμόμενοι ἔσχον] Not to be

τῆς Ἀργολίδος μοίρης, ἀποταμόμενοι ἔσχον οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι. ἦν δὲ καὶ ἡ μέχρι Μαλέων ἡ πρὸς ἑσπέρην Ἀργείων, ἡ τε ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ χώρα καὶ ἡ Κυθηρίη νῆσος καὶ αἱ λοιπαὶ τῶν νήσων. βοηθησάντων δὲ Ἀργείων τῇ 3 σφετέρῃ ἀποταμνομένη, ἐνθαῦτα συνέβησαν ἐς λόγους συνελθόντες, ὥστε τριηκοσίους ἑκατέρων μαχέσασθαι· ὁκότεροι δ' ἂν περιγένωνται, τούτων εἶναι τὸν χώρον· τὸ δὲ πλῆθος τοῦ στρατοῦ ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι ἑκάτερον ἐς τὴν ἑωυτοῦ, μηδὲ παραμένειν ἀγωνιζομένων, τῶνδε εἵνεκεν, ἵνα μὴ, παρεόντων τῶν στρατοπέδων, ἑρῶντες οἱ ἕτεροι ἐσσουμενους τοὺς σφετέρους ἐπαμύνοιεν. Συνθέμενοι ὦν ταῦτα ἀπαλλάσ- 4 σοντο· λογάδες δὲ ἑκατέρων ὑπολειφθέντες συνέβαλλον. μαχομένων δὲ σφῶν καὶ γινομένων ἰσοπαλέων, ὑπελείποντο ἐξ ἀνδρῶν ἑξακοσίων τρεῖς, Ἀργείων μὲν Ἀλκηνωρ τε καὶ Χρόμιος, Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ Ὀθρυάδης. ὑπελείφθησαν δὲ οὗτοι νυκτὺς ἐπελθούσης. οἱ μὲν δὴ δύο τῶν 5 Ἀργείων, ὡς νενικηκότες, ἔθεον ἐς τὸ Ἄργος· ὁ δὲ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων Ὀθρυάδης, σκυλεύσας τοὺς Ἀργείων νεκροὺς καὶ προσφορήσας τὰ ὄπλα πρὸς τὸ ἑωυτοῦ στρατόπεδον, ἐν τῇ τάξει εἶχε ἑωυτόν. ἡμέρῃ δὲ δευτέρῃ παρήσαν πυνθανό- 6

taken together on the analogy of δουλώσας ἔχεις (27. 4).

ἡ πρὸς ἑσπέρην] These words must denote the *south-east* corner of the Peloponnese, of which Malea forms the extreme point. Acc. to Bähr Hdt. calls this district πρὸς ἑσπ. with reference to Ionia or Argolis, because the promontory of Malea lies to the westward of those places. But a more simple explanation is possible. In Malea two lines of coast meet, the one running in a southerly, the other in an easterly (or south-easterly) direction. By adding ἡ πρὸς ἑσπ. Hdt. shows which of the two he means:—‘the country up to Malea, (not merely that to the north of M., but) that to the west,’—this latter being nearer to the city of Sparta, and its possession therefore by the Argives the more strange.

Ἀργείων] With ἦν, ‘used to be-

long to,’ prob. in the time of Phidon: see Grote *H. G.* II. 96 (II. 410).

Κυθηρίη] The adj. form,—the subst. being Κύθηρα (VII. 235. 3).

αἱ λοιπαὶ τῶν ν.] ‘Prob. those of which Strabo (363) says: περι-κεῖνται δὲ (τὰ Κύθηρα) νησίδια πλείω τὰ μὲν ἐγγύς τὰ δὲ καὶ μικρὸν ἀπωτέρω.’ St.

§ 3. μηδὲ] Cf. οὐδέ, 45. 1.

§ 5. οἱ μὲν δὴ δύο] See 18. 2, note. We have here only the Lacedaemonian account. Grote, *H. G.* II. 205 (II. 606).

εἶχε ἑωυτόν] ‘Kept himself at his post,’ i.e. remained under arms on the spot where his place in the line originally was:—opposed to λείπειν τὴν τάξιν. Cf. κατ’ οἴκους ἑωυτοῦς οἱ Μάγοι ἔχουσι, ‘keep themselves within doors,’ III. 79. 3.

§ 6. δευτέρῃ] 3. 1, n.



μενοι ἀμφότεροι. τέως μὲν δὴ αὐτοὶ ἑκάτεροι ἔφασαν νικᾶν, λέγοντες οἱ μὲν, ὡς ἑωυτῶν πλεῦνες περιγεγόνασιν, οἱ δὲ, τοὺς μὲν ἀποφαίνοντες πεφευγότας, τὸν δὲ σφέτερον παραμείναντα, καὶ σκυλεύσαντα τοὺς ἐκείνων νεκρούς. τέλος δὲ, ἐκ τῆς ἔριδος συμπεσόντες ἐμάχοντο· πεσόντων δὲ καὶ ἀμφοτέρων πολλῶν, ἐνίκων Λακεδαιμόνιοι. Ἀργεῖοι μὲν 7 νυν ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ χρόνου κατακειράμενοι τὰς κεφαλὰς, πρότερον ἐπάναγκες κομώντες, ἐποίησαντο νόμον τε καὶ κατάρην, μὴ πρότερον θρέψειν κόμην Ἀργείων μηδένα, μηδὲ τὰς γυναῖκάς σφι χρυσοφορήσειν, πρὶν ἂν Θυρέας ἀνασώσωνται. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ τὰ ἐναντία τούτων ἔθεντο νόμον, 8 οὐ γὰρ κομώντες πρὸ τούτου, ἀπὸ τούτου κομᾶν. τὸν δὲ ἓνα λέγουσι τὸν περιλειφθέντα τῶν τριηκοσίων, Ὀθρυάδην, αἰσχυνόμενον ἀπονοστέειν ἐς Σπάρτην, τῶν οἱ συλλοχιτέων διεφθαρμένων, αὐτοῦ μιν ἐν τῇσι Θυρέῃσι καταχρήσασθαι 83 ἑωυτόν. Τοιούτων δὲ τοῖσι Σπαρτιήτησι ἐνεστεώτων πρηγ- 1 μάτων, ἦκε ὁ Σαρδιηνὸς κήρυξ, δεόμενος Κροίσῳ βοηθεῖν πολιορκεομένῳ. οἱ δὲ ὅμως, ἐπεὶ τε ἐπύθοντο τοῦ κήρυκος, ὀρμέατο βοηθεῖν. καὶ σφι ἤδη παρεσκευασμένοισι, καὶ νεῶν 2 ἐουσέων ἐτοίμων, ἦλθε ἄλλη ἀγγελίη, ὡς ἠλώκοι τὸ τεῖχος

αὐτοὶ ἑκάτεροι] 'Both sides said that *they* (αὐτοὶ) were conquerors.' Thuc. uses the same words in reference to this story: διαμάχεσθαι περὶ τῆς γῆς ταύτης (Θυρεάτιδος), ὥσπερ καὶ πρότερόν ποτε δε αὐτοὶ ἑκάτεροι ἡξίωσαν νικᾶν (V. 41. 2). On the occasion to which Thuc. refers (B.C. 429) the Argives, before making a treaty with the Lacedaemonians, stipulated that the possession of Thyrea might still be challenged and fought for on the old terms. The Lacedaemonians thought this stipulation a piece of folly.

§ 7. κατακειρ.] Cutting the hair was a mark of mourning (II. 36. 2; VI. 21. 2). St.

πρότ....κομώντες] The Homeric Ἀχαιοὶ were καρηκομώντες. Hence prob. the adoption of the Spartan custom: cf. 67. 3, n. On the enmity between Argos and Sparta, see Cur-

tius, I. 254.

ἐπάναγκες] An Athenian law-term. Hence here prob. there is a reference to an earlier νόμος, which made the practice compulsory.

§ 8. κομᾶν] Depends on ἔθεντο νόμον. It was also a Spartan νόμος to comb the hair before battle. See VII. 208. 4; 209, 5.

τῶν οἱ] I. 4, n.

συλλοχιτέων] The loss of his comrades would be all the more grievous, because the military and the political divisions of the Spartans coincided. For the λόχος, see *Dict. Ant. Exercitus*.

μιν] Repeats τὸν ἓνα above. See II. 10. 3, note.

CH. 83. § 1. ὅμως] i.e. καὶ περ τοιούτων ἐνεστεώτων πρηγμάτων.

ὀρμέατο] The pluperfect (cf. ἐπέπαυτο, § 2), as at 79. 2.

§ 2. παρεσκευασμένοισι καὶ... ἐουσέων] Cf. 69. 1, n.



τῶν Λυδῶν, καὶ ἔχοιτο Κροῖσος ζωγρηθείς. οὕτω δὲ οὔτοι μὲν, συμφορὴν ποιησάμενοι μεγάλην, ἐπέπαυντο.

- 84 Σάρδιες δὲ ἤλωσαν ὧδε. ἐπειδὴ τεσσereσκαιδεκάτη 1 ἐγένετο ἡμέρη πολιορκεομένῳ Κροίσῳ, Κῦρος τῇ στρατιῇ τῇ ἐωυτοῦ, διαπέμψας ἱππέας, προεῖπε, τῷ πρώτῳ ἐπιβάντι τοῦ τείχεος δῶρα δώσειν. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο, πειρησαμένης τῆς 2 στρατιῆς, ὥς οὐ προεχώρεε, ἐνθαῦτα τῶν ἄλλων πεπαυμένων, ἀνὴρ Μάρδος ἐπειράτο προσβαίνων, τῷ οὐνομα ἦν Ἵτροιάδης, κατὰ τοῦτο τῆς ἀκροπόλιος τῇ οὐδεὶς ἐτέτακτο φύλακος· οὐ γὰρ ἦν δεινὸν κατὰ τοῦτο μὴ ἁλῶ κοτέ. ἀπό- 3 τομός τε γὰρ ἐστὶ ταύτῃ ἡ ἀκρόπολις καὶ ἄμαχος· τῇ οὐδὲ Μήλης, ὁ πρότερον βασιλεὺς Σαρδίων, μούνη οὐ περιήνεικε τὸν λέοντα, τὸν οἱ ἡ παλλακὴ ἔτεκε, Τελμησσέων δικασάντων, ὥς περιενειχθέντος τοῦ λέοντος τὸ τείχος, ἔσονται Σάρδιες ἀνάλωτοι. ὁ δὲ Μήλης κατὰ τὸ ἄλλο τείχος περιενείκας, τῇ 4 ἦν ἐπίμαχον τὸ χωρίον τῆς ἀκροπόλιος, κατηλόγησε τοῦτο, ὥς ἐὼν ἄμαχόν τε καὶ ἀπότομον· ἐστὶ δὲ πρὸς τοῦ Τμώλου τετραμμένον τῆς πόλιος. Ὁ ὢν δὲ Ἵτροιάδης οὗτος ὁ 5

CH. 84. § 1. **τεσσereσκαιδεκάτη**] Notice the form of the ordinal, the cardinal **τεσσereσκαίδεκα** being regarded by Hdt. as a single word, and therefore indeclinable. Thus we have **τεσσereσκαίδεκα ἔτεα**, **ἡμέρας**, 86. 1, though we find **ἔτεα τρία καὶ δέκα**, 119. 2, and **τέσσαρσι καὶ δέκα ἔτεσιν**, Thuc. II. 21. 1.

§ 2. **Μάρδος**] See 125. 6.

§ 3. **ἐστὶ ταύτῃ**] Hdt. had been to Sardis (**ἐς ἐμέ**, 93. 3).

**ὁ πρότερον β.**] 'The former king.' Cf. II. 23. 2, n

**λέοντα**] The lion was an emblem of the sun in the Lydian religion: cf. 50. 4. Bähr.

**δικασάντων**] **εἰκασάντων** and **διδαξάντων** have been needlessly conjectured.

§ 4. **τὸ χωρίον**] Krüger says that **τὸ χωρίον** 'should probably be omitted, and the genitive made to depend on **τῇ**. With **τὸ χωρίον** we must have had **ἡ ἀκρόπολις**, like **τὸ χωρίον αἱ Ἑννέα ὁδοί**, Thuc. I. 100.

3.' We may however equally well retain **τὸ χωρίον**, and still take **τῆς ἀκροπόλιος** as the partitive genitive after **τῇ**.

**ἐστὶ δὲ κ.τ.λ.**] Not 'it is that part of the citadel which faces Tmolus' (for this we should want **τὸ πρὸς τοῦ Τ. τετρ.**), but 'it lies facing towards Tmolus in the citadel.' The genitive **τῆς πόλιος** may be explained either (1) as added to express the general locality, just as the name of a country is put in the genitive, with reference to some particular point or place in it, e.g. **τῆς Θεσσαλίας ἐπὶ Φάρσαλον**, or (2) as the gen. of reference (192. 3, n.). Compare **ἡ δὲ Καλὴ αὕτη Ἀκτὴ καλεομένη ἐστὶ μὲν Σικελῶν, πρὸς δὲ Τυρσηνίην τετραμμένη τῆς Σικελίης**, 'facing in Sicily towards T.' VI. 22, 4. For the genitive **Τμώλου**, see 110. 2, n.

§ 5. **οὗτος**] All the MSS. have **αὐτός**, which is defended by Matthiä as making an opposition to the

Μάρδος, ἰδὼν τῇ προτεραίῃ τῶν τινα Λυδῶν κατὰ τοῦτο τῆς ἀκροπόλιος καταβάντα ἐπὶ κυνέην ἄνωθεν κατακυλισθεῖσαν, καὶ ἀνελόμενον, ἐφράσθη καὶ ἐς θυμὸν ἐβάλετο. τότε δὲ 6 δὴ ὁ αὐτός τε ἀναβεβήκεε, καὶ κατ' αὐτὸν ἄλλοι Περσέων ἀνέβαινον· προσβάντων δὲ συχνῶν, οὕτω δὴ Σάρδιές τε ἠλώκεσαν, καὶ πᾶν τὸ ἄστυ ἐπορθέετο.

85 Κατ' αὐτὸν δὲ Κροῖσον τάδε ἐγένετο. ἦν οἱ παῖς, τοῦ 1 καὶ πρότερον ἐπεμνήσθην, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἐπιεικῆς, ἄφωνος δέ. ἐν τῇ ὧν παρελθούσῃ εὐεστοῖ ὁ Κροῖσος τὸ πᾶν ἐς αὐτὸν 2 ἐπεποιήκεε, ἄλλα τε ἐπιφραζόμενος, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐς Δελφοὺς περὶ αὐτοῦ ἐπεπόμφεε χρησομένους. ἡ δὲ Πυθίη οἱ εἶπε τάδε·

Λυδὲ γένος, πολλῶν βασιλεῦ, μέγα νήπιε Κροῖσε, 3  
μὴ βούλευ πολύευκτον ἱὴν ἀνὰ δῶματ' ἀκούειν  
παιδὸς φθεγγομένου. τόδε σοι πολὺ λῳΐον ἀμφὶς  
ἔμμεναι. αὐδήσει γὰρ ἐν ἡματι πρῶτον ἀνόλβω.

Ἀλισκομένου δὲ τοῦ τείχεος, ἥϊε γὰρ τῶν τις Περσέων 4  
ἀλλογνώσας Κροῖσον ὡς ἀποκτενέων, Κροῖσος μὲν νυν

Lydian ('quum Lydum... vidisset, ipse etiam Hyroeades'), and taken by Blakesley with ἰδὼν, 'having seen with his own eyes.' But the former explanation is contradicted by the order of the words, and the latter involves omitting ὁ Μάρδος. Perhaps Hdt. originally wrote οὗτος here and αὐτός below (§ 6), and the two having become transposed by the copyists, οὗτος was altered into ὁ αὐτός.

§ 6. ὁ αὐτός] This, if right, must mean 'the same man who had seen the descent of the Lydian.' Most modern editors omit the article.

κατ' αὐτόν] 'After him,'—either literally, i.e. in his track: cf. μεταδιδώκει ἀποστείλας τριήρεϊ κατ' αὐτόν, III. 4. 5; or metaphorically, eodem modo atque ille (cf. 98. 8, n.).

CH. 85. § 1. πρότερον] See 34. 3; 38. 3, n.

§ 2. ἄλλα τε ἐπιφραζόμενος καὶ ...ἐπεπόμφεε] Cf. 8. 2; 19. 4; 129. 1; II. 44. 1.

§ 3. μέγα νήπιε] So Patroclus is called μέγα νήπιος (Hom. II. xvi. 46) for praying to be allowed to go out to battle: ἦ γὰρ ἔμελλεν | οἷ αὐτῷ θανατόν τε κακὸν καὶ κῆρα λίτεσθαι. St. Hesiod uses the same expression in his admonitions to his brother (μέγα νήπιε Πέρση, Op. 286). On the connection between the Delphic oracle and Hesiod's poetry, see Götting's *Hesiod* (p. xxix. 2nd ed.).

ἀμφὶς ἔμμεναι] = *abesse*. Acc. to Buttmann (*Lexil.* 18. 10), the construction is best thus: τόδε σοι λῳΐον (ἐστὶν) ἀμφὶς εἶναι 'it is better for thee to be without it,' ἀμφὶς sc. αὐτοῦ, like ἀμφὶς φυλόπιδος, Hom. Od. xvi. 267. It seems simpler to supply σοῦ after ἀμφὶς, like Διὸς ἀμφὶς, II. VIII. 444.

§ 4. μὲν νυν] Owing to the insertion of the clause with γὰρ (8. 2, n.), the sentence is resumed with a fresh connecting particle: cf. 29. 1.

ὀρέων ἐπιόντα, ὑπὸ τῆς παρεούσης συμφορῆς παρημελήκεε, οὐδέ τί οἱ διέφερε πληγέντι ἀποθανέειν· ὁ δὲ παῖς οὗτος ὁ ἄφρωνος, ὡς εἶδε ἐπιόντα τὸν Πέρσῃν, ὑπὸ δέους τε καὶ κακοῦ ἔρρηξε φωνήν, εἶπε δέ· “Ὁνθρωπε, μὴ κτεῖνε Κροῖσον.” Οὗτος μὲν δὴ τοῦτο πρῶτον ἐφθέγγετο· μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἤδη 5  
86 ἐφώνεε τὸν πάντα χρόνον τῆς ζῆς. Οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι τὰς τε δι᾽ 1  
Σάρδεις ἔσχον, καὶ αὐτὸν Κροῖσον ἐζώγρησαν, ἄρξαντα ἕτεα τεσσσερεσκαίδεκα, καὶ τεσσσερεσκαίδεκα ἡμέρας πολιορκηθέντα, κατὰ τὸ χρηστήριόν τε καταπαύσαντα τὴν ἐωντοῦ μεγάλην ἀρχήν· λαβόντες δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ Πέρσαι ἤγαγον παρὰ Κῦρον. ὁ δὲ, συννήσας πυρὴν μεγάλην, ἀνεβίβασε ἐπὶ 2  
αὐτὴν τὸν Κροῖσόν τε ἐν πέδῃσι δεδεμένον καὶ δις ἑπτὰ Λυδῶν παρ’ αὐτὸν παῖδας· ἐν νόῳ ἔχων εἴτε δὴ ἀκροθίνια ταῦτα καταγιεῖν θεῶν ὅτεφ δὴ, εἴτε καὶ εὐχὴν ἐπιτελέσαι θέλων, εἴτε καὶ πυθόμενος τὸν Κροῖσον εἶναι θεοσεβέα, τοῦδε εἵνεκεν ἀνεβίβασε ἐπὶ τὴν πυρὴν, βουλόμενος εἰδέναι, εἴ τις μιν δαιμόνων ρύσεται τοῦ μὴ ζῶντα κατακαυθῆναι. τὸν μὲν δὴ ποιεῖν ταῦτα· τῷ δὲ Κροίσῳ ἔστεῳτι ἐπὶ τῆς 3

**ἔρρηξε]** Cf. II. 2. 5. Speech from the hitherto dumb is regarded as the bursting forth of an arrested torrent. So ‘rumpit vocem,’ Virg. *Aen.* II. 129; ‘rumpere fontem,’ Ov. *Met.* V. 257; *δακρύων ῥήξασα θερμὰ νάματα*, Soph. *Tr.* 919. The legend forgets that the Persian would not have understood the Lydian language (*ἐρμηνέας*, 86. 4).

**“Ὁνθρωπε]** Not in its later contemptuous sense (cf. 35. 3), though in the distinction drawn between *ἄνδρες* and *ἄνθρωποι*, VII. 210. 4, we seem to see a trace of the mode in which the later meaning arose.

CH. 86. § 1. **Σάρδεις ἔσχον]** Prob. 545 B. C. Clinton.

**τὸ χρηστήριον]** See 53. 3.

§ 2. **πυρὴν]** Yet at III. 16. 4 we are told Πέρσαι θεὸν νομίζουσι εἶναι πῦρ. τὸ ὦν κατακαίειν γε τοὺς νεκροὺς οὐδαμῶς ἐν νόμῳ ἐστὶ. Here therefore Hdt.’s account must have come from a Lydian and not from a Persian source (cf. *λέγεται ὑπὸ Λυ-*

*δῶν*, 87. 1). See Grote’s note, *H. G.* III. 165 (IV. 259).

**δις ἑπτὰ]** So in a similar context, *δις ἑπτὰ Περσέων παῖδας* VIII. 114. 3. The phrase is prob. due to some supposed sanctity of the number seven (pps. because the heavenly bodies are seven in number : see 98. 8, n.). Here we should naturally have expected *τεσσσερεσκαίδεκα*, in order to give greater force to the coincidence pointed out above between the number of days of the siege and the number of years during which Croesus had reigned.

**Λ. παῖδας]** See 27. 3, n.

**ὅτεφ δὴ]** To some god or other.’ *ὅστις δὴ* = *nescio quis*, a stronger form of *τις*. Cf. *οἷα δὴ* (= *ταυτά τωα*) below § 6; *ὅσος δὴ*, 160. 2. In all these instances *δὴ* (like *δήποτε* in later Greek : cf. 157. 3) increases the indefiniteness of the expression, because it emphatically calls attention to the ellipse. Thus *ὅστις δὴ* literally = *just* whoever (you please).

πυρῆς ἐσελθεῖν, καί περ ἐν κακῷ εἰσὶν τοσούτῳ, τὸ τοῦ Σόλωνος, ὥς οἱ εἶη σὺν θεῷ εἰρημένον, τὸ μηδένα εἶναι τῶν ζώντων ὄλβιον. ὥς δὲ ἄρα μιν προστῆναι τοῦτο, ἀνενεικάμενόν τε καὶ ἀναστενάξαντα ἐκ πολλῆς ἡσυχίης ἐς τρεῖς οὐνομάσαι Σόλωνα. καὶ τὸν Κῦρον ἀκούσαντα, κελεύσαι 4 τοὺς ἐρμηνέας ἐπείρεσθαι τὸν Κροῖσον, τίνα τοῦτον ἐπικαλέοιτο· καὶ τοὺς προσελθόντας ἐπειρωτᾶν. Κροῖσον δὲ 5 τέως μὲν σιγὴν ἔχειν ἐρωτώμενον, μετὰ δὲ, ὥς ἡναγκάζετο, εἰπεῖν· “Τὸν ἂν ἐγὼ πᾶσι τυράννοισι προετίμησα μεγάλων χρημάτων ἐς λόγους ἐλθεῖν.” Ὡς δὲ σφί ἄσσημα ἔφραζε, πάλιν ἐπειρώτεον τὰ λεγόμενα. λιπαρέωντων δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ 6 ὄχλον παρεχόντων, ἔλεγε δὴ, ὥς ἦλθε ἀρχὴν ὁ Σόλων, ἐὼν Ἀθηναῖος, καὶ θεησάμενος πάντα τὸν ἐωυτοῦ ὄλβον ἀποφλαυρίσειε, οἷα δὲ εἶπας, ὥς τε αὐτῷ πάντα ἀποβεβήκοι

§ 3. προστῆναι] Not from *προσίστημι* (*προῖστην* with the accus., *Soph. El.* 1378, has quite a different meaning), but from *προσίστημι*, in the sense of *παραστῆναι* or *ἐσελθεῖν*, = ‘when this thought came upon him.’ So *προσχόντας* from *προσέχειν* 2. 2; and *προστάντες*, *προστας* (119. 5; 129. 1) prob. belong to *προσίστημι*.

ἀνενεικάμενον] Buttmann’s interpretation is the right one: see *L.* and *S. Lex.*

ἐκ πολλῆς ἡσυχίης] To be taken with what follows: ‘from having been till then perfectly quiet.’ Buttm. Some MSS. have *λειποψυχίης*, and this has been regarded as a marginal explanation, which has usurped the place of the true reading *ἀψυχίης*. On this view *ἀνενεικάμενον* must in opposition to Buttm. be rendered ‘having recovered’ (= *ἀνενοιχθείς*, 116. 2), but *ἡσυχίης* is clearly preferable.

§ 5. τὸν ἂν κ.τ.λ.] i. e. (*ἐπικαλέομαι τοῦτον*) τὸν πᾶσι τ. ἐς λ. ἐλθεῖν (*πρὸς*) μεγάλων χρημάτων προετίμησα ἂν (*εἰ δυνατόν ἦν*).

§ 6. ὥς...ἀρχήν] ‘How to begin with’ (9. 3, n.). Hdt. makes Solon’s visit the turning point in

Croesus’ life (cf. *μετὰ Σ. οἰχόμενον*, 34. 1). Solon’s unheeded warning was the ἀρχή, and the funeral-pile the τέλος.

ἀποφλαυρίσειε] Corresponds to ἦλθε above. For other examples of the coordination of indic. and opt., see 117. 2; 11. 160. 6.

οἷα δὲ] Not part of what Croesus actually said to Cyrus, but added by the author in order to avoid a repetition of Solon’s speech: ‘having said so and so,’ ‘with such and such words’ (whatever they were):—*εἶπας* agreeing with Solon.

ὥς τε...ἀποβεβήκοι] ‘And how he had found everything to come to pass.’ The reading ὥς τε (Bekker) is much simpler than ὥστε, which Bähr retains. Cf. VII. 197, *ἔλεγον ὥς...μετέπειτα δὲ ὥς...ὥς τε ἔτι πρὸς τούτοις*. Bähr makes ὥστε depend on *οἷα δὲ εἶπας*, ‘quippe ita locutus, ut omnia evenerint.’ But should we have had the optative, if this had been Hdt.’s meaning? Another reading is *ἀποβεβήκεε* οἱ, but in this prob., as Schw. says, οἱ was originally a correction written above the termination of the variant *ἀποβεβήκεε*.

αὐτῷ] = *Κροίσῳ*, thus referring to

τῇπερ ἐκεῖνος εἶπε, οὐδέν τι μᾶλλον ἐς ἑωυτὸν λέγων, ἢ ἐς ἅπαν τὸ ἀνθρώπινον, καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς παρὰ σφίσι αὐτοῖσι δοκέοντας ὀλβίους εἶναι. Τὸν μὲν Κροῖσον ταῦτα ἀπηγγέ-  
 εσθαι τῆς δὲ πυρῆς ἤδη ἀμμένης, καίεσθαι τὰ περιέσχατα,  
 καὶ τὸν Κῦρον ἀκούσαντα τῶν ἑρμηνέων τὰ εἶπε Κροῖσος, 7  
 μεταγνόντα τε καὶ ἐννώσαντα, ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς ἄνθρωπος ἐὼν  
 ἄλλον ἄνθρωπον, γενόμενον ἑωυτοῦ εὐδαιμονίῃ οὐκ ἐλάσσω,  
 ζῶντα πυρὶ διδοίη· πρὸς τε τούτοις δείσαντα τὴν τίσιν καὶ  
 ἐπιλεξάμενον, ὡς οὐδέν εἴη τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἀσφαλέως  
 ἔχον, κελεύει σβεννύναι τὴν ταχίστην τὸ καϊόμενον πῦρ, καὶ  
 καταβιβάζειν Κροῖσόν τε καὶ τοὺς μετὰ Κροῖσου καὶ τοὺς  
 87 πειρωμένους οὐ δύνασθαι ἔτι τοῦ πυρὸς ἐπικρατῆσαι. Ἐν-  
 1  
 ταῦτα λέγεται ὑπὸ Λυδῶν, Κροῖσον μαθόντα τὴν Κύρου  
 μετάγνωσιν, ὥς ὥρα πάντα μὲν ἄνδρα σβεννύντα τὸ πῦρ,  
 δυναμένους δὲ οὐκέτι καταλαβεῖν, ἐπιβώσασθαι, τὸν Ἀπόλ-

the same person as ἑωυτοῦ above and ἑωυτὸν below. An indirect reflexive (i. e. a pronoun which refers to the subject of the main sentence, while the subject of its own clause is something distinct) may be expressed either by the regular reflexive form (where emphasis is needed, as e. g. here, in the clauses which have Solon for their subject), or (more commonly in Hdt.) by the oblique cases of αὐτός. Cf. αὐτόν, 98. 2; αὐτῆς, 111. 2; αὐτῷ...ἑωυτοῦ (of the same person), 129. 4; μιν, 11. 5).

οὐδέν τι μᾶλλον...ἢ] 'Not so much with reference to himself as:—an instance of the common Greek idiom (Litotes) by which less is said than is really meant: 'not more than' = 'not so much as.' Stein maintains that it is necessary to read ἢ οὐκ ἐς ἅπαν, comparing IV. 118. 5, ἥκει ὁ Πέρσης οὐδέν τι μᾶλλον ἐπ' ἡμέας ἢ οὐ καὶ ἐπὶ ὑμέας, 'as much against you as against us' (cf. V. 94. 3; VII. 16. 8). Without the second negative, he asserts, the meaning would be 'as little with reference to himself as,'—i. e. neither with reference to himself nor to

mankind at large. St. cites Eur. *Tr.* 793, *ὅστις γὰρ αὐχεῖ θεῶν ἐπίστασθαι πέρι | οὐδέν τι μᾶλλον οἶδεν ἢ πείθει λέγων*, 'knows as little as he persuades.' But the reading of the text may be justified by other instances, e. g. οὐχὶ ἐς ναυμαχίαν μᾶλλον ἢ ἐπὶ στρατείαν ἐπλέομεν, 'not so much for an engagement as on an expedition,' Thuc. II. 87. 2; οὐ χάριτι τὸ πλεῖον ἢ φόβῳ, 'rather by fear than by favour,' *ib.* I. 9. 3. We cannot therefore say that a second negative *must* be inserted after οὐ μᾶλλον ἢ,—only that it *may* be.

τὸ ἀνθρώπινον] 97. 1, n.

τὰ περιέσχατα] The outskirts of the pile.

§ 7. τὴν τίσιν] 'The vengeance' (which would assuredly come),—the definite article implying a reference to the doctrine of *νέμεσις*.

κελεύει] The reading of all the MSS., and prob. right. Almost as strong an instance of *ἀνακολουθία* occurs at V. 103. 4: καὶ γὰρ τὴν Καῦνον πρότερον οὐ βουλομένην συμμαχεῖν, ὡς ἐνέπρησαν τὰς Σάρδεις, τότε σφὶ καὶ αὕτη προσεγένετο. Bähr (2nd ed.) adopts the correction *κελεύειν*.

λωνα ἐπικαλούμενον, εἴ τί οἱ κεχαρισμένον ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐδωρήθη, παραστῆναι, καὶ ῥύσασθαι μιν ἐκ τοῦ παρεόντος κακοῦ. τὸν 2 μὲν δακρύοντα ἐπικαλέεσθαι τὸν θεόν· ἐκ δὲ αἰθρίης τε καὶ νηνεμίας συνδραμεῖν ἐξαπίνης νέφεα, καὶ χειμῶνά τε καταρραγῆναι, καὶ ὕσαι ὕδατι λαβροτάτῳ, κατασβεσθῆναί τε τὴν πυρὴν. οὕτω δὴ μαθόντα τὸν Κῦρον, ὡς εἶη ὁ Κροῖσος καὶ θεοφιλὴς καὶ ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός, καταβιβάσαντα αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς πυρῆς εἶρεσθαι τάδε. “Κροῖσε, τίς σε ἀνθρώπων ἀνέγνωσε, 3 ἐπὶ γῆν τὴν ἐμὴν στρατευσάμενον, πολέμιον ἀντὶ φίλου ἐμοὶ καταστῆναι;” Ὁ δὲ εἶπε· “ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἐγὼ ταῦτα ἔπραξα τῇ σῇ μὲν εὐδαιμονίῃ, τῇ ἐμεωυτοῦ δὲ κακοδαιμονίῃ, αἴτιος δὲ τούτων ἐγένετο ὁ Ἑλλήνων θεὸς, ἐπαείρας ἐμὲ στρατεύεσθαι. οὐδεὶς γὰρ οὕτω ἀνόητός ἐστι, ὅς τις πόλεμον πρὸ 4 εἰρήνης αἰρέεται. ἐν μὲν γὰρ τῇ οἱ παῖδες τοὺς πατέρας θάπτουσι, ἐν δὲ τῷ οἱ πατέρες τοὺς παῖδας. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα δαίμοσί κου φίλον ἦν οὕτω γενέσθαι.”

88. Ὁ μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεγε. Κῦρος δὲ αὐτὸν λύσας κάτισέ τε 1 ἐγγὺς ἐωυτοῦ, καὶ κάρτα ἐν πολλῇ προμηθείῃ εἶχε, ἀπεθώνμαζέ τε ὀρέων καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ περὶ ἐκείνον ἔοντες πάντες. ὁ 2 δὲ συννοίῃ ἐχόμενος ἥσυχος ἦν. μετὰ δὲ ἐπιστραφεῖς τε καὶ ἰδόμενος τοὺς Πέρσας τὸ τῶν Λυδῶν ἄστρῳ κεραΐζοντας, εἶπε· “ὦ βασιλεῦ, κότερον λέγειν πρὸς σέ, τὰ νοέων τυγχάνω, ἢ συγὰν ἐν τῷ παρεόντι χρή;” Κῦρος δὲ μιν θαρσέοντα ἐκέλευε 3

CH. 87. § 1. εἴ τί οἱ] Compare the prayer of Chryses, Hom. *Il.* I. 37, κλύθι μεν, ἀργυρότοξ',...εἴ ποτέ τοι χαρίεντ' ἐπὶ νηὸν ἔρεψα κ.τ.λ.

§ 3. τῇ σῇ μὲν εὐδ.] The dative either denotes ‘the accompanying circumstance’ (*Madv. G. S.* 42), = ‘with,’ i. e. ‘to thy happiness,’ like οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀτέλει τῇ νίκῃ ἀπὸ Μιλήτου ἀνέστησαν, *Thuc.* VIII. 27. 6, or more prob. the cause (= ‘driven on by’) like ἀγνοία ἀμαρτάνειν, φόβος τὰ προστεταγμένα ποιεῖν. For the fatalism involved in this latter view compare the concluding sentence of the ch.

§ 4. ὅς τις] For ὥστε, like *qui* with the subjunctive in Latin. So

οὕτω δὴ τι ἐοῦσα πικρὴ ἢ κ.τ.λ., *IV.* 52. 3:—ὅς being used properly after a definite, and ὅς τις after an indefinite antecedent.

ἐν μὲν γὰρ τῇ] In Attic we find *μέν* sometimes inserted as here between the preposition and the article and sometimes not. *Krüg.* quotes from Plato ἐν μὲν τοῖς συμφωνοῦμεν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς οὐ, and ἡ φύσις εἰς τὰ μὲν οἷα τε, -ἰς δὲ τὰ οὐ.

φίλον ἦν] Homeric. *Stein* compares οὕτω που Διὶ μέλλει ὑπερμενέει φίλον εἶναι, *Il.* II. 116.

CH. 88. § 1. κάρτα] Join this with πολλῇ.

ὀρέων] Hom. *Il.* XXIV. 631, αὐτὰρ ὁ Δαρδανίδην Πριάμον θαύμαζεν Ἀχιλλεύς | εἰσορόων.

λέγειν ὃ τι βούλοιτο. ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν εἰρώτα, λέγων· “Οὗτος ὁ πολλὸς ὄμιλος τί ταῦτα σπουδῇ πολλῇ ἐργάζεται;” Ὁ δὲ εἶπε· “Πόλιν τε τὴν σὴν διαρπάζει, καὶ χρήματα τὰ σὰ διαφορέει.” Κροῖσος δὲ ἀμείβετο· “Οὔτε πόλιν τὴν ἐμὴν, 4 οὔτε χρήματα τὰ ἐμὰ διαρπάζει· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐμοὶ ἔτι τούτων 89 μέτα· ἀλλὰ φέρουσί τε καὶ ἄγουσι τὰ σά.” Κύρῳ δὲ ἐπι- 1 μελὲς ἐγένετο τὰ Κροῖσος εἶπε· μεταστησάμενος· δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους, εἶρετο Κροῖστον ὃ τι οἱ ἐνορώη ἐν τοῖσι ποιευμένοισι. ὁ δὲ εἶπε· “Ἐπεὶ τε με θεοὶ ἔδωκαν δοῦλόν σοι, δικαίῳ, εἴ τι 2 ἐνορέω πλεόν, σημαίνειν σοι. Πέρσαι, φύσιν ἐόντες ὑβρισταί, εἰσὶ ἀχρήματοι. ἦν ὦν σὺ τούτους περιῖδης διαρπάσαντας 3 καὶ κατασχόντας χρήματα μεγάλα, τάδε τοι ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐπίδοξα γενέσθαι· ὅς ἂν αὐτῶν πλείστα κατάσχη, τοῦτον προσδέ- 4 κεσθαί τοι ἐπαναστησόμενον. νῦν ὦν ποιήσον ὧδε, εἴ τοι 4 ἰρέσκει τὰ ἐγὼ λέγω. κάτισον τῶν δορυφόρων ἐπὶ πάσῃσι τῇσι πύλῃσι φυλάκους, οἳ λεγόντων πρὸς τοὺς ἐκφέροντας τὰ χρήματα ἀπαιρέόμενοι, ὥς σφεα ἀναγκαίως ἔχει δε- 5 κατευθῆναι τῷ Διὶ. καὶ σύ τε σφί οὐκ ἀπεχθήσεαι βίῃ 5 ἀπαιρέόμενος τὰ χρήματα· καὶ ἐκεῖνοι, συγγνόντες ποιέειν

§ 3. εἰρώτα] Unaugmented (19. 1, n.), from the epic form εἰρωτάω. We find ἀνθρώπων however, Hom. *Od.* IV. 251.

§ 4. μέτα] = μέτεστι. So ἐνι, 181. 7; 183. 1; πάρα, 42. 1; ἐπι (in an oracle), VI. 86. 14.

τὰ σά] The emphasis is marked by the position of the words.

CH. 89. § 1. ἐπιμελὲς...τὰ] This may be compared with ταῦτα δὴ ἀδυνατὸν ἐφάνη, Plat. *Parm.* 160 A. (For converse instances of the predicate in the neuter plural, see 4. 3, note.) But very possibly the meaning is ‘curae fuit quae Croesus diceret’ (St.), the relative being used (as at 56. 2) to introduce an indirect question.

οἱ] = Κύρῳ. *Dativus commodi.*

§ 2. πλεόν] ‘More (than others).’ So προειδότες πλεὺν τι καὶ τούτου, IX. 41. 4. From this use comes the notion of advantage in πλεόν εἶναι,

φέρεισθαι. Translate: ‘if I have the advantage in seeing aught therein.’

ὑβρισταί] Perhaps here, as Bähr says, Hdt. is putting into the mouth of Croesus the Greek sentiments of his own age about Persian pride. There is however some doubt about the reading ὑπερκόμπους ἄγαν, which B. quotes from Aesch. *Pers.* 795, and ὑβρισταί need not mean more than ‘unruly’ (cf. II. 32. 3).

§ 3. ἐξ αὐτῶν] This may refer to τούτους, but see 9. 1, note.

ἐπιδόξα] = προσδόκιμα. The asyndeton, ὅς ἂν κ.τ.λ., as at 80. 5.

προσδέκεσθαι] 32. 12, note.

§ 4. λεγόντων] As if καὶ οὔτοι had preceded. So we have the imperative used after ὥς, ‘since,’—ὥς εἰ μὴ πέμψετε, ἐπίστασθε ἡμέας ὁμολογήσειν τῷ Πέρσῃ, VII. 172. 4; and after ὥστε,—τὰ πολλὰ ὁ Πρωταγόρας ἐνδον διατρίβει, ὥστε θάρρει, Plat. *Prot.* 3 1 A.



90. σε δίκαια, ἐκύντες ποιήσουσι.” Ταῦτα ἀκούων ὁ Κῦρος 1  
 ὑπερήδετο, ὥς οἱ ἐδόκεε εὖ ὑποτίθεσθαι. αἰνέσας δὲ πολλὰ  
 καὶ ἐντειλάμενος τοῖσι δορυφόροις τὰ Κροῖσος ὑπεθήκατο  
 ἐπιτελέειν, εἶπε πρὸς Κροῖσον τάδε· “Κροῖσε, ἀναρτημένου 2  
 σεῦ ἀνδρὸς βασιλέος χρηστὰ ἔργα καὶ ἔπεα ποιεῖν, αἰτέο  
 δόσιν, τήν τινα βούλεαί τοι γενέσθαι παραντίκα.” Ὁ δὲ 3  
 εἶπε· “ὦ δέσποτα, ἔασας με χαριεῖ μάλιστα τὸν θεὸν τῶν  
 Ἑλλήνων, τὸν ἐτίμησα ἐγὼ θεῶν μάλιστα, ἐπείρεσθαι,  
 πέμψαντα τάσδε τὰς πέδας, εἰ ἔξαπατᾶν τοὺς εὖ ποιεῦντας  
 νόμος ἔστι οἱ.” Κῦρος δὲ εἶρετο ὅ τι οἱ τοῦτο ἐπηγορεύων 4  
 παραιτέοιτο. Κροῖσος δὲ οἱ ἐπανηλόγησε πᾶσαν τὴν ἑωυτοῦ  
 διάνοιαν, καὶ τῶν χρηστηρίων τὰς ὑποκρίσεις, καὶ μάλιστα  
 τὰ ἀναθήματα· καὶ ὥς ἐπαρθεὶς τῷ μαντηίῳ, ἐστρατεύσατο  
 ἐπὶ Πέρσας. λέγων δὲ ταῦτα, κατέβαινε αὐτὶς παραιτέο- 5  
 μενος, ἐπεῖναί οἱ τῷ θεῷ τούτων ὀνειδίσαι. Κῦρος δὲ  
 γελάσας εἶπε· “Καὶ τούτου τεύξεαι παρ’ ἐμεῦ, Κροῖσε, καὶ  
 ἄλλου παντὸς τοῦ ἂν ἐκάστοτε δέῃ.” Ὡς δὲ ταῦτα ἤκουσε 6  
 ὁ Κροῖσος, πέμπων τῶν Λυδῶν ἐς Δελφοὺς ἐνετέλλετο,  
 τιθέντας τὰς πέδας ἐπὶ τοῦ νηοῦ τὸν οὐδὸν, εἰρωτᾶν εἰ οὐ τι

CH. 90. § 2. σεῦ...αἰτέο] Cf. 3; 178. 3.

ἀνδρὸς βασ.] ‘En homme roi,’ Larch. ‘With right royal deeds and words art thou ready to do me service.’ For the zeugma, cf. 32. 10.

§ 4. ὅ τι οἱ τοῦτο] ‘What charge he brought against the god that he made this request.’ The form ἐπηγορεύων is doubtful. If from ἐπήγορος (ἐπηγορία is found once in Dion Cassius), the right form would be ἐπηγορέων. Lobeck (*Phryn.* 702) thinks that it is the result of an attempt to ionicise ἐπαγορεύων, which latter he considers to be the true reading.

ἐπανηλόγησε] This, the reading of all the MSS., is retained by Bähr, though with some hesitation. Its form may perhaps be justified by κατηλόγησε (84. 4), and the meaning ‘repeated,’ ‘told over again’ assigned to it (ἐπαν-, as in ἐπανειρό-

μενος, 91. 5). But most modern editors adopt the correction ἐπαλλόγησε (cf. 118. 1). Hdt. seems to attribute the idea of repetition to Croesus, because he has himself told the story (chs. 53 foll.).

§ 5. κατέβαινε] καταβαίνω, as used by Hdt. in this metaphorical way, contains two notions (1) that of coming to the end of a speech or conversation, (2) that of recurring to the main point after a digression. See 116. 8; 118. 1; III. 75. 2; IX. 94. 2. Its meaning is therefore different from that of *descendo*, *decurro*, which always seem to imply lowering oneself to what is disgraceful, or having recourse to what is unpleasant. Cf. II. 65. 3, n.

τούτων] One MS. has τοῦτο (Kr.), but compare the construction of μέμφομαι, Aesch. *Sept.* 652, ὥς οὐποτ’ ἀνδρὶ τῷδε κηρυκευμάτων | μέμψει.

§ 6. ἐπὶ τοῦ νηοῦ τ. οὐδ.] Sardis



ἐπαισχύνεται τοῖσι μαντητοῖσι ἐπαείρας Κροῖσον στρατεύ-  
 εσθαι ἐπὶ Πέρσας, ὡς καταπαύσονται τὴν Κύρου δύναμιν,  
 ἀπ' ἧς οἱ ἀκροθίνια τοιαῦτα γενέσθαι δεικνύντας τὰς πέδας.  
 ταῦτά τε ἐπειρωτᾶν, καὶ εἰ ἀχαρίστοισι νόμος εἶναι τοῖσι  
 91 Ἑλληνικοῖσι θεοῖσι. Ἀπικομένοισι δὲ τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι καὶ 1  
 λέγουσι τὰ ἐντεταλμένα τὴν Πυθίην λέγεται εἰπεῖν τάδε·  
 “Τὴν πεπρωμένην μοῖραν ἀδύνατά ἐστι ἀποφυγέειν καὶ θεῶ.  
 Κροῖσος δὲ πέμπτου γονέος ἀμαρτάδα ἐξέπλησε, ὅς ἐὼν 2  
 δορυφόρος Ἡρακλειδέων, δόλῳ γυναικῆτι ἐπισπόμενος, ἐφό-  
 νευσε τὸν δεσπότηα, καὶ ἔσχε τὴν ἐκείνου τιμὴν οὐδέν οἱ  
 προσήκουσαν. προθυμεομένου δὲ Λοξίῳ, ὅπως ἂν κατὰ  
 τοὺς παῖδας τοὺς Κροῖσου γένοιτο τὸ Σαρδίων πάθος, καὶ μὴ  
 κατ' αὐτὸν Κροῖσον, οὐκ οἷός τε ἐγένετο παραγαγεῖν μοίρας.  
 ὅσον δὲ ἐνέδωκαν αὐται, ἡνύσατο καὶ ἐχαρίσατό οἱ. τρία 3  
 γὰρ ἔτεα ἐπανεβάλετο τὴν Σαρδίων ἕλωσιν καὶ τοῦτο  
 ἐπιστάσθω Κροῖσος, ὡς ὕστερον τοῖσι ἔτεσι τούτοις ἀλούς  
 τῆς πεπρωμένης. δεύτερα δὲ τούτων καιομένων αὐτῷ ἐπήρ-

cannot have been taken before 548 B.C. at the earliest (86. 1, n). In this very year the temple at Delphi was burnt down (II. 180. 1), and several years must have elapsed before it was rebuilt. Acc. to Stein it was not begun before 539 B.C.

εἰ οὐ τι] Had μή been used, it would have implied that the enquirer was really in doubt.

εἶναι] The inf. has a double function, going both with νόμος (for εἰ εἶναι, see 24. 11, n.) and with ἀχαρίστοισι.

CH. 91. § 1. τὴν πεπρωμένην] Aesch. *Prom.* 518, οὐκ οὐν ἂν ἐκφύγοι γε τὴν πεπρωμένην (Zeús). But in the oracle delivered to the Athenians (VII. 141. 3) Zeus is represented as the supreme power: οὐ δύναται Παλλὰς Δι' Ὀλύμπιον ἐξιλάσασθαι, κ.τ.λ. See Grote, *H. G.* III. 168 (IV. 264).

§ 2. πέμπτον] See 13. 5, n. Bellanger (quoted by Larcher) thinks that it was this use of πέμπτος which misled Croesus, who would consider the prediction fulfilled in the un-

timely death of his son Atys.

ἐπισπόμενος] ‘Led on by:’ Hom. *Od.* III. 215, ἐπισπόμενοι θεοῦ ὁμῶ.

Λοξίῳ] ‘Apollinis cognomen, quod ad oraculorum responsa contorta atque ambigua relatum volunt, alii ad obliquum solis cursum.’ Bähr. The former derivation is well illustrated here, but more prob. the root is λυκ (Lat. *lucere*). Stein compares Ἐρυξίας from ἐρυκ.

ὅπως ἂν] 75. 5, n.

§ 3. αὐται] αὐταί, ‘of their own accord’ (Schäfer), is not so good. With the persuasive powers here attributed to Apollo, Grote compares μοίρας ἐπείσας ἀφθίτους θεῖναι βροτούς, Aesch. *Eum.* 724.

τούτο ἐπ....ὡς...ἀλούς] A mixture of the two constructions τούτο ἐπ. ὡς ἐάλω and ἐπιστάσθω ἀλούς. Cf. ὡς ἐόντας ἐνόμιζε, II. 1. 2; λέγουσιν ὡς ὀλωλότας, Aesch. *Ag.* 658.

δεύτερα δὲ τούτων] Cf. 185. 1; VI. 46. 1; ἐμεῖο δεύτεροι, Hom. *Il.* XXIII. 247. So even τούτων τρίτον in later Greek, ‘a third point beyond these.’ Aristot. *Eth.* VII. 11. 3.

κεσε. Κατὰ δὲ τὸ μαντήϊον τὸ γενόμενον οὐκ ὀρθῶς Κροῖσος 4  
 μέμφεται. προηγόρευε γάρ οἱ Λοξίης, ἣν στρατεύηται ἐπὶ  
 Πέρσας, μεγάλην ἀρχὴν αὐτὸν καταλύσειν, τὸν δὲ πρὸς  
 ταῦτα χρῆν, εὖ μέλλοντα βουλεύεσθαι, ἐπείρεσθαι πέμ-  
 ψαντα, κότερα τὴν ἐωυτοῦ ἢ τὴν Κύρου λέγοι ἀρχήν. οὐ 5  
 συλλαβὼν δὲ τὸ ῥηθὲν οὐδ' ἐπανειρόμενος ἐωυτὸν αἴτιον  
 ἀποφαινέτω. ὧ καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον χρηστηριαζομένῳ εἶπε τὰ  
 εἶπε Λοξίης περὶ ἡμίονου· οὐδὲ τοῦτο συνέλαβε. ἦν γὰρ δὴ ὁ 6  
 Κῦρος οὗτος ἡμίονος· ἐκ γὰρ δυῶν οὐκ ὁμοεθνέων ἐγεγόνεε,  
 μητρὸς ἀμείνωνος, πατρὸς δὲ ὑποδεεστέρου. ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἦν 7  
 Μηδὶς καὶ Ἀστυάγεος θυγάτηρ τοῦ Μήδων βασιλέως· ὁ δὲ  
 Πέρσης τε ἦν καὶ ἀρχόμενος ὑπ' ἐκείνοισι· καὶ ἔνερθε ἐὼν  
 τοῖσι ἅπασι, δεσποίνῃ τῇ ἐωυτοῦ συνοίκεε." Ταῦτα μὲν ἡ 8  
 Πυθίη ὑπεκρίνατο τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι· οἱ δὲ ἀνήνεικαν ἐς Σάρδις  
 καὶ ἀπήγγειλαν τῷ Κροίσῳ. ὁ δὲ ἀκούσας συνέγνω ἐωυτοῦ  
 εἶναι τὴν ὁμαρτάδα καὶ οὐ τοῦ θεοῦ. Κατὰ μὲν δὴ τὴν  
 Κροίσου τε ἀρχὴν καὶ Ἰωνίης τὴν πρώτην καταστροφὴν  
 ἔσχε οὕτω.

92 Κροίσῳ δὲ ἔστι καὶ ἄλλα ἀναθήματα ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι 1  
 πολλὰ, καὶ οὐ τὰ εἰρημένα μοῦνα. ἐν μὲν γὰρ Θήβησι τῇσι  
 Βοιωτῶν τρίπους χρύσεος, τὸν ἀνέθηκε τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ

§ 5. εἶπε τὰ εἶπε] The form of expression (39. 2, n.) can hardly imply reserve here, where the oracle is represented as so triumphant in its vindication of itself. Perhaps the first εἶπε ought to be omitted (Valck.):—‘the things which I spake concerning the mule, not even that did he comprehend’ (cf. *περὶ αὐτοῦ...τὰ*, II. 51. 6).

§ 6. οὗτος] Bähr translates ‘mulus iste.’ The omission of the article might be justified (9. 2, n.). But prob. the meaning is: ‘this Cyrus (who fulfilled the oracle) was really a mule.’

§ 7. τοῖσι ἅπασι] Cf. I. 3. ‘Here as there a rhetorical exaggeration.’ St.

§ 8. Ἰωνίης] This reference to Ionia is meant to recall the real sub-

ject of the work, Croesus having been mentioned only because he was the first to enslave Greeks (5. 5; 6. 2). The three chapters which follow conclude the *Λυδῖος λόγος* (75. 1, n.).

τὴν πρώτην] Cf. 169. 2.

CH. 92. § 1. Ἑλλάδι] In a wide sense, here including the Greek cities of Asia Minor. So the term comprises Sicily, VII. 157. 3; Cyrene, Rhodes, and Samos, II. 182. 1.

εἰρημένα] Chs. 50 foll.

τῇσι Βοιωτῶν] Added to distinguish it from Thebes in Egypt.

τρίπους χρ.] This temple seems to have been famous for its tripods. Cf. V. 59, 60; Pind. *Pyth.* XI. 5, 121...*χρυσέων ἐς ἄδυτον τριπόδων θησαυρὸν, ὃν περὶ ἀλλ' ἐτίμασε Λοξίας Ἰσμήνιον δ' οὐνόμαξεν.*

Ἰσμενίῳ ἐν δὲ Ἐφέσῳ αἶ τε βόες αἶ χρύσεαι καὶ τῶν  
κίωνων αἶ πολλαί, ἐν δὲ Προνηΐης τῆς ἐν Δελφοῖσι ἀσπὶς  
χρυσή μεγάλη. ταῦτα μὲν καὶ ἔτι ἐς ἐμὲ ἦν περιέοντα· τὰ 2  
δ' ἐξαπόλωλε τὰ τῶν ἀναθημάτων. τὰ δ' ἐν Βραγχίδῃσι τῇσι  
Μιλησίων ἀναθημάτων Κροίσῳ, ὡς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, ἴσα τε  
σταθμὸν καὶ ὁμοῖα τοῖσι ἐν Δελφοῖσι. τὰ μὲν νυν ἐς τε 3  
Δελφοὺς καὶ ἐς τοῦ Ἀμφιάρεω ἀνέθηκε, οἰκήϊά τε ἔοντα καὶ  
τῶν πατρώων χρημάτων ἀπαρχὴν, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἀναθήματα  
ἐξ ἀνδρὸς ἐγένετο οὐσίης ἐχθροῦ, ὅς οἱ, πρὶν ἢ βασιλεῦσαι,  
ἀντιστασιώτης κατεστήκεε, συσπεύδων Πανταλέοντι γενέ-  
σθαι τὴν Λυδῶν ἀρχήν. ὁ δὲ Πανταλέων ἦν Ἀλυάττει 4  
μὲν παῖς, Κροίσου δὲ ἀδελφεὺς οὐκ ὁμομήτριος. Κροῖσος  
μὲν γὰρ ἐκ Καείρης ἦν γυναικὸς Ἀλυάττη, Πανταλέων δὲ  
ἐξ Ἰάδος. ἐπεὶ τε δὲ, δόντος τοῦ πατρὸς, ἐκράτησε τῆς 5  
ἀρχῆς ὁ Κροῖσος, τὸν ἄνθρωπον τὸν ἀντιπρήσσοντα ἐπὶ  
κνάφου ἔλκων διέφθειρε· τὴν δὲ οὐσίην αὐτοῦ ἔτι πρότερον

τῶν κίωνων] This seems to imply that the temple (of Artemis) was being built.

αἶ πολλαί] We have τὸν κίονα, IV. 184. 6. Both genders are found in Homer.

Προνηΐης] Sc. Ἀθηναίης, so called, because her temple stood in front of the great temple of Apollo. Προνοίης has been unnecessarily suggested.

§ 2. τὰ τῶν ἀναθ.] τὰ, if right, repeats for the sake of clearness: 'those others, I mean, of the offerings.' But it is not unlikely, as Krüger suggests, that τὰ here has slipped in from the line above, the original reading having been: ταῦτα, τὰ μὲν καὶ ἔτι...τὰ δ' ἐξαπόλωλε τῶν ἀναθημάτων. In the next clause supply ἐστὶ and take Κροίσῳ as predicate.

τῇσι Μιλησίων] So Br. τὰς Μ., II. 159, 3. It has been proposed to read τῆς in both passages (cf. I. 46. 2), since we have τοὺς Br., 158. 1. But the masc. form may refer to the family of priests, who had charge

of the temple, the fem. being used when the place itself is meant. Schw.

ὡς ἐγὼ πυνθ.] These words belong to what follows (22. 2, n.).

ὁμοῖα] i.e. of similar material and workmanship.

§ 3. τῶν πατρώων χρ.] The wealth of Croesus was prob. due mainly to the long and comparatively inactive reign of Alyattes.—Grote.

Πανταλέοντι] In construction with both συσπεύδων and γενέσθαι. P. was probably the elder brother, since Croesus was not born till the 23rd year of his father's reign (cf. 25. 1 with 26. 1). St.

§ 5. δόντος τοῦ π.] Acc. to Bähr, Larcher, and others, these words imply that Croesus became king during his father's lifetime. This theory may get rid of chronological difficulties (Clinton, *F. H.* II. 298), but can hardly be established from the words of Hdt.

ἔτι πρότερον] Before he became king.

κατιρώσας, τότε τρώπῳ τῷ εἰρημένῳ ἀνέθηκε ἐς τὰ εἴρηται.  
καὶ περὶ μὲν ἀναθημάτων τοσαῦτα εἰρήσθω.

- 93 Θῶνυματα δὲ γῇ Ἀυδίῃ ἐς συγγραφὴν οὐ μάλα ἔχει, οἷά  
τε καὶ ἄλλη χώρα, πάρεξ τοῦ ἐκ τοῦ Τμώλου καταφερομένου  
ψήγματος. Ἐν δὲ ἔργον πολλὸν μέγιστον παρέχεται, χωρὶς  
τῶν τε Αἰγυπτίων ἔργων καὶ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων. ἔστι<sup>1</sup>  
αὐτόθι Ἀλυάττεω τοῦ Κροίσου πατρὸς σῆμα, τοῦ ἡ κρηπὶς  
μὲν ἐστὶ λίθων μεγάλων, τὸ δὲ ἄλλο σῆμα χῶμα γῆς.  
ἐξεργάσαντο δὲ μιν οἱ ἀγοραῖοι ἄνθρωποι, καὶ οἱ χειρώ-  
νακτες, καὶ αἱ ἐνεργαζόμεναι παιδίσκαι. οὐροὶ δὲ, πέντε<sup>3</sup>  
εῶντες, ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἦσαν ἐπὶ τοῦ σήματος ἄνω· καὶ σφί  
γράμματα ἐνεκεκόλαπτο, τὰ ἕκαστοι ἐξεργάσαντο. καὶ  
ἐφαίνετο μετρεόμενον τὸ τῶν παιδισκέων ἔργον ἐὼν μέγιστον.

κατιρώσας] i.e. having made a  
vow to do so. The real κατιρώσις  
did not take place till the offerings  
were made. St. See 164. 1, note.

ἐς τὰ]=ἐς τὰ χωρία ἐς ᾧ (εἴρηται  
prob. being impersonal).

CH. 93. § 1. Θῶνυματα δὲ κ.τ.λ.]  
'Lydian soil contains no vast amount  
of marvels for chronicling, like ano-  
ther country.' Most editors insert  
ἡ (which may easily have dropped  
out) before Ἀυδίῃ, it being Hdt.'s  
regular practice to use the article  
when mentioning a country (19. 5;  
73. 2; 173. 2). But possibly the  
meaning is that given above.

συγγραφὴν] Thus indirectly Hdt.  
claims the title of συγγραφεύς. Com-  
pare the Thucydidean use of συνέ-  
γραψε.

οὐ μάλα] 'Non admodum.' Schw.;  
'not exactly,' Kr. See II. 37. 9, n.

οἷά τε] *qualia fere*, is Homeric,  
and virtually = ὡς, like ἐπὶ κλοπὸν οἷά  
τε πολλοὺς | βόσκει γαῖα, *Od.* XI.  
365. See 14. 8, note.

καὶ ἄλλη] καί, which adds em-  
phasis in direct comparisons, e.g.  
'Lydia has, as other countries too  
have' (cf. 2. 3, n.)—is retained in  
cases of comparison by contrast,—  
'Lydia has not, as other countries  
too have.'

χώρα] The collective singular  
(179. 3, n.):—'other country' in-  
stead of 'other countries.' More  
usually we have the plural (193. 3;  
III. 107. 1).

καταφερομένου] By the Pactolus.  
ἔργον]=an artificial θῶνυμα. See  
note on ἔργα μεγάλα τε καὶ θουμαστά  
at the beginning of the book.

χωρὶς] With μέγιστον,—'if we  
put aside.'

§ 2. αὐτόθι] In Lydia. So  
αὐτοῦ κατοικίζω=ἐν τῇδε τῇ χώρῃ,  
IV. 9. 6.

σῆμα] This monument still exists  
near the ruins of ancient Sardis.  
In 1853 the interior was explored  
by M. Spiegenthal, Prussian Consul  
at Smyrna, and a sepulchral cham-  
ber was discovered composed of large  
blocks of polished marble. The  
mound has an external circumference  
of about half a mile (Abicht).

§ 3. οὐροὶ] 'Land-marks,' i.e.  
pillars of stone; so called because  
they marked off the separate por-  
tions of the work done by each class  
of labourers.

γράμματα ἐν.] (sc. λέγοντα), τὰ  
(= ἄττω ἔργα) ἕκαστοι ἐξεργ.

ἕκαστοι]. Each of these classes  
(26. 4, n.).

Τοῦ γὰρ δὴ Λυδῶν δήμου αἱ θυγατέρες πορνέονται πᾶσαι, 4  
 συλλέγουσαι σφίσι φερνὰς, ἐς ὃ ἂν συνοικήσωσι, τοῦτο  
 ποιέουσai· ἐκδιδούσι δὲ αὐταὶ ἐωντάς. ἡ μὲν δὴ περίοδος 5  
 τοῦ σήματος εἰσὶ στάδιοι ἕξ καὶ δύο πλέθρα, τὸ δὲ εὐρὸς  
 ἐστι πλέθρα τριακαίδεκα. λίμνη δὲ ἔχεται τοῦ σήματος  
 μεγάλη, τὴν λέγουσι Λυδοὶ αἰναον εἶναι· καλέεται δὲ αὕτη  
 Γυγαίη. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τοιοῦτό ἐστι.

94. Λυδοὶ δὲ νόμοισι μὲν παραπλησίοισι χρέωνται καὶ 1  
 Ἕλληνες, χωρὶς ἧ ὅτι τὰ θήλεα τέκνα καταπορνεύουσι.  
 πρῶτοι δὲ ἀνθρώπων, τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν, νόμισμα χρυσοῦ καὶ  
 ἀργύρου κοψάμενοι ἐχρήσαντο· πρῶτοι δὲ καὶ κάπηλοι  
 ἐγένοντο. Φασὶ δὲ αὐτοὶ Λυδοὶ καὶ τὰς παιγνίας, τὰς νῦν 2  
 σφίσι τε καὶ Ἕλλησι κατεστεώσας, ἐωντῶν ἐξεύρημα γενέ-  
 σθαι. ἥμα δὲ ταύτας τε ἐξευρεθῆναι παρὰ σφίσι λέγουσι, 3  
 καὶ Τυρσηνίην ἀποικίσαι, ὧδε περὶ αὐτῶν λέγοντες. ἐπὶ  
 Ἄτυος τοῦ Μάνεω βασιλέος σιτοδείην ἰσχυρὴν ἀνὰ τὴν  
 Λυδίην πᾶσαν γενέσθαι· καὶ τοὺς Λυδοὺς τέως μὲν διάγειν  
 λιπαρέοντας, μετὰ δὲ, ὥς οὐ παύεσθαι, ἥκεα δίξησθαι·  
 ἄλλον δὲ ἄλλο ἐπιμηχανᾶσθαι αὐτῶν. ἐξευρεθῆναι δὲ ὧν 4  
 τότε καὶ τῶν κύβων καὶ τῶν ἀστραγάλων, καὶ τῆς σφαίρης  
 καὶ τῶν ἀλλέων πασέων παιγνιέων τὰ εἶδεα, πλὴν πεσσῶν.  
 τούτων γὰρ ὧν τὴν ἐξεύρεσιν οὐκ οἰκηιεύνται Λυδοί. ποιεῖν 5

§ 4. ἐκδ. δὲ αὐταὶ ἐωντάς] Be-  
 cause they find their own dowry.  
 Cf. 196. 6.

§ 5. εἰσι] See 163. 4, n.

CH. 94. § 1. πρῶτοι...νόμισμα]  
 See Rawlinson, *Arr. Bk. I., Note B.*

κάπηλοι] Homer represents the  
 Maeonians as trading with the Tro-  
 jans (*Il.* XVIII. 290), and as skilled  
 in the art of staining ivory (*Il.* IV.  
 141). Cf. II. 167. 1, n.

§ 3. ἀποικίσαι] Supply σφέας  
 from παρὰ σφίσι. Stein reads ἀποι-  
 κίσθαι.

Ἄτυος τοῦ Μ.] The two sons of  
 Atys were the ἐπώνυμοι of the Ly-  
 dians (7. 4) and Tyrrhenians, and  
 his nephew Ἀσίης (IV. 45. 4) the  
 ἐπώνυμος of Asia, acc. to the Ly-  
 dian legends.

διάγειν λιπ.] 'Lived on and held  
 out.' λιπ. here denotes persistence  
 in suffering; usually in Hdt. per-  
 sistence in action of any kind, not  
 merely in entreaties.

παύεσθαι] 24. 11, n.

§ 4. κύβων κ.τ.λ.] Three of  
 these games are mentioned in Ho-  
 mer. Nausicaa plays with the σφαῖρα  
 (*Od.* VI. 100), the suitors with πεσ-  
 σοί (*Od.* I. 107), and Patroclus, when  
 a boy, killed a playfellow, ἀμφ'  
 ἀστραγάλοισι χολωθεῖς (*Il.* XXIII. 88).  
 The κύβοι (*tesserae*) seem to have been  
 a later development of the ἀστράγα-  
 λοι (*tali*). The former had all six  
 sides numbered, while the latter  
 were at first without numbers, and  
 afterwards necessarily only num-  
 bered on four sides.

δὲ ὧδε πρὸς τὸν λιμὸν ἐξευρόντας· τὴν μὲν ἐτέρην τῶν  
 ἡμερέων παίζειν πᾶσαν, ἵνα δὴ μὴ ζητέοιεν σιτία· τὴν  
 δὲ ἐτέρην σιτέεσθαι πανομένους τῶν παιγνιέων. τοιούτῳ  
 τρόπῳ διάγειν ἐπ' ἕτεα δυῶν δέοντα εἴκοσι. ἐπεὶ τε δὲ 6  
 οὐκ ἀνιέναι τὸ κακὸν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ μᾶλλον ἔτι βιάζεσθαι, οὕτω  
 δὴ τὸν βασιλέα αὐτῶν, δύο μοίρας διελόντα Λυδῶν πάντων,  
 κληρῶσαι, τὴν μὲν ἐπὶ μονῇ, τὴν δὲ ἐπὶ ἐξόδῳ ἐκ τῆς χώρας.  
 καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν τῇ μένειν αὐτοῦ λαγχανούσῃ τῶν μοιρέων 7  
 ἑωυτὸν τὸν βασιλέα προστάσσειν, ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ ἀπαλλασσο-  
 μένῃ τὸν ἑωυτοῦ παῖδα, τῷ οὐνομα εἶναι Τυρσηνόν. λαχόντας 8  
 δὲ αὐτῶν τοὺς ἐτέρους ἐξιέναι ἐκ τῆς χώρας, καταβῆναι ἐς  
 Σμύρνην, καὶ μηχανήσασθαι πλοῖα, ἐς τὰ ἐσθεμένους τὰ  
 πάντα ὅσα σφί ἦν χρηστὰ ἐπίπλοα, ἀποπλέειν κατὰ βίου  
 τε καὶ γῆς ζήτησιν· ἐς ὃ ἔθνεα πολλὰ παραμειψαμένους  
 ἀπικέσθαι ἐς Ὀμβρικούς· ἔνθα σφέας ἐνιδρύσασθαι πόλιν,  
 καὶ οἰκέειν τὸ μέχρι τοῦδε. ἀντὶ δὲ Λυδῶν μετουνομασθῆναι 9  
 αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ βασιλέως τοῦ παιδός, ὅς σφεας ἀνήγαγε· ἐπὶ  
 τούτου τὴν ἐπωνυμίην ποιευμένους οὐνομασθῆναι Τυρσηνοὺς.  
 Λυδοὶ μὲν δὴ ὑπὸ Πέρσῃσι δεδούλωντο.

95 Ἐπιδίξεται δὲ δὴ τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν ἡμῖν ὁ λόγος τὸν τε Κῦρον, 1

§ 6. Λυδῶν] After verbs of division Hdt. either puts the whole in the gen. and the parts in the accus. (cf. II. 4. 1), or both parts and whole in the accus. (II. 147. 2), or the whole in the accus. and the parts in the accus. with κατὰ (I. 132. 4).

§ 8. ἐπίπλοα] The occurrence of πλοῖα above seems to have modified the form of this word in the MSS. Elsewhere (150. 3; 164. 4) the form is ἐπιπλα ('=τὰ ἐξ ἐπιπολῆς σκεύη, ἢ ἐπιπόλαιος κτῆσις').

Ὀμβρικούς] A very indefinite region, apparently coextensive with Northern Italy: cf. IV. 49. 4.

§ 9. ἀνήγαγε] Krüg. suggests ἀπήγαγε. But if it is necessary to have a definite explanation of the prep., ἀν- may denote either (1) the putting out to sea, in which sense however ναῦν is generally expressed or understood, or (2) the march

into the interior on their arrival (ἀνήγαγον ἐς Σούσα, VI. 119. 1). Cf. στρατεύμα ἀνάξεις ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, VII. 10. 22; λαὸν ἀνήγαγεν (from Greece to Troy), Hom. II. IX. 338. 'Led up' need not mean much more than 'led forth.'

Τυρσηνοὺς] For an examination of the legend, see Smith's *Dict. Geogr. Etruria*; Mommsen, *Hist. Rome*, I. 129. The Latin poets were fond of alluding to this supposed origin of the Etruscans: Hor. *Sat.* I. 6. 1; Virg. *Aen.* II. 781; Statius, *Silv.* IV. 4. 6; Plaut. *Curc.* I. 2. 63.

CH. 95. § 1. ὁ λόγος] Not here used of any detached portion of the work (75. 1, note) but of the general plan of his narrative (II. 123. 1). Cf. προσθήκας γὰρ δὴ μοι ὁ λόγος ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐδίξητο, IV. 30. 1. The present λόγος (which properly finishes

ὅστις ἐὼν τὴν Κροίσου ἀρχὴν κατείλε· καὶ τοὺς Πέρσας, ὅτεω τρόπῳ ἡγήσαντο τῆς Ἀσίης. Ὡς ὦν Περσέων μετεξέ- 2  
τεροι λέγουσι, οἱ μὴ βουλόμενοι σεμνοῦν τὰ περὶ Κῦρον, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἐόντα λέγειν λόγον, κατὰ ταῦτα γράψω· ἐπιστά-  
μενος περὶ Κύρου καὶ τριφασίας ἄλλας λόγων ὁδοὺς φῆναι. Ἀσσυρίων ἀρχόντων τῆς ἄνω Ἀσίης ἐπ' ἕτεα εἴκοσι καὶ 3  
πεντακόσια, πρῶτοι ἀπ' αὐτῶν Μῆδοι ἤρξαντο ἀπίστασθαι· καί κως οὗτοι περὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας μαχεσάμενοι τοῖσι Ἀσσυ-  
ρίοισι ἐγένοντο ἄνδρες ἀγαθοί· καὶ ἀπώσάμενοι τὴν δου-  
λοσύνην ἠλευθερώθησαν. μετὰ δὲ τούτους καὶ τὰ ἄλλα 4  
ἔθνεα ἐποίησε τῶντ' οὗτοι Μήδοισι. Ἐόντων δὲ αὐτονόμων πάντων ἀνὰ τὴν ἡπειρον, ὧδε αὐτὶς ἐς τυραννίδας περιῆλθον.  
96 Ἀνὴρ ἐν τοῖσι Μήδοισι ἐγένετο σοφὸς, τῷ οὖνομα ἦν Δηϊόκης. 1  
παῖς δὲ ἦν Φραόρτεω. οὗτος ὁ Δηϊόκης, ἐρασθεὶς τυραννίδος, ἐποίησε τοιάδε. Κατοικημένων τῶν Μήδων κατὰ κώμας, ἐν 2  
τῇ ἐωυτοῦ ἐὼν καὶ πρότερον δόκιμος, καὶ μᾶλλον τι καὶ

at the end of ch. 130) gives the story of Cyrus with an account of the rise of the Median and Persian empires. To this however is appended an account of Persian customs (chs. 131—140), corresponding to the digression on Lydian *ἔργα* and *νόμοι* (chs. 93, 94); and afterwards the subjugation of the Asiatic Greeks by Harpagus (chs. 141—176) and the campaigns of Cyrus against the Assyrians and the Massagetae (177—216) are tacked on to the present *λόγος* (cf. *ἀνείμι ἐπὶ τὸν πρότερον λόγον*, 140. 5). Thus the programme laid down here (*τόν τε Κῦρον... Ἀσίης*) is completely carried out.

*ἡγήσαντο*] 13. 3, note.

§ 2. *τριφασίας ἄλλας*] The commentators identify these with the accounts given by Ctesias (*Pers. Fr.* 635), Xenophon (*Cyrop.*), and Aeschylus (*Pers.* 770).

*φῆναι*] Cf. *ἐφαυε τὸν ἐόντα λόγον*, 116. 7.

§ 3. *Ἀσσυρίων*] i. e. the inhabitants of Nineveh (102. 4: cf. 178. 2, n.).

*ἕτεα εἴκοσι καὶ π.*] B.C. 1230—

711, Clinton.

*πρῶτοι... ἤρξαντο*] Cf. 2. 1, n. *ἐγένοντο*] 'Proved themselves.' οὐ μὲν τι κασιγνήτοιο χερείων | γίγνεται, *ὅς κεν ἐταῖρος ἐὼν πεπνυμένα εἶδῃ*, Hom. *Od.* VIII. 585. κως implies that Hdt. had no trustworthy account of the details.

§ 4. *Ἐόντων... περιῆλθον*] For the gen. abs., see 3. 3. The words *αὐτονόμων* and *τυραννίδας* are used from the point of view of a Greek. Cf. II. 147. 2, n.

CH. 96. § 1. *Δηϊόκης*] 'The story of D. describes what may be called the despot's progress, first as candidate and afterwards as fully established.' Grote, *H. G.* II. 415 (III. 310). Two or three MSS. omit chs. 96—100 inclus., giving in their place a short summary of the facts contained in them.

§ 2. *κατὰ κώμας*] i. e. without any common political centre (cf. *ἐν πόλισμα*, 98. 4): a state of things quite opposed to Asiatic experience. Compare the state of Attica before Theseus, Thuc. II. 15. 2. See below, 170. 4, note.



προθυμότερον δικαιοσύνην ἐπιθέμενος ἤσκει· καὶ ταῦτα μέντοι, εἰσῆς ἀνομίης πολλῆς ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν Μηδικὴν, ἐποίεε | ἐπιστάμενος ὅτι τῷ δικαίῳ τὸ ἄδικον πολέμιόν ἐστι. οἱ δ' ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς κώμης Μῆδοι, ὁρῶντες αὐτοῦ τοὺς τρόπους, δικαστὴν μιν ἐωυτῶν αἰρέοντο. ὁ δὲ δὴ, οἷα μνεώμενος ἀρχὴν, ἰθύς τε καὶ δίκαιος ἦν. ποιέων τε ταῦτα ἔπαινον <sup>3</sup> εἶχε οὐκ ὀλίγον πρὸς τῶν πολιτέων, οὕτω ὥστε πυνθανόμενοι οἱ ἐν τῇσι ἄλλησι κώμησι ὡς Δηϊόκης εἶη ἀνὴρ μῦθος κατὰ τὸ ὀρθὸν δικάζων, πρότερον περιπίπτοντες ἀδίκοις γνώμησι, τότε ἐπεὶ τε ἤκουσαν, ἄσμενοι ἐφοίτεον παρὰ τὸν Δηϊόκεα καὶ αὐτοὶ δικασόμενοι· τέλος δὲ, οὐδενὶ <sup>1</sup> 97 ἄλλῳ ἐπετράποντο. Πλεῦνος δὲ αἰεὶ γινομένου τοῦ ἐπι- φοιτέοντος, οἷα πυνθανομένων τὰς δίκας ἀποβαίνειν κατὰ τὸ ἐόν, γνοὺς ὁ Δηϊόκης ἐς ἐωυτὸν πᾶν ἀνακείμενον, οὔτε κατίζειν ἔτι ἤθελε ἔνθα περ πρότερον προκατίζειν ἐδίκασε, οὔτ' ἔφη δικᾶν ἔτι. οὐ γάρ οἱ λυσιτελέειν, τῶν ἐωυτοῦ <sup>2</sup> ἐξημεληκότα, τοῖσι πέλας δι' ἡμέρης δικάζειν. εἰσῆς ὧν <sup>3</sup> ἀρπαγῆς καὶ ἀνομίης ἔτι πολλῶ μᾶλλον ἀνὰ τὰς κώμας ἢ πρότερον ἦν, συνελέχθησαν οἱ Μῆδοι ἐς τὴν αὐτὴν, καὶ ἐδίδοσαν σφίσι λόγον, λέγοντες περὶ τῶν κατηκόντων. ὡς δ' ἐγὼ <sup>4</sup> δοκέω μάλιστα ἔλεγον οἱ τοῦ Δηϊόκεω φίλοι. “Οὐ γὰρ δὴ,

**ἐπιθέμενος]** Supply δικαιοσύνη. A converse instance is φείσασθαι οἰκτῷ σώφρονι λαβόντας, Thuc. III. 59. 1, where οἰκτον has to be supplied after λαβόντας.

**εἰσῆς]** ‘Though there was etc., and though he knew that the just has the unjust for an enemy.’

**§ 3. πολιτέων]** So all the MSS. (Schw.). Cf. II. 3. 3, n.

**περιπίπτοντες]** The unjust judgments are viewed as misfortunes: cf. οὗτοι μὲν νυν τοιαύτησι περιέπιπτον τύχησι, VI. 16. 2 (St.).

**δικασόμενοι]** Middle voice: ‘to get judgment given.’

CH. 97. § 1. **τοῦ ἐπιφοιτ.]** The (collective) neut. sing. = the masc. plur. Cf. τὸ ἀνθρώπινον, 86. 6; τοῦ ἀποθανόντος, 140. 1; εἰ τούτους τε καὶ τὸ ὑπομένον ἐν Σπάρτῃ καταστρέψαι, VII. 209. 6.

**ἀνακείμενον]** ‘Referred to himself as judge,’ (cf. III. 31. 4):—used as the perfect passive of ἀνατίθημι (14. 3, n). Compare the use of ἀνατίθημι, II. 134. 1; 135. 3: = ‘refer to (as author),’ ‘ascribe to (as possessor).’

**προκατίζων]** See 14. 5, n.

**δικᾶν]** The future: = δικάσειν. So ἀποδοκιμᾶ, 199. 8.

**§ 3. σφίσι]** = ἐωυτοῖς (3. 3. n.), = ἀλλήλοις.

**τῶν κατηκόντων]** Lit. ‘that which came home to them—applied to them,’ and so (= τῶν κατεστέων) ‘their present circumstances.’ VII. 104. 1, ἔλεγον τὰ κατήκοντα Σπαρτιήτησι, ‘I told you the state of the case with the Spartans.’ This use is unattic.

**§ 4. μάλιστα]** Not ‘were foremost in speaking,’ but ‘spoke to



τρόπῳ τῷ παρεόντι χρεώμενοι, δυνατοί εἰμεν οἰκέειν τὴν  
 χώραν· φέρε στήσωμεν ἡμέων αὐτῶν βασιλέα· καὶ οὕτω ἢ  
 τε χώρα εὐνομήσεται, καὶ αὐτοὶ πρὸς ἔργα τρεψόμεθα, οὐδὲ  
 ὑπ' ἀνομίης ἀνάστατοι ἐσόμεθα." Ταῦτά κη λέγοντες πεί-  
 98 θοῦσι ἐωντοὺς βασιλεύεσθαι. Αὐτίκα δὲ προβαλλομένων 1  
 ὃν τινα στήσονται βασιλέα, ὁ Δηϊόκης ἦν πολλὸς ὑπὸ  
 παντὸς ἀνδρὸς καὶ προβαλλόμενος καὶ αἰνεόμενος, ἐς ὃ  
 τοῦτον καταινέουσι βασιλέα σφίσι εἶναι. Ὁ δ' ἐκέλευε 2  
 αὐτοὺς οἰκία τε ἐωντῷ ἄξια τῆς βασιληΐης οἰκοδομῆσαι, καὶ  
 κρατῦναι αὐτὸν δορυφόροις. ποιεῦσι δὲ ταῦτα οἱ Μῆδοι. 3  
 οἰκοδομέουσιν τε γὰρ αὐτῷ οἰκία μεγάλα τε καὶ ἰσχυρὰ, ἵνα  
 αὐτὸς ἔφρασε τῆς χώρας, καὶ δορυφόρους αὐτῷ ἐπιτρέπουσι  
 ἐκ πάντων Μήδων καταλέξασθαι. Ὁ δὲ, ὥς ἔσχε τὴν ἀρχήν, 4  
 τοὺς Μήδους ἠνάγκασε ἐν πόλιν ποιήσασθαι, καὶ τοῦτο  
 περιστέλλοντας, τῶν ἄλλων ἔσσοι ἐπιμέλεσθαι. πειθομένῳ 5  
 δὲ καὶ ταῦτα τῶν Μήδων, οἰκοδομέει τείχεα μεγάλα τε καὶ  
 καρτερά, ταῦτα τὰ νῦν Ἀγβάτανα κέκληται, ἕτερον ἐτέρῳ  
 κύκλῳ ἐνεσπεῶτα. μεμηχάνηται δὲ οὕτω τοῦτο τὸ τεῖχος, 6  
 ὥστε ὁ ἕτερος τοῦ ἐτέρου κύκλος τοῖσι προμαχεῶσι μούνοισι

this effect,'—this more than any-  
 thing else expressed ~~their~~ view.  
 μάλιστα, in this sense of *ferre*, usually  
 has κη (κου) joined with it by Hdt.  
 Here κη comes later.

γάρ] See 8. 1, n.

ἡμέων αὐτῶν] Partitive gen.

ἔργα] Larcher restricts this to  
 agricultural pursuits (36. 1, n.), but  
 cf. Hom. *Il.* XXIII. 55, where  
 Achilles bids Agamemnon pile a  
 heap of wood that thus the body of  
 Patroclus may be burned, λαοὶ δ'  
 ἐπὶ ἔργα τράπωνται. Prob. here,  
 as there, ἔργα has a perfectly general  
 sense. Cf. II. 129. 1.

κη] (=μάλιστα, above) implies  
 that the speech is imaginary.

CH. 98. § 1. πολλός] 'Fre-  
 quens ab unoquoque viro propone-  
 batur et laudabatur.' Bähr. So  
 πλείστος, 120. 5; πανταῖος, IX. 109.

4. 8] 'And at last:' 158. 3, note.

§ 2. αὐτὸν] (not ἐωντόν) because

αὐτοὺς is the subject of κρατῦναι (see  
 note on αὐτῷ, 86. 6).

§ 5. ταῦτα τὰ νῦν] 'Those, I  
 mean, which.' ταῦτα is added as  
 an afterthought, and so there is no  
 need of an article with τείχεα.

Ἀγβάτανα] In the Behistun In-  
 scription (125. 5, n.) the word is  
 Hagmatána. 'In the Greek poets  
 the last three syllables are short, yet  
 there cannot be a doubt that the  
 natives called the city Hagmatán.'  
 Rawlinson.

ἕτερον] Agrees with κύκλον under-  
 stood, the part being put in apposi-  
 tion with the whole (τείχεα). See  
 II. 41. 4, note. For the collocation,  
 cf. ἀπ' ἄλλου ἐπ' ἄλλο ἰὼν ἔθνος, 102.  
 3; 'sordidus a tenui victu distabit,'  
 Hor. *Sat.* II. 2. 53 (St.). The same  
 idiom is involved in the phrase ἐναν-  
 τίην γνώμη, 207. 1.

§ 6. τεῖχος] 'Stronghold,' thus  
 including all the τείχεα mentioned  
 above. Cf. 80. 8; II. 118. 3.

ἔστι ὑψηλότερος. τὸ μὲν κου τι καὶ τὸ χωρίον σύμμαχέει, 7  
 κολωνὸς ἔον, ὥστε τοιοῦτο εἶναι· τὸ δὲ καὶ μᾶλλον τι ἐπε-  
 τηδεύθη, κύκλων ἑόντων τῶν συναπάντων ἑπτά· ἐν δὲ τῷ  
 τελευταίῳ τὰ βασιλῆϊα ἔνεστι καὶ οἱ θησαυροί. τὸ δὲ αὐτῶν 8  
 μέγιστόν ἐστι τείχος κατὰ τὸν Ἀθηνέων κύκλον μάλιστα κη  
 τὸ μέγαθος. τοῦ μὲν δὴ πρώτου κύκλου οἱ προμαχεῶνές  
 εἰσι λευκοί, τοῦ δὲ δευτέρου μέλανες, τρίτου δὲ κύκλου  
 φοινίκεοι, τετάρτου δὲ κυάνεοι, πέμπτου δὲ σανδαράκινοι.  
 οὕτω πάντων τῶν κύκλων οἱ προμαχεῶνες ἡνθισμένοι εἰσὶ 9  
 φαρμάκοισι. δύο δὲ οἱ τελευταῖοι εἰσι ὁ μὲν καταργυρωμέ-  
 νους, ὁ δὲ κατακεχρυσωμένους ἔχων τοὺς προμαχεῶνας.  
 99 Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ὁ Δηϊόκης ἐωυτῷ τε ἐτείχεε καὶ περὶ τὰ 1

§ 7. τὸ μὲν κου τι] 'κου has the force of an opt. with ἔον, i. e. it implies a mere conjecture on the part of Hdt.' St.

ἔον] More usually the participle of εἰμί is put in construction with the predicate: e.g. 68. 4.

μᾶλλέν τι] 'To a still (καί) greater extent' (cf. 114. 4; 117. 1); i. e. art has done even more than nature. Schw. suggests that τι may go with τὸ δέ, so as to answer to τὸ μὲν τι above, but the order is against this.

κύκλων ἑόντων κ.τ.λ.] 'Since there are seven,' &c. The meaning seems to be that the arrangement of so many walls in this way implied considerable skill.

θησαυροί] 'Treasure-houses,' as at 14. 4. 'Hdt. prob. obtained his information from the Medes he met with at Babylon.' See *Dict. Geogr. Ecclatana*.

§ 8. τὸ δὲ αὐτῶν μέγ.] The partitive genitive inserted between article and subst. See 165. 1, n.

κατὰ] 'About the same in size as:' lit. 'after the standard of:' cf. κατὰ Μιθριδάτην, ch. 121. ὁ κύκλος was the regular phrase for the ring-wall at Athens (Thuc. II. 13. 8). In the oracle given by Hdt., VII. 140. 2, Athens is called πόλις τροχοειδής. The fortified portion of

the κύκλος was 43 stadia in length (Thuc. I. c.): the remainder acc. to the Scholiast 17: total 60 stadia.

λευκοί] 'The seven colours here mentioned are precisely those employed by the Orientals to denote the seven great heavenly bodies, Saturn being black, Jupiter orange, Mars scarlet, the sun golden, Venus white, Mercury azure, and the moon green,—a hue which is applied by the Orientals to silver.' Rawlinson. Compare the myth (also of Eastern origin) in Plato's *Rep.* (x. 616 c.) where we have the motions of the heavenly bodies represented by eight (i. e. the earth is included) concentric rings, with rims rising in height from the circumference to the centre, —κύκλους ἄνωθεν τὰ χεῖλη φαίνοντας. The colours however are much modified. Jupiter is a bright, and Mercury a dull, white; Saturn and Venus are ξανθότερα ἐκείνων, and Mars is ὑπέρυθρον.

§ 9. φαρμάκοισι] 'Assyrio fucatur lana veneno,' Virg. *Georg.* II. 465.

δύο δὲ οἱ τελ.] 'Two, the last' = 'the two last.' Cf. δύο τὰ μέγιστα, VII. 47. 4; πέντε τῶν δοκίμων, 'the five chief,' VII. 129. 3.

καταργυρωμένους] 'Silvered over.' So κατακηροῦν, 140. 2; καταχαλοῦν, VI. 50. 4.

έωντοῦ οἰκία, τὸν δὲ ἄλλον δῆμον περίξ ἐκέλευε τὸ τεῖχος οἰκέειν. οἰκοδομηθέντων δὲ πάντων, κόσμον τόνδε Δηϊόκης 2  
 πρῶτός ἐστι ὁ καταστησάμενος· μήτε ἐσιέναι παρὰ βασιλέα  
 μηδένα, δι' ἀγγέλων δὲ πάντα χρέεσθαι, ὁρᾶσθαι τε βασιλέα  
 ὑπὸ μηδενός· πρὸς τε τούτοις ἔτι γελᾶν τε καὶ πτύειν  
 ἀντίον καὶ ἅπασιν εἶναι τοῦτό γε αἰσχρόν. Ταῦτα δὲ περὶ 3  
 έωντὸν ἐσέμνυνε τῶνδε εἵνεκεν, ὅπως ἂν μὴ ὀρέοντες οἱ  
 ὁμήλικες, εἶντες σύντροφοί τε ἐκείνῳ, καὶ οἰκίης οὐ φλαυ-  
 ροτέρης, οὐδὲ ἐς ἀνδραγαθήν λειπόμενοι, λυπεοῖατο καὶ  
 ἐπιβουλεύοιεν, ἀλλ' ἑτεροῖός σφι δοκέοι εἶναι μὴ ὀρέουσι.  
 100 Ἐπεὶ τε δὲ ταῦτα διεκόσμησε καὶ ἐκράτυνε έωντὸν τῇ 1  
 τυραννίδι, ἣν τὸ δίκαιον φυλάσσων χαλεπός· καὶ τὰς τε  
 δίκας γράφοντες εἴσω παρ' ἐκείνον ἐσπέμπεσκον· καὶ ἐκεῖνος  
 διακρίνων τὰς ἐσφερομένας, ἐκπέμπεσκε. ταῦτα μὲν κατὰ 2  
 τὰς δίκας ἐποίηε· τάδε δὲ ἄλλα ἐκεκοσμέατό οἱ εἴ τινα

CH. 99. § 2. κόσμον] 'Etiquette.' Krüg. For τόνδε, see 9. 2, note.

μήτε...τε] See 63. 3. We may compare the ceremonialism of the Siamese court at the present day.

χρέεσθαι] 'Consult' (47. 3, n.). Bähr takes πάντα as the masc. sing. (= ἕκαστον). But in this sense Hdt. generally uses πᾶς τις, e.g. 50. 2; III. 79. 1, or πᾶς ἀνὴρ, e.g. 98. 1; II. 95. 3. (At VII. 197. 3, στέμμασι πᾶς πυκασθεῖς, prob. πᾶς = totus.) It is better therefore here to take πάντα as the neut. plur. in an adverbial sense (155. 3), and to supply τινά from μηδένα as the subject of χρέεσθαι. 'After ἀντίον prob. τινός not βασιλέος is to be supplied: cf. 133. 4.' Krüg. This explanation is confirmed by καὶ ἅπασιν = (not merely for the ἀγγελοι in the king's presence but) also for all. τοῦτό γε is added pleonastically for the sake of emphasis (II. 68. 5, n.).

§ 3. ἐσέμνυνε] 'Habitū se augustiorem fecit' (of Romulus), Livy, I. 8. 1 (St.). 'Hedged himself round with this state.'

ὅπως ἂν] 75. 5, note.

CH. 100. § 1. τῇ τυραννίδι] 'For

his despotism.' Strictly these words only belong to διεκόσμησε. Cf. 59. 1 (St.).

γράφοντες] 'That the Medes should be familiar with writing before 700 B. C. is nothing wonderful; but that a Greek historian should mention the use of letters as an ordinary matter is worthy of remark.' Clinton. Prob. Hdt. uses the word here simply because δ. γράφειν was the regular (Athenian) phrase for bringing an action (Bähr).

ἐσπέμπεσκον] Hdt. rarely omits the syllabic augment except (1) in the pluperf., e.g. δεδούλωτο, 94. 9 (this is not uncommon in Attic), and (2) in the imperf. and 2nd aor., when, as here, the form in σκον is used: cf. λάβεσκε, IV. 78. 5; φεύγεσκον, VII. 211. 3; also 19. 1, note.

§ 2. ἐκεκοσμέατο] The plural verb. after a neut. subst. is not uncommon in Hdt. (cf. 139. 2; II. 138. 1; III. 88. 4; al.). Possibly some instances may be explained by supposing a sort of personification (see II. 96. 4, note), and others by emphasizing the plurality of the parts (I. 139. 2, n.). But other cases

πυνθάνοιτο ὑβρίζοντα, τοῦτον ὅκως μεταπέμψαιτο, κατ' ἀξίην ἐκάστου ἀδικήματος ἐδικαίεν· καὶ οἱ κατάσκοποί τε καὶ κατήκοοι ἦσαν ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν χώραν τῆς ἡρχε.

- 101 Δηϊόκης μὲν νυν τὸ Μηδικὸν ἔθνος συνέστρεψε μῦνον, καὶ τούτου ἦρξε. ἔστι δὲ Μήδων τοσάδε γένηα, Βουσαί, Παρητακηνοὶ, Στρούχατες, Ἀριζαντοὶ, Βοῦδιοι, Μάγοι. γέ-  
102 νεα μὲν δὴ Μήδων ἐστὶ τοσάδε. Δηϊόκεω δὲ παῖς γίνεται 1 Φραόρτης, ὃς, τελευτήσαντος Δηϊόκεω, βασιλεύσαντος τρία καὶ πεντήκοντα ἔτεα, παρεδέξατο τὴν ἀρχήν. παραδεξά- 2 μενος δὲ οὐκ ἀπεχρᾶτο μύνων ἄρχειν τῶν Μήδων· ἀλλὰ στρατευσάμενος ἐπὶ τοὺς Πέρσας, πρώτοισί τε τούτοις 3 ἐπεθήκατο, καὶ πρώτους Μήδων ὑπηκόους ἐποίησε. μετὰ 3 δὲ ἔχων δύο ταῦτα ἔθνηα, καὶ ἀμφότερα ἰσχυρὰ, κατεστρέφετο τὴν Ἀσίην, ἀπ' ἄλλου ἐπ' ἄλλο ἰὼν ἔθνος. ἐς ὃ 4 στρατευσάμενος ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀσσυρίους, καὶ Ἀσσυρίων τούτους οἱ Νῖνον εἶχον καὶ ἦρχον πρότερον πάντων, τότε δὲ ἦσαν μεμουνωμένοι μὲν συμμάχων, ἢτε ἀπεστεώτων, ἄλλως μέν- 5 τοι ἐωυτῶν εὖ ἤκοντες· ἐπὶ τούτους δὴ στρατευσάμενος ὁ Φραόρτης αὐτός τε διεφθάρη, ἄρξας δύο καὶ εἴκοσι ἔτεα, καὶ ὁ στρατὸς αὐτοῦ ὁ πολλός.
- 103 Φραόρτεω δὲ τελευτήσαντος, ἐξεδέξατο Κναξάρης ὁ 1 Φραόρτεω τοῦ Δηϊόκεω παῖς. οὗτος λέγεται πολλὸν ἔτι 2

remain (e. g. where, as at II. 138. 1, both sing. and plur. verbs are used of the same subject), which no more admit of these elaborate explanations, than do the instances of this idiom in Homer.

ὅκως μεταπέμψαιτο] See note, 17. 4.

καὶ οἱ] οἱ is the dative of the pronoun: cf. 103. 5.

κατάσκοποι] See note, 114. 2.

CH. 101. συνέστρεψε] This = ἠνάγκασε ἐν πόλιν ποιήσασθαι, 98. 4; hitherto the different γένηα had been under semi-independent chieftains. The second τοσάδε refers to what precedes, cf. τὰδε, 117. 4; ὧδε, 126. 7; τοιῶδε, 180. 1. This use is esp. common, when the same word is also used in the same sentence to

refer to what follows. Conversely we find οὗτος (τοιούτος) of what follows: 125. 1; 178. 2, etc.

CH. 102. § 1. παρεδέξατο] B.C. 656, Clinton: 658, Grote, who places the commencement of Median history at this point. Ph. was named after his grandfather (96. 1).

§ 4. καὶ Ἀσσυρίων] καὶ has an explanatory or restrictive force: 'those Assyrians, I mean, who.' The name Ἀσσύριοι is applied by Hdt. to the Babylonians as well (178. 1), who were on friendly terms with the Medes (74. 5).

ἐωυτῶν] 'At home,' as opposed to their loss of foreign power.

εὖ ἤκοντες] See 30. 8, n.

CH. 103. § 1. Κναξάρης] B.C. 636—595. Grote.

γενέσθαι ἀλκιμώτερος τῶν προγόνων· καὶ πρῶτός τε ἐλόχισε  
κατὰ τέλεα τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ, καὶ πρῶτος διέταξε χωρὶς  
ἐκάστους εἶναι, τοὺς τε αἰχμοφόρους καὶ τοὺς τοξοφόρους  
καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας· πρὸ τοῦ δὲ ἀναμῖξ ἦν πάντα ὁμοίως  
ἀναπεφυρμένα. Οὗτος ὁ τοῖσι Λυδοῖσί ἐστι μαχεσάμενος, 3  
ὅτε νύξ ἢ ἡμέρη ἐγένετό σφι μαχομένοισι, καὶ ὁ τὴν Ἄλυσος  
ποταμοῦ ἄνω Ἀσίην πᾶσαν συστήσας ἑωυτῷ. Συλλέξας δὲ 4  
τοὺς ὑπ' ἑωυτῷ ἀρχομένους πάντας, ἐστρατεύετο ἐπὶ τὴν  
Νῖνον, τιμωρέων τε τῷ πατρὶ, καὶ τὴν πόλιν ταύτην θέλων  
ἐξελεῖν. καὶ οἱ, ὥς· συμβαλὼν ἐνίκησε τοὺς Ἀσσυρίους, 5  
περικατημένῳ τὴν Νῖνον, ἐπῆλθε Σκυθέων στρατὸς μέγας·  
ἦγε δὲ αὐτοὺς βασιλεὺς ὁ Σκυθέων Μαδύης, Πρωτοθύεω  
παῖς· οἱ ἐσέβαλον μὲν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην, Κιμμερίους ἐκβα-  
λόντες ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης, τούτοις δὲ ἐπισπόμενοι φεύγουσι,  
104 οὕτω ἐς τὴν Μηδικὴν χώραν ἀπίκοντο. Ἔστι δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς 1  
λίμνης τῆς Μαιήτιδος ἐπὶ Φᾶσιν ποταμὸν καὶ ἐς Κόλχους  
τριάκοντα ἡμερέων εὐζώνῳ ὁδός. ἐκ δὲ τῆς Κολχίδος οὐ 2  
πολλὸν ὑπερβῆναι ἐς τὴν Μηδικὴν, ἀλλὰ ἐν τῷ διὰ μέσου  
ἔθνος αὐτῶν ἐστὶ, Σάσπειρες· τοῦτο δὲ παραμειβομένοις

§ 2. ἐλόχισε κατὰ τ.] 'Set them in companies, by troops.' The λόχος in its technical sense (e.g. IX. 53. 2) was a smaller and prob. a more definite division of an army than the τέλος.

§ 3. ὅτε νύξ κ.τ.λ.] See 74. 2. ἄνω] i.e. to the east of: cf. 130. 1, where ἄνω precedes its case.

Ἀσίην πᾶσαν] Used without any very definite meaning (cf. 104. 4; 130. 4). Strictly speaking, the phrase would include the Ἀράβιοι and the Ἰνδοί (IV. 39, 40) who were independent in the time of Cambyses and Darius (III. 7. 2; IV. 44. 3). Cf. τῆς Ἀσίης τὰ πολλὰ ὑπὸ Δαρείου ἐξευρέθη, IV. 44. 1.

συστήσας ἐ.] This seems to imply a league with C. as president.

§ 4. τὴν Νῖνον] Its fem. gender serves to distinguish it from the mythical hero Ninus (7. 3: cf. 'conveniunt ad busta Νίνι,' Ov. Met. VIII. 88). The names of cities and coun-

tries in -ος, -ου are generally feminine on the analogy of νῆσος &c., but where there is no analogy to justify the fem., the genders follow the termination, e.g. τὰ Λεῦκτρα, τὸ Ἄργος, ὁ Σελινοῦς.

§ 5. Κιμμερίους] See 6. 4; 15. 2; IV. 11. 1.

οὕτω] simply repeats ἐπισπόμενοι. Cf. II. 84. 4.

CH. 104. § 1. Μαιήτιδος] We have Μαιῶτις, IV. 3. 2. The position of the Palus Maeotis (mod. Sea of Azov) in Hdt.'s geography is described, IV. 99—101: that of the Phasis (mod. Rion), IV. 37, 45, 86.

τριάκοντα] The distance between the two is but little more than the distance called a five days' journey at 72. 3, but the difficulties of the route would be much greater.

§ 2. ὑπερβῆναι] Prob. implies more than the mere crossing of the borders: ἡ Μηδικὴ χώρα πρὸς Σάσπειρων ὁρεινὴ ἐστὶ κάρτα, 110. 3.

εἶναι ἐν τῇ Μηδικῇ. οὐ μέντοι οἷ γε Σκύθαι ταύτῃ ἐσέ- 3  
 βαλον, ἀλλὰ τὴν κατύπερθε ὁδὸν πολλῶ μακροτέραν ἐκ-  
 τραπόμενοι, ἐν δεξιῇ ἔχοντες τὸ Καυκάσιον οὖρος. ἐνθαῦτα 4  
 οἱ μὲν Μῆδοι συμβαλόντες τοῖσι Σκύθησι καὶ ἐσσωθέντες  
 τῇ μάχῃ, τῆς ἀρχῆς κατελύθησαν· οἱ δὲ Σκύθαι τὴν  
 105 Ἀσίην πᾶσαν ἐπέσχον. Ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ἦϊσαν ἐπ' Αἴγυπ- 1  
 τον· καὶ ἐπεὶ τε ἐγένοντο ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ Συρίῃ, Ψαμ-  
 μήτιχός σφεας Αἰγύπτου βασιλεὺς ἀντιάσας δώροισί τε  
 καὶ λιτῇσι ἀποτρέπει τὸ προσωτέρω μὴ πορεύεσθαι. οἱ 2  
 δὲ, ἐπεὶ τε ἀναχωρέοντες ὀπίσω, ἐγένοντο τῆς Συρίας ἐν  
 Ἀσκάλῳ πόλι, τῶν πλεόνων Σκυθέων παρεξελθόντων  
 ἀσινέων, ὀλίγοι τινὲς αὐτῶν ὑπολειφθέντες ἐσύλησαν τῆς  
 Οὐρανίης Ἀφροδίτης τὸ ἱρόν. ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ἱρόν, ὡς 3  
 ἐγὼ πυνθανόμενος εὕρισκω, πάντων ἀρχαιότατον ἱρῶν ὅσα

εἶναι] Supply *ἔστι* (= *ἔξεστι*) from  
 οὐ πολλόν (*ἔστι*) above (Kr.). Or οὐ  
 πολλόν (*ἔστι*) = *ρήϊδιόν ἔστι*, and this  
 notion governs εἶναι (St.).

§ 3. τὴν κατύπερθε ὁδόν] Hdt.  
 seems to mean that the Cimmerians  
 went along the eastern shore of the  
 Black Sea (to the west of Mount  
 Caucasus), and so passed into Asia  
 Minor through Colchis, while the  
 Scythians followed the more circui-  
 tuous route along the shore of the  
 Caspian, to the east of Mount Cau-  
 casus (to the east of the Caspian  
 acc. to Stein), and further inland  
 (κατύπερθε) from the Black Sea: cf.  
*ἐς μεσόγαιαν τῆς ὁδοῦ τραφθέντες*,  
 IV. 12. 4. But there are great diffi-  
 culties, for (1) the eastern shore of  
 the Black Sea is impracticable, and  
 hence Niebuhr suggests that the  
 Cimmerians entered Asia Minor by  
 the western shore, (2) the pursuit is  
 in itself improbable after the aban-  
 donment of the territory, and (3) the  
 mistake in the route (*ἀμαρτόντες τῆς*  
*ὁδοῦ*, IV. 12. 3) still more so. Grote,  
*H. G.* II. 430 (III. 335). *ὁδόν* is a  
 quasi-cognate accus. as if the simple  
 verb *τραπέσθαι* had been used. Cf.  
*ἀπερέοντα ῥῆσιν*, 152. 4.

ἐπέσχον] 'Spread over,' like

*ἐπτά δ' ἐπέσχε πέλεθρα*, Hom. *Il.*  
 XXI. 407.

CH. 105. § 1. Ψαμμήτιχος] He  
 may have been besieging Azotus at  
 the time (II. 157. 1), but *ἀντιάσας*  
 is rather against this, since Ascalon  
 is south of Azotus.

τὸ προσωτέρω] So we have τὸ  
*πρόσω* (5. 5), but τὰ *προσωτάτω*, on  
 the analogy of τὸ *μᾶλλον*, τὰ *μάλι-*  
*στα*. With the form *προσωτέρω*, cf.  
*θειοτέρως* (122. 3, n.).

§ 2. ἀσινέων] Here probably in  
 an active sense.

τῆς Οὐραν. Ἀφρ.] Hdt. calls by  
 this name a deity worshipped under  
 various titles in the East. Cf. 131.  
 3; IV. 59. 4. In the same sense  
 we have τὴν οὐρανίην by itself, III.  
 8. 2. In Plato's *Sympos.* (180 d)  
 two Aphrodites are mentioned, 'the  
 elder one, born of no mother, daugh-  
 ter of heaven, to whom therefore we  
 give the title of 'heavenly' (οὐρα-  
 νίην); the younger one, daughter of  
 Zeus and Dione' &c. The Muse  
*Urania* is first mentioned by Hesiod,  
*Theog.* 78.

§ 3. πυνθανόμενος] Hdt. prob-  
 went to Ascalon to enquire, just as  
 he went to Tyre for a similar object  
 (II. 44. 1). St.

ταύτης τῆς θεοῦ. καὶ γὰρ τὸ ἐν Κύπρῳ ἱρὸν ἐνθεῦτεν 4  
 ἐγένετο, ὡς αὐτοὶ λέγουσι Κύπριοι, καὶ τὸ ἐν Κυθήροισι  
 Φοίνικες εἰσι οἱ ἰδρυσάμενοι, ἐκ ταύτης τῆς Συρίας ἔοντες.  
 τοῖσι δὲ τῶν Σκυθέων συλήσασι τὸ ἱρὸν τὸ ἐν Ἀσκάλῳ, 5  
 καὶ τοῖσι τούτων αἰεὶ ἐκγόνοισι, ἐνέσκηψε ἡ θεὸς θήλεαν  
 νοῦσον ὥστε ἅμα λέγουσί τε οἱ Σκύθαι διὰ τοῦτό σφεας  
 νοσέειν, καὶ ὁρᾶν παρ' ἐωυτοῖσι τοὺς ἀπικνεομένους ἐς τὴν  
 Σκυθικὴν χώραν ὡς διακέεται, τοὺς καλέουσι Ἐναρέας οἱ  
 106 Σκύθαι. Ἐπὶ μὲν νυν ὀκτὰ καὶ εἴκοσι ἔτεα ἦρχον τῆς 1  
 Ἀσίας οἱ Σκύθαι, καὶ τὰ πάντα σφι ὑπὸ τε ὕβριος καὶ  
 ὀλιγωρίας ἀνάστατα ἦν. χωρὶς μὲν γὰρ φόρων ἔπρησσον  
 παρ' ἐκάστων, τὸ ἐκάστοισι ἐπέβαλλον· χωρὶς δὲ τοῦ  
 φόρου ἥρπαζον περιελαύνοντες τοῦτο ὃ τι ἔχοιεν ἕκαστοι.  
 καὶ τούτων μὲν τοὺς πλεῦνας Κναξάρης τε καὶ Μῆδοι 2  
 ξεινίσαντες καὶ καταμεθύσαντες κατεφόνευσαν, καὶ οὕτω  
 ἀνεσώσαντο τὴν ἀρχὴν Μῆδοι, καὶ ἐπεκράτεον τῶν περ καὶ  
 πρότερον. καὶ τὴν τε Νῆνον εἶλον, (ὡς δὲ εἶλον, ἐν ἑτέροισι 3

§ 4. τὸ ἐν Κ. ἱρὸν] At Paphos. Tacitus gives a description of the image there (*Hist.* II. 3. 5).

ταύτης] Added to distinguish this Syria from the country of the Cappadocians (6. 1 : 72. 1).

§ 5. ἡ θεός] Some MSS. have ὁ θεός. See II. 133, 2, n.

θήλεαν v.] 'Smote them with disease, that they became women instead of men.' Hippocrates (contemp. with Hdt.) discusses the matter (*de Aer. Ag. et Loc.*, 22).

ἅμα] can hardly go with λέγουσι in the sense of 'concur in saying.' It must therefore couple the two clauses διὰ τοῦτό σφεας νοσέειν, and ὁρᾶν...ὡς διακέεται,—'state at one and the same time both the former cause and the present observed effects.' τε is out of its place.

τοὺς ἀπικν.] i.e. travellers who visit Scythia. Thus τοὺς ἀπ. is the subject of ὁρᾶν, and the nom. to διακέεται is οὗτοι, τοὺς καλέουσι κ.τ.λ.

Ἐναρέας] = ἀνδρογύνους, IV. 67. 3. Hippocrates translates it by ἀναδριέας.

CH. 106. § 1. σφι] 'Through them,' because ἀνάστατα ἦν is equivalent to a passive verb (St.).

χωρὶς μὲν γὰρ κ.τ.λ.] Hdt. means that the Scythians employed three modes of levying supplies:—(1) the regular tribute, φόρος, φόροι, (2) an extraordinary impost, ἔπρησσον κ.τ.λ., (3) irregular pillage, ἥρπαζον κ.τ.λ. With the repetition, cf. πρώτοις τε...καὶ πρώτους, 102. 2. Reiske proposed φόρον ('as tribute') for φόρων. Krüg. also omits τοῦ φόρου, so that χωρὶς μὲν—χ. δέ = *partim—partim*. Blakesley reads χωρὶς μὲν γὰρ φόρων (ἔπρησσον γὰρ ἐκάστων τὸ ἐκάστοισι ἐπιβάλλον) κ.τ.λ., but we should have expected ἐκάστους on this view (instead of ἐκάστων), as at III. 58. 4. There is no real reason for altering the text. Though Hdt. uses τὸ ἐπιβάλλον (IV. 115. 1), the transitive ἐπέβαλλον may be justified by ἐπεβλήθη ζημίη, VI. 93. 3; φυγὴν ἐπιβαλὼν, VII. 3. 1.

§ 3. καὶ τὴν τε Ν.] καὶ here seems to correspond to μὲν (τούτων μὲν, above): like Homer's κάρτιστοι



λόγοισι δηλώσω,) καὶ τοὺς Ἀσσυρίους ὑποχειρίους ἐποίησαντο, πλὴν τῆς Βαβυλωνίης μοίρης. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα 4 Κυναξάρης μὲν βασιλεύσας τεσσεράκοντα ἔτεα, σὺν τοῖσι Σκύθαι ἤρξαν, τελευτᾷ.

107 Ἐκδέκεται δὲ Ἀστυάγης, ὁ Κυναξάρεω παῖς, τὴν βασι- 1 λήτην. καὶ οἱ ἐγένετο θυγάτηρ, τῇ οὖνομα ἔθετο Μανδάνην. τὴν ἐδόκεε Ἀστυάγης ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ οὐρῆσαι τοσοῦτον, ὥστε 2 πλῆσαι μὲν τὴν ἑωυτοῦ πόλιν, ἐπικατακλύσαι δὲ καὶ τὴν Ἀσίην πᾶσαν. ὑπερθέμενος δὲ τῶν μάγων τοῖσι ὄνειροπό- 3 λοισι τὸ ἐνύπνιον, ἐφοβήθη, παρ' αὐτῶν αὐτὰ ἕκαστα μαθὼν. μετὰ δὲ τὴν Μανδάνην ταύτην, εὐῶσαν ἤδη ἀνδρὸς ὠραίην, 4 Μήδων μὲν τῶν ἑωυτοῦ ἀξίων οὐδενὶ διδοῖ γυναῖκα, δεδοικὼς τὴν ὄψιν· ὁ δὲ Πέρση διδοῖ, τῷ οὖνομα ἦν Καμβύσης, τὴν εὕρισκε οἰκίης μὲν ἑόντα ἀγαθῆς, τρόπου δὲ ἡσυχίου, πολλῶ

μὲν ἔσαν καὶ καρτίστοις ἐμάχοντο (Il. I. 267). So we have μὲν followed by ἀτάρ, Il. 92. 2; cf. ἡμεῖς μὲν... Ἐκτορ, ἀτάρ σὺ (Il. VI. 84).

ἔλιν] 606 B.C., Clinton.

ἐτέροισι λόγ.] An allusion to the Ἀσσύριοι λόγοι (184. 1, n.).

πλὴν τῆς Βαβ.] According to later authorities the Babylonians actually assisted the Medes at the siege. Cf. 74. 5.

§ 4. σὺν τοῖσι] = σὺν τούτοις τὰ, 'counting those during which.' For the fate of the Scythians after their retreat, see IV. 1—4.

CH. 107 § 1. Ἀστυάγης] 595 B.C. For the story of Cyrus, see Grote III. 157 (IV. 247). 'This only is historically true that the daughter of king Astyages of Media was married to Cambyses, a vassal prince, or some Persian of rank.' Niebuhr.

ἔθετο] So θεμένη, 113. 5. The middle voice, because the child is regarded as a part of the parent:—τὸ τέκνον ἕως ἂν ᾗ πηλίκον καὶ μὴ χωρισθῇ, ὥσπερ μέρος αὐτοῦ, Aristot., Eth. v. (6). 8.

§ 3. αὐτὰ ἕκαστα] Blakesley compares *Daniel*, II. 3, foll., where the king merely states that he has

had a dream and expects the soothsayers to tell him the details of it. On this view αὐτὰ ἕκαστα would = the exact incidents of the dream, one by one, and it would be possible to retain the MS. reading ὑποθέμενος,—having laid down the fact of the dream, as a *basis* on which they might employ their art. But it is prob. better to accept ὑπερθέμενος (cf. 108. 3) and understand by αὐτὰ ἕκαστα (= αὐθέκαστα), 'the plain truth' as opposed to the symbolism of the dream. Stein quotes καὶ ταῦτα μέντοι μηδὲν αἰνικτηρίως· ἀλλ' αὐθέκαστ' ἐκφραζε, Aesch. *Prom.* 950. For the use of the plur. without any thing definite to which it can refer, see 9. 1, note.

§ 4. ὁ δὲ Π.] For Πέρση δέ. This insertion of the pronoun with δέ is common in Hdt., esp. when the antecedent clause with μὲν is negative. Cf. 17. 4; 171. 2; 196. 4.

διδότ] Cf. ἰστᾶ (= ἰστησι) IV. 103. 3; τιθεῖ, I. 113. 2.

οἰκίης ἀγαθῆς] the Achaemenidae. Cf. 125. 5; 209. 3; Xerxes derives his descent from Achaemenes through Cyrus and the elder Cambyses, VII. 11. 3.

τρόπου] 'Turn of mind.'



108 ἐνέρθε ἄγων αὐτὸν μέσου ἀνδρὸς Μήδου. Συνοικεούσης δὲ 1  
 τῷ Καμβύσῃ τῆς Μανδάνης, ὃ Ἀστυάγης τῷ πρώτῳ ἔτεϊ  
 εἶδε ἄλλην ὄψιν. ἐδόκεε δὲ οἱ ἐκ τῶν αἰδοίων τῆς θυγατρὸς 2  
 ταύτης φῦναι ἄμπελον, τὴν δὲ ἄμπελον ἐπισχεῖν τὴν Ἀσίην  
 πᾶσαν. ἰδὼν δὲ τοῦτο καὶ ὑπερθέμενος τοῖσι ὀνειροπόλοισι, 3  
 μετεπέμψατο ἐκ τῶν Περσέων τὴν θυγατέρα ἐπίτεκα εὐῶσαν.  
 ἀπικομένην δὲ ἐφύλασσε, βουλόμενος τὸ γεννώμενον ἐξ αὐτῆς 4  
 διαφθεῖραι· ἐκ γάρ οἱ τῆς ὄψιος οἱ τῶν μάγων ὀνειροπόλοι  
 ἐσήμαινον, ὅτι μέλλοι ὃ τῆς θυγατρὸς αὐτοῦ γόνος βασιλεύ-  
 σειν ἀντὶ ἐκείνου. Ταῦτα δὴ ὦν φυλασσόμενος ὃ Ἀστυάγης, 5  
 ὡς ἐγένετο ὃ Κῦρος, καλέσας Ἄρπαγον, ἄνδρα οἰκῆϊον καὶ  
 πιστότατόν τε Μήδων καὶ πάντων ἐπίτροπον τῶν ἐωυτοῦ,  
 ἔλεγέ οἱ τοιάδε· “Ἄρπαγε, πρῆγμα τὸ ἂν τοι προσθέω, 6  
 μηδαμῶς παραχρήσῃ· μηδὲ ἐμέ τε παραβάλλῃ, καὶ ἄλλους  
 ἐλόμενος, ἐξ ὑστέρης σοι ἐωυτῷ περιπέσης. λάβε τὸν 7  
 Μανδάνῃ ἔτεκε παῖδα, φέρων δὲ ἐς σεωυτοῦ ἀπόκτεινον·  
 μετὰ δὲ θάψον τρόπῳ ὅτεω αὐτὸς βούλει.” Ὁ δὲ ἀμεί- 8

μέσου] Cf. μέσος πολίτης (Thuc. VI. 54. 2), which the Scholiast explains by οὔτε ἐπιφανῆς οὔτε ἄδοξος.

CH. 108. § 4. ἐκ γάρ οἱ] Cf. I. 4, n.

§ 5. ἐγένετο] ‘Was born.’ So 133. 1; II. 82. 1.

Ἄρπαγον] Cf. 80. 2; 162. 1.

οἰκῆϊον]. *Necessarium*, not *familiarum*. Cf. συγγενῆς ἐστὶν ὁ παῖς, 109. 3. Being a Mede, Harpagus could only be related to Cyrus through the daughter of Astyages (Larch.).

§ 6. παραχρήσῃ] ‘Treat by the way,’ ‘treat lightly.’ So παρακούσας ‘having heard by the way,’ ‘having chanced to hear,’ III. 129. 4. Cf. παροράω, πάρεργον. The accus. on the analogy of ἀμελέω, παροράω. Compare the dat. after νομίζειν on the analogy of χρῆσθαι, (II. 40. 4); and the gen. after πείθεσθαι on the analogy of ἀκούειν (I. 126. 6). Or the accus. πρῆγμα here may be explained by the attraction of the relative, τῷ

παραβάλλῃ] Cf. ὡς οὐδὲν πώποτε αὐτὸν ἐν ταῖς πρὸς βασιλέα διακονίαις παραβάλοιτο, Thuc. I. 133. In both passages the word has been rendered ‘deceive,’ but the more simple meaning ‘expose to risk’ (lit. ‘lay down as one’s stake, to match (para-) the opponent’s stake’) makes sufficiently good sense.

ἄλλους] i. e. Mandane and Cambyses: cf. 109. 4.

ἐξ ὑστέρης] Cf. ἐκ νέης, 60. 3; ἐκ τῆς ἰθιῆς II. 161. 6; τὴν ταχίστην, I. 24. 5. The existence of ταύτη, ἡ, πῇ &c. proves that this idiomatic use of the feminine was of very early origin. Here Schw. unnecessarily supplies ἀρχῆς.

σοι ἐωυτῷ] if right = σεωυτῷ. But there is some doubt about the reading. So at IV. 97. 6 some MSS. read τάδε λέγειν φαίη τις ἂν με ἐωυτοῦ ἐνεκεν, ‘for my own sake.’ The idiom is common ‘only in the plural: the instances in the singular are mostly uncertain readings.’ Jelf, G. G. 754 b.

βεται· “ὦ βασιλεῦ, οὔτε ἄλλοτὲ κω παρείδες ἀνδρὶ τῷδε  
 ἄχαρι οὐδὲν, φυλασσόμεθα δὲ ἐς σὲ καὶ ἐς τὸν μετέπειτα  
 χρόνον μηδὲν ἐξαμαρτεῖν. ἀλλ’ εἴ τοι φίλον τοῦτο οὕτω  
 109 γίνεσθαι, χρὴ δὴ τό γε ἐμὸν ὑπηρετέεσθαι ἐπιτηδέως.” Τού-  
 τοισι ἀμειψάμενος ὁ Ἄρπαγος, ὥς οἱ παρεδόθη τὸ παιδίον  
 κεκοσμημένον τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ, ἥϊε κλαίων ἐς τὰ οἰκία. παρ-  
 ελθὼν δὲ ἔφραζε τῇ ἐωυτοῦ γυναικὶ τὸν πάντα Ἀστυάγεος  
 ῥηθέντα λόγον. ἡ δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν λέγει· “Νῦν ὦν τί σοι ἐν  
 νόῳ ἐστὶ ποιέειν;” Ὁ δὲ ἀμείβεται· “Οὐκ ἦ ἐνετέλλετο  
 Ἀστυάγης· οὐδ’ εἰ παραφρονήσει τε καὶ μανεῖται κάκιον ἢ  
 νῦν μαίνεται, οὐ οἱ ἔγωγε προσθήσομαι τῇ γνώμῃ, οὐδὲ ἐς  
 φόνον τοιοῦτον ὑπηρετήσω. πολλῶν δὲ εἵνεκα οὐ φονεύσω  
 3 μιν· καὶ ὅτι αὐτῷ μοι συγγενὴς ἐστὶν ὁ παῖς, καὶ ὅτι  
 Ἀστυάγης μὲν ἐστὶ γέρων, καὶ ἄπαις ἔρσηνος γόνου. εἰ δὲ  
 4 ἐθελήσει, τούτου τελευτήσαντος, ἐς τὴν θυγατέρα ταύτην  
 ἀναβῆναι ἢ τυραννῆς, ἥς νῦν τὸν υἱὸν κτείνει δι’ ἐμεῦ, ἄλλο  
 τι ἢ λείπεται τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν ἐμοὶ κινδύνων ὁ μέγιστος; ἀλλὰ

§ 8. ἀνδρὶ τῷδε] Instead of ἐμοί, ‘with tragic pathos.’ St. For οὔτε—δέ, cf. τε—δέ, II. 126. 2, n.

τό γε ἐμὸν] It is right for me and mine (whatever others may do). VIII. 140. 3, ἦν μὴ τὸ ὑμέτερον (= ὑμεῖς) ἀντίον γένηται. δὴ marks the apodosis, = ‘then.’

CH. 109. § 1. τὴν ἐπὶ θαν.] So III. 119. 3, ἔδῃσε τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ. Constructions of this kind stand on a different footing from mere adverbial uses of the fem. (e. g. ἐξ ὑστέρης, 108. 6), and may fairly be explained by supposing the omission of some fem. subst. Here we may either supply ὁδόν on the analogy of τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ ἐξοδὸν ποιούμενοι, VII. 223. 3, or (more prob.) take a cogn. accus. (κύσμησιν) from the verb (Schw.). Cf. τὴν αὐτὴν ταύτην ἐσταλμένοι (sc. στολήν) VII. 62. 1; τὴν αὐτὴν ἐσκευασμένοι (sc. σκευήν) VII. 84. κεκοσμημένον is explained by III. 5; III. 5.

Ἀστυάγ.] The possessive gen. used instead of ὑπό or ἐξ. Cf. II. 18. 1.

§ 2. οὐ οἱ] Notice the Homeric hiatus, like οὐ οἱ δεικὲς (II. XV. 496), as if there were still a reminiscence of the digamma. The Ionic dialect takes no trouble to avoid a hiatus: e. g. it does not use the ν ἐφελκυστικόν.

§ 3. ἄπαις ἔρσ. γόνου] So V. 36. 3, ναυκράτεες τῆς θαλάσσης. Hom. Od. IV. 788, κείτ’ ἄρ’ ἄσιτος ἄπαστος ἐδήτυος ἠδὲ ποτήτος. Soph. O. T. 190, ἀχαλκος ἀσπίδων (St.).

§ 4. ἀναβῆναι] VII. 205. 2, ἐς Λιωνίδην ἀνέβαινε ἡ βασιλητῆ. ἀνα- prob. as in ἀναχωρέω (cf. ἡ βασιλητῆ ἀνεχώρησε ἐς τὸν παῖδα, VII. 4. 3), the kingly power being considered to return and commence afresh on the accession of a new monarch (7. 1, n.).

ἄλλο τι] ἄλλο τί, Bähr: but this would more naturally be written τί ἄλλο, as at Thuc. III. 39. 2. Properly the sentence ought to run: ἄλλο τι λείπεται... ἢ κινδύνων κ.τ.λ. But ἄλλο τι ἢ becomes a regular interrogative formula: = ποῦνε.

τοῦ μὲν ἀσφαλέος εἵνεκα ἐμοὶ δεῖ τοῦτον τελευτᾶν τὸν παῖδα·  
 δεῖ μὲν τοι τῶν τινὰ Ἀστυάγεος αὐτοῦ φονέα γενέσθαι, καὶ  
 110 μὴ τῶν ἐμῶν.” Ταῦτα εἶπε, καὶ αὐτίκα ἄγγελον ἔπεμπε ἐπὶ 1  
 τῶν βουκόλων τῶν Ἀστυάγεος, τὸν ἡπίστατο νομάς τε ἐπιτη-  
 δεωτάτας νέμοντα, καὶ οὔρεα θηριωδέστατα· τῷ οὔνομα ἦν  
 Μιτραδάτης, συνοίκεε δὲ τῇ ἐωντοῦ συνδούλῳ· οὔνομα δὲ τῇ  
 γυναικὶ ἦν τῇ συνοίκεε, Κυνὼ κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλήνων γλῶσσαν,  
 κατὰ δὲ τὴν Μηδικὴν Σπακῶ· τὴν γὰρ κῦνα καλέουσι σπάκα  
 Μῆδοι. αἱ δὲ ὑπώρεαί εἰσι τῶν οὐρέων ἔνθα τὰς νόμας τῶν 2  
 βοῶν εἶχε οὗτος δὴ ὁ βουκόλος, πρὸς βορέω τε ἀνέμου τῶν  
 Ἀγβατάνων, καὶ πρὸς τοῦ πόντου τοῦ Εὐξείνου. ταύτῃ μὲν 3  
 γὰρ ἡ Μηδικὴ χώρα πρὸς Σασπείρων ὀρεινὴ ἐστὶ κάρτα καὶ  
 ὑψηλὴ τε καὶ ἰδησι συνηρεφής. ἡ δὲ ἄλλη Μηδικὴ χώρα  
 ἐστὶ πᾶσα ἄπεδος. ἐπεὶ ὦν ὁ βουκόλος σπουδῇ πολλῇ 4  
 καλεόμενος ἀπῖκετο, ἔλεγε ὁ Ἀρπαγος τάδε· “Κελεύει σε  
 Ἀστυάγης τὸ παιδίον τοῦτο λαβόντα θεῖναι ἐς τὸ ἐρημότατον  
 τῶν οὐρέων, ὅπως ἂν τάχιστα διαφθαρεῖη. καὶ τάδε τοι 5  
 ἐκέλευσε εἰπεῖν, ἣν μὴ ἀποκτείνῃς αὐτὸ, ἀλλὰ τεῷ τρόπῳ  
 περιποιήσῃ, ὀλέθρῳ τῷ κακίστῳ σε διαχρήσεσθαι· ἐπορᾶν  
 111 δὲ ἐκκείμενον τέταγμαι ἐγώ.” Ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ βουκόλος, 1  
 καὶ ἀναλαβὼν τὸ παιδίον, ἦϊε τὴν αὐτὴν ὀπίσω ὁδὸν, καὶ  
 ἀπικνέεται ἐς τὴν ἑπαυλιν. τῷ δ’ ἄρα καὶ αὐτῷ ἡ γυνή, 2  
 ἐπίτεξ ἐοῦσα πᾶσαν ἡμέρην, τότε κως κατὰ δαίμονα τίκτει,

CH. 110. § 1. ταῦτα εἶπε καὶ]  
 Like the Homeric ἦ ῥα καί.

ἐπὶ...τὸν] = ἐπὶ τοῦτον...τόν.

ἐπιτηδεωτάτας] Explained by θη-  
 ριωδέστατα.

Κυνὼ] Cf. 122. 3. Grote III.  
 157, n. (IV. 247.)

§ 2. πρὸς βορέω] The direction  
 of any object with regard to oneself  
 may be expressed by an imaginary  
 line of connection. In English (as  
 often in Greek) this line is viewed  
 as drawn from oneself to the object  
 ('towards,' πρὸς with the accus.),  
 but sometimes in Greek the line is  
 conceived as drawn from the object,  
 and then πρὸς takes the gen. Cf. 75.  
 3, n.

τῶν Ἀγβ.] The genitive of re-

ference (cf. τῆς πόλιος 84. 4; ἐωντῆς,  
 193. 4, n.). Thus the phrase lit.  
 = 'from the north side with refer-  
 ence to (in its bearings from) A.,'  
 i.e. 'northwards from A.'

§ 4. σπ. πολλῇ] With ἀπῖκετο  
 ὅπως ἂν] 75. 5, n.

§ 5. σε] Prob. subject (167. 4),  
 not object of διαχρ. (cf. however 24.  
 5).

ἐκκείμενον] κείμαι is compounded  
 with preps. of motion, because it is  
 regarded as a passive of τίθημι. Cf.  
 ἀνακέαται (= ἀνατέθεινται) 14. 3;  
 97. 1, n.

CH. 111. § 2. πᾶσαν ἡμ.] Not  
 'all day' but 'every day.'

κως] almost = 'it chanced.' ἔτυχέ  
 κως τοῦ Μάγου, III. 78. 8; καὶ κως

οἰχομένου τοῦ βουκόλου ἐς πόλιν. ἦσαν δὲ ἐν φροντίδι ἀμφοτέροι ἀλλήλων πέρι, ὁ μὲν τοῦ τόκου τῆς γυναικὸς ἀρρωδέων, ἡ δὲ γυνή, ὅτι οὐκ ἐωθὼς ὁ Ἄρπαγος μεταπέμφαιτο αὐτῆς τὸν ἄνδρα. ἐπεὶ τε δὲ ἀπθουστήσας ἐπέστη, 3 οἷα ἐξ ἀέλπτου ἰδοῦσα ἡ γυνή, εἶρετο προτέρη, ὅτι μιν οὕτω προθύμως Ἄρπαγος μεταπέμφαιτο. ὁ δὲ εἶπε· “ὦ γύναι, 4 εἰδὼν τε ἐς πόλιν ἐλθὼν καὶ ἤκουσα, τὸ μήτε ἰδεῖν ὄφελον, μήτε κοτὲ γενέσθαι ἐς δεσπότας τοὺς ἡμετέρους. οἶκος μὲν πᾶς Ἀρπάγου κλαυθμῷ κατείχεται· ἐγὼ δὲ ἐκπλαγεὶς ἦϊα ἔσω. ὥς δὲ τάχιστα ἐσῆλθον, ὁρέω παιδίον προκείμενον, 5 ἀσπαῖρόν τε καὶ κραυγανόμενον, κεκοσμημένον χρυσῷ τε καὶ ἐσθῇτι ποικίλῃ. Ἄρπαγος δὲ ὥς εἶδε με, ἐκέλευε τὴν τα- 6 χίστην ἀναλαβόντα τὸ παιδίον, οἷχεσθαι φέροντα, καὶ θεῖναι ἔνθα θηριωδέστατον εἴη τῶν οὐρέων, φᾶς Ἀστυάγεα εἶναι τὸν ταῦτα ἐπιθέμενόν μοι, πολλὰ ἀπειλήσας εἰ μὴ σφεα ποιήσαιμι. καὶ ἐγὼ ἀναλαβὼν ἔφερον, δοκέων τῶν τινος 7 οἰκετέων εἶναι· οὐ γὰρ ἂν κοτὲ κατέδοξα ἔνθεν γε ἦν. ἐθάμβεον δὲ ὁρέων χρυσῷ τε καὶ εἵμασι κεκοσμημένον, πρὸς δὲ καὶ κλαυθμόν κατεστεῶτα ἐμφανέα ἐν Ἀρπάγου. καὶ πρόκα 8 τε δὴ κατ’ ὁδὸν πυνθάνομαι τὸν πάντα λόγον θεράποντος, ὃς ἐμὲ προπέμπων ἔξω πόλιος ἐνεχείρισε τὸ βρέφος· ὥς ἄρα Μανδάνης τε εἴη παῖς τῆς Ἀστυάγεω θυγατρὸς καὶ Καμ-

κατεῖδον τὰς ἐπ’ Ἀρτεμισίφνης, VII. 194. 1. κως κατὰ δαίμονα exactly = θείῃ τύχῃ (124. 7). Cf. θείῃ πομπῇ χρεώμενος, 62. 5; σὺν θεῷ, 86. 3; θειοτέρως, 122. 3.

ἐς πόλιν] ‘to town:’ the article being dropped in very common phrases. So ἐς μέσσην νέα, ‘amidships,’ 24. 7.

τοῦ τόκου] This depends on ἐν φροντίδι περὶ acc. to Abicht: but the gen. after ἀρρωδέων may be paralleled by φίλου δείσας, Soph. O. T. 234; ὧν ἕκαστος ἡλγει, Thuc. II. 65. 4.

αὐτῆς] See II. 121. 14, note on αὐτοῦ.

§ 4. τὸ] is accus. in the first clause, and nom. (to ὄφελος) in the second. Cf. 39. 1, note.

οἶκος πᾶς] Cf. πάντα λόγον, 21. 2.

§ 5. κραυγανόμενον] Nowhere else used. Lobeck suggests κραυγανόμενον on the analogy of κλαγγάνω (P<sup>h</sup>ryn. 337).

§ 7. κλαυθμόν] depends on ὁρέων. But the expression is not so strong as the κτύπον δέδορκα of Aesch. (Sept. 100), since Oriental mourning implies a good deal of outward and visible ceremonial.

§ 8. καὶ πρόκα τε] So always in Hdt., wherever the phrase occurs. Hence Schw. proposes to read πρόκατε in one word. Stein compares the formation of πρόκα (from πρό), with αὐτίκα, ἡνίκα.

ὥς ἄρα] ‘That after all, actually.’ Cf. ἐνθεν γε above, § 7.

βύσει τοῦ Κύρου, καὶ μιν Ἀστυάγης ἐντέλλεται ἀποκτείνει.  
 112 νῦν τε ὅδε ἐστί.” Ἀμα δὲ ταῦτα ἔλεγε ὁ βουκόλος, καὶ 1  
 ἐκκαλύψας ἀπεδείκνυε. ἡ δὲ, ὡς εἶδε τὸ παιδίον μέγα τε καὶ  
 εὖειδὲς ἐόν, δακρύσασα καὶ λαβομένη τῶν γουνάτων τοῦ  
 ἀνδρός, ἔχρηζε μηδεμιῇ τέχνῃ ἐκθεῖναι μιν. ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἔφη 2  
 οἷός τε εἶναι ἄλλως αὐτὰ ποιεῖν· ἐπιφοιτήσῃν γὰρ κατα-  
 σκόπους ἐξ Ἀρπάγου ἐποψομένους· ἀπολέεσθαί τε κάκιστα,  
 ἣν μή σφεα ποιήσῃ. ὡς δὲ οὐκ ἔπειθε ἄρα τὸν ἄνδρα,  
 δεύτερα λέγει ἡ γυνὴ τάδε· “Ἐπεὶ τοίνυν οὐ δύναμαί σε 3  
 πείθειν μὴ ἐκθεῖναι, σὺ δὲ ὧδε ποίησον, εἰ δὴ πᾶσά γε  
 ἀνάγκη ὀφθῆναι ἐκκείμενον· τέτοκα γὰρ καὶ ἐγὼ, τέτοκα δὲ  
 τεθνεός· τοῦτο μὲν φέρων πρόθες, τὸν δὲ τῆς Ἀστυάγεος 4  
 θυγατρὸς παῖδα ὡς ἐξ ἡμέων ἐόντα τρέφωμεν· καὶ οὕτω οὔτε  
 σὺ ἀλώσειαι ἀδικέων τοὺς δεσπότας, οὔτε ἡμῖν κακῶς βεβου-  
 λευμένα ἔσται. ὃ τε γὰρ τεθνεὺς βασιλεῖς ταφῆς κυρήσει, 5  
 113 καὶ ὁ περιεὼν οὐκ ἀπολέει τὴν ψυχὴν.” Κάρτα τε ἔδοξε τῷ 1  
 βουκόλῳ πρὸς τὰ παρεόντα εὖ λέγειν ἡ γυνὴ, καὶ αὐτίκα  
 ἐποίησε ταῦτα. τὸν μὲν ἔφερε θανατώσων παῖδα, τοῦτον μὲν 2  
 παραδιδοῖ τῇ ἐωυτοῦ γυναικί· τὸν δὲ ἐωυτοῦ, ἐόντα νεκρὸν,

τοῦ Κύρου] The infant Cyrus was thus named after his grandfather according to the Greek custom. Cf. 132. 1; II. 134. 4.

CH. 112. § 1. μηδεμιῇ τέχνῃ] This = μηδαμῶς, as *ἰθέη τέχνη* (IX. 57. 1) = *ἰθέως*.

§ 2. αὐτὰ] This refers to ταῦτα, § 6 of the preceding ch.

οὐκ ἔπειθε ἄρα] ἄρα expresses surprise: ‘after all,’ notwithstanding her claims.

§ 3. σὺ δὲ] δὲ here joins together protasis and apodosis as if they were coordinate. Cf. 173. 3; II. 32. 6, n. Schw. says that Hdt. does not use δὲ in the apodosis, unless either the protasis is introduced by δέ, or the subject of protasis and apodosis is the same (*Lex. Herod.*). But besides this passage, cf. *ἐπεὶ τοίνυν σε ὀρέομεν...σὺ δὲ ταῦτα ποίει*, V. 40. 1. ἀλλά is used in the same way after *ἐπεὶ τοίνυν*, IX. 42. 3.

τεθνεός] Sc. τέκνον. Cf. *τεκεῖν δίδυμα*, VI. 52. 2; *ἐκ τῆς οἱ ἔρσεν γίγνεται οὐδέν*, VI. 71. 3 (St.).

CH. 113. § 1. κάρτα] With εὖ. Cf. 88. 1; II. 27.

§ 2. τοῦτον μὲν] ‘When in an alternative two protases, each with its apodosis, are opposed to each other, the form may be μὲν—μὲν (prot. and ap.), δὲ—δέ (prot. and ap.), or also μὲν—δέ, δὲ—δέ.’ Madv. (*G. S.* 229 b). For a perfect instance of the former construction see II. 174. 3, *ἔσοι μὲν αὐτὸν...ἀπέλυσαν, τούτων μὲν οὔτε ἐπεμέλετο...ἄλλοι δὲ μιν κατέδησαν, τούτων δὲ...τὰ μάλιστα ἐπεμέλετο*. Here the construction is virtually the same, but we have a substantive (τὸν ἐωυτοῦ παῖδα) in the second clause, instead of τὸν δὲ ἡ ἐωυτοῦ γυνὴ ἔτεκε, τοῦτον δὲ λαβὼν κ.τ.λ. A converse instance occurs, 171. 10.

λαβὼν ἔθηκε εἰς τὸ ἄγγος ἐν τῷ ἔφερε· τὸν ἑτέρον· κοῦμήσας δὲ τῷ κόσμῳ παντὶ τοῦ ἑτέρου παῖδος, φέρων ἔς τὰ ἐρημό-  
 τατον τῶν οὐρέων τιθεῖ. ὥς δὲ τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρῃ τῷ παιδίῳ  
 ἐκκειμένῳ ἐγένετο, ἦϊε εἰς πόλιν ὁ βουκόλος, τῶν τινα προ-  
 βόσκων φύλακον αὐτοῦ καταλιπών. ἔλθων δὲ εἰς τοῦ Ἀρπά-  
 γου ἀποδεικνύναι ἔφη ἐτοῖμος εἶναι τοῦ παιδίου τὸν νέκυν.  
 πέμψας δὲ ὁ Ἀρπαγος τῶν ἐωυτοῦ δορυφόρων τοὺς πιστο-  
 τάτους, εἶδέ τε διὰ τούτων, καὶ ἔθαψε τοῦ βουκόλου τὸ  
 παιδίον. καὶ τὸ μὲν ἐτέθαπτο· τὸν δὲ ὕστερον τούτων Κῦρον  
 οὐνομασθέντα παραλαβοῦσα ἔτρεφε ἡ γυνὴ τοῦ βουκόλου,  
 οὐνομα ἄλλο κού τι καὶ οὐ Κῦρον θεμένη.

- 114 Καὶ ὅτε δὴ ἦν δεκαέτης ὁ παῖς, πρῆγμα εἰς αὐτὸν τοιόνδε  
 γενόμενον ἐξέφηνέ μιν. ἔπαιζε ἐν τῇ κώμῃ ταύτῃ ἐν τῇ ἦσαν  
 καὶ αἱ βουκολίαι αὗται, ἔπαιζε δὲ μετ' ἄλλων ἡλίκων ἐν ὁδῷ,  
 καὶ οἱ παῖδες παίζοντες εἵλοντο ἐωυτῶν βασιλέα εἶναι τοῦτον  
 δὴ τὸν τοῦ βουκόλου ἐπὶ κλησιν παῖδα. ὁ δὲ αὐτῶν διέταξε  
 τοὺς μὲν οἰκίας οἰκοδομέειν, τοὺς δὲ δορυφόρους εἶναι, τὸν δὲ  
 κου τινὰ αὐτῶν ὀφθαλμὸν βασιλέος εἶναι, τῷ δὲ τινι τὰς

ἐν τῷ ἔφερε] 'In which he had been carrying' (II. 140. 1, n.).

§ 3. προβόσκων] Krüg. seems to think that the meaning of this word is still an open question. But the old explanation 'locum tenens bubulci' gives a meaning to πρό in composition, which can hardly be paralleled in Greek, although in Lat. we have *proconsul*, *propraetor*. πρόδουλος (Aesch. Ag. 945) is not really parallel, since it = 'serving as a slave,' not 'in the place of the slave:' i. e. it could not be rendered 'under-slave.' The other explanation of πρόβοσκος (L. and S. Lex.) is confirmed by πρόβατον.

§ 4. δορυφόρων] Hdt. uses the word as if he was talking of a Greek despot (91. 2; 98. 3). Below (117. 5) they are called εὐνοῦχοι.

εἶδε διὰ τούτων] 'Qui facit per alium, facit per se.'

§ 5. θεμένη] 107. 1, n.

CH. 114. § 2. καὶ αἱ β.] As well as the children's play. Kr.

αὗται] Those referred to above, the ἐπαυλῖς of 111. 1.

ἐπὶ κλησιν] See 19. 1. ἐπι- here = in addition to the name which he ought to have had, viz. 'son of Cambyzes.' The word thus comes to mean 'nominally.' Cf. II. XVI. 175, δν τέκε Πηλῆος θυγάτηρ καλὴ Πολυδῶρη Σπερχεῖω..... αὐτὰρ ἐπὶ κλησιν Βῶρω, i. e. she called him son of Borus beyond the title which he ought to have had, viz. son of Spercheius: = 'really to Sp., nominally to Borus.'

ὀφθαλμὸν β.] Cf. κατασκοποί, 100. 2. Xen. (Cyr. VIII. 2. 10) says that Cyrus 'acquired the king's eyes and the king's ears, as they are called, wholly and solely by the gifts and honours which he conferred on them: for to those who brought him news which it was seasonable for him to know he showed vast favour, and so caused many men to play the spy and eavesdropper (ὠτακουστῆν καὶ διοπτεῦν) for the sake





ἐδόκεον γάρ σφι εἶναι ἐς τοῦτο ἐπιτηδεώτατος. οἱ μὲν νυν 4  
ἄλλοι παῖδες τὰ ἐπιτασσόμενα ἐπετέλεον, οὗτος δὲ ἀνη-  
κούστεέ τε καὶ λόγον εἶχε οὐδένα, ἐς ὃ ἔλαβε τὴν δίκην. εἰ  
ὦν δὴ τοῦδε εἵνεκα ἄξιός τευ κακοῦ εἰμι, ὅδε τοι πάρειμι.”

116 Ταῦτα λέγοντος τοῦ παιδὸς, τὸν Ἀστυάγεα ἐσήϊε ἀνάγνωσις 1  
αὐτοῦ· καὶ οἱ ὃ τε χαρακτήρ τοῦ προσώπου προσφέρεσθαι  
ἐδόκεε ἐς ἑωυτὸν, καὶ ἡ ὑπόκρισις ἐλευθερωτέρη εἶναι· ὃ τε  
χρόνος τῆς ἐκθέσιος τῇ ἡλικίᾳ τοῦ παιδὸς ἐδόκεε συμβαίνειν.  
ἐκπλαγεῖς δὲ τούτοις ἐπὶ χρόνον ἄφθογγος ἦν. μόγις δὲ δὴ 2  
κοτε ἀνενειχθεὶς εἶπε, θέλων ἐκπέμψαι τὸν Ἀρτεμβάρεα, ἵνα  
τὸν βουκόλον μῦνον λαβὼν βασανίσῃ· “Ἀρτέμβαρες, ἐγὼ 3  
ταῦτα ποιήσω, ὥστε σὲ καὶ τὸν παῖδα τὸν σὸν μηδὲν ἐπι-  
μέμφεσθαι.” Τὸν μὲν δὴ Ἀρτεμβάρεα πέμπει· τὸν δὲ Κῦρον 4  
ἦγον ἔσω οἱ θεράποντες, κελεύσαντος τοῦ Ἀστυάγεος. ἐπεὶ 5  
δὲ ὑπελέλειπτο ὁ βουκόλος μῦνος, μουνωθέντα τάδε αὐτὸν  
εἶρετο ὁ Ἀστυάγης, κόθεν λάβοι τὸν παῖδα, καὶ τίς εἴη ὁ  
παραδούς; ὁ δὲ ἐξ ἑωυτοῦ τε ἔφη γεγονέναι, καὶ τὴν τεκοῦσαν  
αὐτὸν ἔτι εἶναι παρ’ ἑωυτῷ. Ἀστυάγης δὲ μιν οὐκ εὖ 6  
βουλεύεσθαι ἔφη, ἐπιθυμέοντα ἐς ἀνάγκας μεγάλας ἀπικνέ-

§ 4. ἐς 8] ‘And so at last.’ See 158. 3, note.

ᾧδε] So three MSS. Cf. III. 8. If ᾧδε be adopted, it prob. should have a local signification: cf. παρῖναι ἐς κοῖτον (9. 4), ἐπὶ δεῖπνον (118. 3).

CH. 116. § 1. ἐλευθερωτέρη] Supply ἡ κατὰ δούλου παῖδα. Bähr (2nd ed.) adopts the correction ἐλευθερωτέρη unnecessarily, since ἐλευθέρη ὑπόκρισις may be exactly paralleled by ἐλευθέρως εἰπεῖν, VIII. 73. 5.

§ 2. δὴ κοτε] ‘At last.’ This meaning seems to be derived from such phrases as τί (δὴ) ποτε; πῶς (δὴ) ποτε; = *quid tandem?* The indefiniteness of ποτε implies a feeling of impatience, and this feeling of impatience is most strongly manifested at the moment when the delay is terminated. So we have ἐκκαλυπτε νῦν ποθ’ (now at last) ἡμῶν οὕστινας λέγεις λόγους, Eur. *Iph. A.* 872; εἴχεται οὐλομένην νοῦσον διαντλήσας ποτὲ οἶκον ἰδεῖν, Pind. *Pyth.*

4. 522.

§ 4. πέμπει] Hom. *Od.* XV. 74, χρή ξείνον παρεόντα φιλεῖν, ἐθέλοντα δὲ πέμπειν. Cf. πομπούς below, ch. 121.

§ 5. μουνωθέντα τάδε] This is the reading of most MSS. (Bähr), and μουνωθέντα is used in the same sense, VI. 75. 3. Krüg. and Ab. prefer μουνόθεν τάδε (so one MS.), comparing οἴθεν οἶος, Hom. *Il.* VII. 39. But Stein’s argument is prob. sound, that if Hdt. had wished to adopt this mode of expression, he would have used the actual Homeric form. For the repetition of μῦνος, cf. μῦνοι Ἑλλήνων δὴ μονομαχήσαντες τῷ Πέρσῃ, IX. 27. 7; ἴσα πρὸς ἴσα, I. 2. 3; ‘solus te solum volo,’ Plaut. *Capit.* III. 4. 70 (St.).

§ 6. ἐπιθυμέοντα] Used ironically: ‘it was clear he wished.’

ἀνάγκας] ‘Angustias’ Schw. Below τὰς ἀνάγκας is used of the actual instrument of torture, as is implied



εσθαι ἅμα τε λέγων ταῦτα ἐσήμαινε τοῖσι δορυφόροισι λαμβάνειν αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ, ἀγόμενος ἐς τὰς ἀνάγκας, οὕτω δὴ 7 ἔφαινε τὸν ἐόντα λόγον. ἀρχόμενος δὴ ὑπ' ἀρχῆς διεξήϊε τῇ 8 ὑληθείῃ χρεώμενος· καὶ κατεβαίνει ἐς λιτάς τε καὶ συγγνώμην  
 117 ἐωυτῷ κελεύων ἔχειν αὐτόν. Ἀστυάγης δὲ τοῦ μὲν βουκόλου 1 τὴν ἀληθείην ἐκφήναντος λόγον ἤδη καὶ ἐλάσσω ἐποιέετο· Ἀρπάγῳ δὲ καὶ μεγάλως μεμφόμενος, καλέειν αὐτόν τοὺς δορυφόρους ἐκέλευε. ὥς δέ οἱ παρῆν ὁ Ἄρπαγος, εἴρετό μιν ὁ Ἀστυάγης· “Ἄρπαγε, τέφῳ δὴ μόρῳ τὸν παῖδα κατε-  
 χρήσῃ, τὸν τοι παρέδωκα ἐκ θυγατρὸς γεγονότα τῆς ἐμῆς;” Ὁ δὲ Ἄρπαγος, ὥς εἶδε τὸν βουκόλον ἔνδον ἐόντα, οὐ 2 τρέπεται ἐπὶ ψευδέα ὁδόν, ἵνα μὴ ἐλεγχόμενος ἀλίσκηται, ἀλλὰ λέγει τάδε· “ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἐπεὶ τε παρέλαβον τὸ παιδίον, ἐβούλευον σκοπῶν ὅπως σοί τε ποιήσω κατὰ νόον, καὶ ἐγὼ πρὸς σέ γινόμενος ἀναμάρτητος, μήτε θυγατρὶ τῇ σῇ μήτε αὐτῷ σοι εἶην αὐθέντης. ποιέω δὴ ὧδε. καλέσας τὸν 3

by ἀγόμενος (sc. ὑπὸ τῶν δορυφόρων). St. compares ἀνάγκας ταῖσδ' ἐνέ-  
 ζευγμαι τάλας, Aesch. *Prom.* 108.

§ 8. κατέβαινε] Not to be compared with 'preces descendere in omnes,' Virg. *Aen.* v. 782. See note, 90. 5. We have the construction with ἐς, III. 75. 2, elsewhere the participle,—here both.

CH. 117. § 1. ἤδη] This refers to τὴν ἀληθείην ἐκφήναντος. The simultaneous occurrence of the two actions almost implies a notion of cause and effect (cf. 207. 5). So Aristot. uses ἤδη in the sense of *ipso facto*: *Eth.* VI. (9) 3, ὥρισται ἤδη πᾶν οὐ δόξα ἐστίν, 'that which is the subject of an opinion has been already decided,' i. e. by the mere fact that an opinion has been formed on it. Translate: 'no longer made so much account of him' (as of Harpagus).

καὶ μεγάλως] Cf. καὶ τὸ κάρτα, 71. 2; καὶ τὸ παράπαν, 75. 6; καὶ πάγχυ, VI. 112. 2. These may be explained by supposing καὶ to couple the verbal notion to the verbal notion + the adverb:—'blamed, aye and

greatly blamed:' or by supposing a reference to some standard:—'not merely a little, but also (even) greatly.' καὶ thus merely emphasizes. So with numerals, καὶ πεντακισχιλίων, = 'quite as much as,' 194. 5; with comparatives, καὶ μᾶλλον τι, '(not merely as much as, but) even more than,' 98. 7 (cf. καὶ ἐλάσσω, above); καὶ ἀμφότεροι, 'both (not merely one),' 74. 4; καὶ πάλαι, '(not merely of late, but) long ago,' 127. 1.

§ 2. ποιήσω] Prob. the future indicative, since the 1st aor. subj. is rarely used after ὅπως, in order to avoid confusion (*Madv. G. S.* 123. 1. 1). By thus repeating as it were almost the exact words of his deliberation, the speaker puts prominently forward as his direct and principal motive the performance at any cost of the king's commands, while the avoidance of the guilt of homicide, a more selfish end, is by the use of the opt. (εἶην) represented as a more remote object at the time of action.

αὐθέντης] 'Slayer of kindred.' The use of αὐθέντης instead of φο-

βουκόλον τόνδε, παραδίδωμι τὸ παιδίον, φὰς σέ τε εἶναι τὸν κελεύοντα ἀποκτεῖναι αὐτό. καὶ λέγων τοῦτό γε, οὐκ ἐψευσμένην· σὺ γὰρ ἐνετέλλεο οὕτω. παραδίδωμι μέντοι τῷδε 4 κατὰ τάδε, ἐντειλάμενος θεῖναί μιν ἐς ἐρήμον οὖρος, καὶ παραμένοντα φυλάσσειν ἄχρι οὗ τελευτήσῃ, ἀπειλήσας παντοῖα τῷδε, ἣν μὴ τάδε ἐπιτελέα ποιήσῃ. ἐπεὶ τε δὲ, ποιή- 5 σαντος τούτου τὰ κελεύόμενα, ἐτελεύτησε τὸ παιδίον, πέμψας τῶν εὐνούχων τοὺς πιστοτάτους, καὶ εἶδον δι' ἐκείνων, καὶ ἔθαψά μιν. οὕτως ἔσχε, ὦ βασιλεῦ, περὶ τοῦ πρήγματος τούτου· καὶ τοιούτῳ μόρῳ ἐχρήσατο ὁ παῖς.”

118 Ἄρπαγος μὲν δὴ τὸν ἰθὺν ἔφαινε λόγον. Ἀστυάγης δὲ 1 κρύπτων τὸν οἱ ἐνείχε χόλον διὰ τὸ γεγονὸς, πρῶτα μὲν, κατάπερ ἤκουσε αὐτὸς πρὸς τοῦ βουκόλου τὸ πρήγμα, πάλιν ἀπηγέετο τῷ Ἀρπάγῳ· μετὰ δὲ, ὥς οἱ ἐπαλιλλόγητο, κατέβαινε λέγων, ὥς περίεστί τε ὁ παῖς, καὶ τὸ γεγονὸς ἔχει καλῶς. “Τῷ τε γὰρ πεποιημένῳ, ἔφη λέγων, ἐς τὸν παῖδα 2

νεὺς implies a reference to the relationship between Harpagus and Cyrus (108. 5; 109. 3). So αὐθ. δμαιμος φόνος, Aesch. *Eum.* 212: of the murder of a blood-relation. Compare the use of αὐτόκτονος, αὐτοκτονέω, by the dramatists.

§ 3. φὰς σέ τε] ‘For σέ τε φὰς, cf. νῦν, ἔφη τε for νῦν τε, ἔφη, 125. 3.’ Kr. On this view τε either belongs to the whole sentence, and is irregularly answered by καὶ λέγων (Bähr), or (possibly) couples φὰς to καλέσας. From a comparison of 110. 5, we should have expected a second clause, καὶ σε διαχρήσεσθαι εἰπεῖν αὐτὸν ὀλέθρῳ τῷ κακίστῳ ἣν μὴ ἀποκτείνῃς αὐτό, and Stein’s explanation is that Harpagus had meant to add something of the kind, when he remembered that these threats, uttered as coming from the king, were untrue. But this is to attribute too much elaborateness and dramatic by-play to Hdt.’s speeches.

§ 4. μέντοι] merely resumes without any notion of opposition. Hom. *Od.* II. 292, εἰσὶ δὲ νῆες...τάων μέντοι ἐγὼν ἐπιόψομαι ἢ τις ἀρίστη.

κατὰ τάδε] either anticipates ἐντειλάμενος, ‘in the following way viz.’—cf. κατὰ τοῦτο διεφθείροντο (= οὕτως), VI. 44. 5—or (more prob.) = ‘in accordance with these commands.’ Cf. τάδε ἐπιτελέα, below.

CH. 118. § 1. ἐνείχε] All the MSS. read ἐνείχεε, which would imply a form ἐνεχέω. Similarly some MSS. have συμβαλλεόμενος, 68. 4; ὑπερβαλλέεσθαι, III. 76. 3; ἐσυνέοντο, V. 81. 3. But no other instance of ἐνεχέω occurs in Hdt. (Kr.). ἐνείχε = ἐνδον εἶχε. St.

§ 2. ἔφη λέγων] The second word is not altogether redundant, since the phrase is never used, except where some part of the speech has been already quoted (ἔλεγε φὰς, 122. 2, is different). Translate therefore ‘went on to say.’ Here there is a special point in the expression, because κατέβαινε (above) would naturally have implied the conclusion of the speech (90. 5, n.). Generally ἔφη λέγων implies a transition from *oratio obliqua* to *recta*: cf. however II. 172. 6.

τοῦτον ἔκαμνον μεγάλως, καὶ θυγατρὶ τῇ ἐμῇ διαβεβλημένος οὐκ ἐν ἐλαφρῷ ἐποιεῦμην. ὥς ὢν τῆς τύχης εὖ μετεστεώσης, 3 τοῦτο μὲν τὸν σεωυτοῦ παῖδα ἀπόπεμψον παρὰ τὸν παῖδα τὸν νεήλυδα, τοῦτο δὲ, (σῶστρα γὰρ τοῦ παιδὸς μέλλω θύειν τοῖσι θεῶν τιμῇ αὕτη προσκέεται,) πάρισθί μοι ἐπὶ δεῖπνον.”

119 Ἄρπαγος μὲν, ὥς ἤκουσε ταῦτα, προσκυνήσας καὶ μεγάλα 1 ποιησάμενος ὅτι τε ἡ ἁμαρτὰς οἱ ἐς δέον ἐγεγόνεε, καὶ ὅτι ἐπὶ τύχησι χρηστῆσι ἐπὶ δεῖπνον κέκλητο, ἥϊε ἐς τὰ οἰκία. ἐσελθὼν δὲ τὴν ταχίστην, ἣν γὰρ οἱ παῖς εἰς μῦθος, ἔτεα 2 τρία καὶ δέκα κου μάλιστα γεγονῶς, τοῦτον ἐκπέμπει, ἵεναι τε κελεύων ἐς Ἀστυάγεος καὶ ποιέειν ὅ τι αὖν ἐκεῖνος κελεύῃ. αὐτὸς δὲ περιχαρὴς ἐὼν φράζει τῇ γυναικὶ τὰ συγκυρήσαντα. Ἀστυάγης δὲ, ὥς οἱ ἀπῖκετο ὁ Ἀρπάγου παῖς, σφάξας αὐτὸν, 3 καὶ κατὰ μέλεα διελὼν, τὰ μὲν ὥπτησε, τὰ δὲ ἔψησε τῶν κρεῶν. εὐτυχτα δὲ ποιησάμενος εἶχε ἐτοῖμα. ἐπεὶ τε δὲ, 4 τῆς ὥρης γινομένης τοῦ δεῖπνου, παρήσαν οἱ τε ἄλλοι δαιτυμόνες καὶ ὁ Ἄρπαγος, τοῖσι μὲν ἄλλοισι καὶ αὐτῷ Ἀστυάγεϊ παρετιθέατο τράπεζαι ἐπιπλέαι μηλείων κρεῶν, Ἀρπάγῳ δὲ τοῦ παιδὸς τοῦ ἐωυτοῦ, πλὴν κεφαλῆς τε καὶ ἄκρων χειρῶν τε καὶ ποδῶν, τὰλλα πάντα ταῦτα δὲ χωρὶς ἔκειτο ἐπὶ κανέῳ κατακεκαλυμμένα. ὥς δὲ τῷ Ἀρπάγῳ ἐδόκεε ἄλλῃς 5 ἔχειν τῆς βορῆς, Ἀστυάγης εἴρετό μιν, εἰ ἡσθείη τι τῇ θοίνῃ· φαμένου δὲ Ἀρπάγου καὶ κάρτα ἡσθῆναι, παρέφερον, τοῖσι προσέκειτο, τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ παιδὸς κατακεκαλυμμένην καὶ τὰς χεῖρας καὶ τοὺς πόδας· Ἄρπαγον δὲ ἐκέλευον προστάντες ἀποκαλύπτειν τε καὶ λαβεῖν τὸ βούλεται αὐτῶν. πειθόμενος 6

§ 3. τοῦτο μὲν...τοῦτο δὲ] See 30. 8.

σῶστρα] Cf. ψυχῆς κόμιστρα, Aesch. Ag. 965.

CH. 119. § 1. ἐς δέον κ.τ.λ.] ‘Had served his turn well (186. 7), and that good luck would follow his being bidden to the banquet.’

§ 2. περιχαρὴς κ.τ.λ.] Compare the story of Haman, *Esther*, v. 9—12.

§ 4. ἄκρων] χεῖρ and ποῦς often = leg and arm. Cf. ἀποταμόντα ἐν τῷ ὤμφῳ τὴν χεῖρα, II. 121. 30; ἐκ

κεφαλῆς εἴλυντο διαμπερὲς ἐς πόδας ἄκρους, Hom. II. XVI. 640; νύξε δὲ μιν κατὰ χεῖρα μέσσην, ἀγκῶνος ἐνεργεν, II. XI. 252.

§ 5. θοίνῃ] denotes a grand banquet, and so increases the irony of the question. Cf. IX. 82. 3, where it is used of the Persian and Spartan dinners served up to Pausanias after the battle of Plataea.

καὶ κάρτα] ‘Aye, very much:’

117. 1, n.

προσέκειτο] = προσετέτακτο.

προστάντες] 86. 3, n.

δὲ ὁ Ἄρπαγος, καὶ ἀποκαλύπτων, ὁρᾷ τοῦ παιδὸς τὰ λείμματα· ἰδὼν δὲ οὔτε ἐξεπλάγη, ἐντὸς τε ἑωυτοῦ γίνεται. εἶρετο δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀστυάγης, εἰ γινώσκοι ὅτεν θηρίου κρέα βεβρώκοι. ὁ δὲ καὶ γινώσκειν ἔφη, καὶ ἀρεστὸν εἶναι πᾶν τὸ ἂν βασιλεὺς ἔρδῃ. τούτοισι δὲ ἀμειψάμενος, καὶ ἀναλαβὼν τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν κρεῶν, ἦγε εἰς τὰ οἰκία. ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ἔμελλε, ὡς ἐγὼ δοκέω, ἀλίσας θάψειν τὰ πάντα.

120 Ἄρπάγῳ μὲν Ἀστυάγης δίκην ταύτην ἐπέθηκε. Κύρου δὲ περὶ βουλευῶν ἐκάλεε τοὺς αὐτοὺς τῶν μάγων οἱ τὸ ἐνύπνιον οἱ ταύτῃ ἔκριναν. ἀπικομένους δὲ εἶρετο ὁ Ἀστυάγης, τῇ ἔκρινάν οἱ τὴν ὄψιν· οἱ δὲ κατὰ ταῦτα εἶπαν, λέγοντες ὡς βασιλεῦσαι χρὴν τὸν παῖδα, εἰ ἐπέζωσε καὶ μὴ ἀπέθανε πρότερον. Ὁ δὲ ἀμείβεται αὐτοὺς τοῖσδε· “Ἔστι τε ὁ παῖς καὶ περίεστι καὶ μιν ἐπ’ ἀγροῦ διαιτώμενον οἱ ἐκ τῆς κώμης παῖδες ἐστήσαντο βασιλέα. ὁ δὲ πάντα, ὅσα περ οἱ ἀληθεῖ λόγῳ βασιλέες, ἐτελέωσε ποιήσας. καὶ γὰρ δορυφόρους καὶ θυρωροὺς καὶ ἀγγελιηφόρους καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ πάντα διατάξας εἶχε. καὶ νῦν ἐς τί ὑμῖν ταῦτα φαίνεται φέρειν;” Εἶπαν οἱ μάγοι· “Εἰ μὲν περίεστί τε καὶ ἐβασίλευσε ὁ παῖς 4

§ 6. ἐντὸς τε ἑωυτοῦ] ‘Contained himself,’ ‘refrained himself.’ For οὔτε...τε, cf. 63. 3.

§ 7. βασιλεὺς] Not ‘a king,’ but ‘the king.’ βασιλ. without the article was the common expression for the king of Persia after the Persian war: cf. 188. 2; 192. 3; VII. 138. 1; 146. 2; 174. 1; and Hdt. writing after the war seems to apply the same phrase to the earlier kings. So of the king of Egypt, II. 162. 5.

ἔμελλε] ‘Would naturally.’ μέλλω often introduces an *a priori* argument, i. e. an inference not actually warranted by experience. Cf. II. 150. 7, n.

CH. 120. § 1. δίκην ταύτην] ‘This as a penalty.’ The art. is omitted because δίκην is pred. Cf. II. 116. 1.

ταύτῃ] In the way described above, 108. 4. Cf. οὕτω, II. 1.

χρὴν] Cf. 8. 3.

ἐπέζωσε] ἐπ- as in ἐπιβιόω, Thuc. II. 65. 6.

§ 2. ἔστι...περίεστι] ‘Alive and not dead,’ ‘alive and well.’ The repetition may be illustrated by the instances given, II. 172. 2, n. Cf. περιεούσι τε καὶ ζῶουσι, III. 80. 8; ἢ που ζῶει τε καὶ ἔστιν, Hom. Od. XXIV. 263.

§ 3. οἱ ἀλ. λόγ. β.] ‘They who are truly accounted kings.’ So τῶ ἐκείνων λόγῳ, ‘as they accounted the matter,’ on their view, VIII. 6. 2.

ἐτελέωσε ποιήσας] = τελέως ἐποίησε acc. to Schw. But τελεοῦν = ‘to confirm in an office,’ III. 86. 3. So here we may get the more definite meaning: ‘appointed and confirmed his appointments in all respects like a real king.’

διατάξας εἶχε] ‘Was holding at his orders’ (27. 4, n.).

μὴ ἐκ προνοίης τινὸς, θάρσει τε τούτου εἵνεκα καὶ θυμὸν ἔχε ἀγαθόν· οὐ γὰρ ἔτι τὸ δεύτερον ἄρξει. παρὰ σμικρὰ γὰρ καὶ τῶν λογίων ἡμῖν ἓν κεχώρηκε· καὶ τὰ γε τῶν ὀνειράτων ἐχόμενα τελέως ἐς ἀσθενὲς ἔρχεται.” Ἀμείβεται Ἀστυάγης 5 τοῖσδε· “Καὶ αὐτὸς, ὦ μάγοι, ταύτῃ πλείστος γνώμην εἰμι, βασιλέος οὐνομασθέντος τοῦ παιδός, ἐξήκειν τε τὸν ὄνειρον, καί μοι τὸν παῖδα τούτον εἶναι δεινὸν οὐδὲν ἔτι. ὅμως μὲν 6 γε τοι συμβουλεύσατέ μοι, εὖ περισκεψάμενοι, τὰ μέλλει ἀσφαλέστατα εἶναι οἴκῳ τε τῷ ἐμῷ καὶ ὑμῖν.” Εἶπαν πρὸς 7 ταῦτα οἱ μάγοι· “ὦ βασιλεῦ, καὶ αὐτοῖσι ἡμῖν περὶ πολλοῦ ἐστὶ κατορθοῦσθαι ἀρχὴν τὴν σὴν. κείνως μὲν γὰρ ἀλλοτριοῦται, ἐς τὸν παῖδα τούτον περιϊούσα, ἔοντα Πέρσῃ· καὶ ἡμεῖς, ἔοντες Μῆδοι, δουλούμεθά τε καὶ λόγου οὐδενὸς γινόμεθα πρὸς Περσέων, ἔοντες ξεῖνοι· σέο δ' ἐνεστεῶτος βασι- 8 λέος, ἔοντος πολιήτεω, καὶ ἄρχομεν τὸ μέρος, καὶ τιμὰς πρὸς σέο μεγάλας ἔχομεν. οὕτω ὦν πάντως ἡμῖν σέο τε καὶ τῆς σῆς ἀρχῆς προοπτέον ἐστί. καὶ νῦν εἰ φοβερόν τι ὠρέομεν, 9 πᾶν ἂν σοι προεφράζομεν· νῦν δὲ ἀποσκήψαντος τοῦ ἐνυπνίου

§ 4. παρὰ σμικρὰ] ‘παρά here simply = πρὸς or ἐς. Cf. ἐς ἀσθενὲς below.’ Bähr. But Krüg. points out that παρὰ in this sense is only used with persons, and that here consequently there must be a notion of comparison involved. Translate ‘turn out as of little moment.’

τὰ...τῶν ὄν. ἔχ.] ‘All that has to do with dreams,’ a phrase which merely implies that the *whole* of the class is intended. Cf. 193. 6; II. 77. 8. We should have expected ἓν to have been repeated in this clause as well.

τελέως] Schw., as if with ἀσθενὲς, ‘to an utterly weak accomplishment.’ But this loses the connection with τέλος. It seems here to mean either (1) in the end, at last, or (2) up to the end, first and last. Cf. Aesch. *Eum.* 320, παραγιγνόμεναι πράκτορες αἵματος | αὐτῷ τελέως ἐφάνημεν, where τελέως acc. to one view = *usque ad finem*, *non desistentes*, acc. to another refers to χεῖρας φονίας ἐπικρύπτει (v.

317), and = at last.

§ 6. μὲν γε τοι] The order may be explained by the fact that both γε and μέντοι ‘severally claim the second place in the sentence’ (see Madv. *G. S.* 254). Thus we have ὅμως γε μέντοι, Ar. *Ran.* 61, but οὐ μέντοι γε, Plat. *Rep.* 329 E. Here the place is divided between the two, since μέντοι has hardly become one word in Hdt.’s time, and μέν takes precedence of γε, as at IV. 48. 3.

§ 7. κείνως] = μὴ κατορθουμένη.

Μῆδοι] Ch. 101.

ξεῖνοι] = foreigners. Cf. 65. 3, note. The word seems a strong one to use here, but prob. refers to the fact that the Magian and the Persian religions were distinct. The apprehensions of the Magi were justified by the Magophonia (see III. 79).

§ 8. ἐνεστεῶτος] Sc. ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ. Kr. Notice the Greek colouring of πολιήτεω.

τὸ μέρος] ‘Our fair share!’ cf. II. 173. 6.

- ἐς φλαῦρον, αὐτοί τε θαρσέομεν καὶ σοὶ ἕτερα τοιαῦτα παρα-  
κελευόμεθα· τὸν δὲ παῖδα τοῦτον ἐξ ὀφθαλμῶν ἀπόπεμψαι  
121 ἐς Πέρσας τε καὶ τοὺς γειναμένους.” Ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ  
Ἀστυάγης ἐχάρη τε καὶ καλέσας τὸν Κῦρον ἔλεγέ οἱ τάδε·  
“ὦ παῖ, σὲ γὰρ ἐγὼ δι’ ὄψιν ὀνείρου οὐ τελέην ἠδίκηον, τῇ  
σεωυτοῦ δὲ μοίρῃ περίεις· νῦν ὦν ἴθι χαίρων ἐς Πέρσας,  
πομποὺς δ’ ἐγὼ ἅμα πέμψω. ἐλθὼν δὲ ἐκεῖ πατέρα τε καὶ  
μητέρα εὐρήσεις οὐ κατὰ Μιτραδάτην τε τὸν βουκόλον καὶ  
τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ.”
- 122 Ταῦτα εἶπας ὁ Ἀστυάγης, ἀποπέμπει τὸν Κῦρον. νοστή- 1  
σαντα δέ μιν ἐς τοῦ Καμβύσεω τὰ οἰκία ἐδέξαντο οἱ γεινά-  
μενοι καὶ δεξάμενοι, ὡς ἐπύθοντο, μεγάλως ἀσπάζοντο, οἷα  
δὴ ἐπιστάμενοι αὐτίκα τότε τελευτῆσαι· ἱστόρεόν τε ὅτεφ  
τρόπῳ περιγένοιτο. ὁ δὲ σφί ἔλεγε, φὰς πρὸ τοῦ μὲν οὐκ 2  
εἰδέναι, ἀλλὰ ἡμαρτηκέναι πλεῖστον, κατ’ ὁδὸν δὲ πυθέσθαι  
πᾶσαν τὴν ἑωυτοῦ πάθην. ἐπίστασθαι μὲν γὰρ, ὡς βου-  
κόλου τοῦ Ἀστυάγεος εἶη παῖς, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς κεῖθεν ὁδοῦ τὸν  
πάντα λόγον τῶν πομπῶν πυθέσθαι. τραφῆναι δὲ ἔλεγε 3  
ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ βουκόλου γυναικός. ἥϊε τε ταύτην αἰνέων διὰ  
παντός, ἣν τέ οἱ ἐν τῷ λόγῳ τὰ πάντα ἢ Κυνώ. οἱ δὲ τοκέες

§ 9. ἕτερα τοιαῦτα] i. e. θαρσεῖν.  
Cf. 207. 3.

CH. 121. ἐκεῖ] For ἐκεῖσε. So  
often in Hdt.

κατὰ] Cf. 98. 8; Plat. *Apol.* 1,  
ὁμολογοῖν ἂν ἐγωγε οὐ κατὰ τούτους  
εἶναι ῥήτωρ, ‘not an orator of their  
sort.’

CH. 122. § 1. ἐπιστάμενοι]  
‘Feeling sure.’ Used, like ἐπί-  
στασθαι below, of inaccurate know-  
ledge: virtually = δοξάζειν. Cf. ἐπι-  
στέατο δόξῃ, VIII. 132. 3.

§ 2. ἔλεγε φὰς] ‘Told them  
(how he had escaped) adding.’ v.  
50. 2, χρὸν γάρ μιν μὴ λέγειν τὸ ἐόν,  
λέγει δ’ ὦν (sc. τὸ ἐόν) τριῶν μηνῶν  
φὰς εἶναι τὴν ἀνοδόν.

§ 3. ἥϊε...αἰνέων] From the  
analogy of ἐρχομαι ἐρέων (5. 5); ἐρ-  
χομαι φράσων (194. 1); ἥϊα λέξων,  
IV. 82. 3 Stein concludes that  
αἰνέων here is the fut. part., compar-

ing the use of αἰρέει in a future  
sense, v. 43. 2; VI. 82. 3. But  
there clearly is a reason for the  
use of the future, where Hdt. is  
using the phrase about his own in-  
tentions, which does not exist in the  
present passage. Thus τὸν κατ’  
ἀρχὰς ἥϊα λέξων λόγον (IV. 82. 3; v.  
62. 1) = the story which I *was going*  
*to tell* originally (before the digres-  
sion), whereas ἥϊε αἰνέων here must  
mean ‘he continually went about  
praising,’ not ‘he was going about  
to praise.’

τὰ πάντα] ‘Omne sermonum ar-  
gumentum erat ei Cyno’ Herm. (*ad*  
*Viger.* 95), i. e. he could talk of  
nothing else. Without the article  
the meaning would be different; e.g.  
in the phrase πάντα δὴ ἦν ἐν ταῖσι  
Βαβυλωνίοισι Ζώπυρος (III. 157. 6)  
πάντα is merely a rhetorical superla-  
tive, = Ζ. was a great man. Thus

παραλαβόντες τὸ οὖνομα τοῦτο, ἵνα θειοτέρως δοκέῃ τοῖσι Πέρσησι περιεῖναι σφί ὁ παῖς, κατέβαλλον φάτιν ὡς ἐκκείμενον Κῦρον κύων ἐξέθρεψε. ἐνθεῦτεν μὲν ἡ φάτις αὕτη  
 123 κεχώρηκε. Κύρῳ δὲ ἀνδρευμένῳ καὶ ἐόντι τῶν ἡλίκων 1  
 ἀνδρειοτάτῳ καὶ προσφιλεστάτῳ προσέκειτο ὁ Ἄρπαγος  
 δῶρα πέμπων, τίσασθαι Ἀστυάγεα ἐπιθυμέων. ἀπ' ἐωυτοῦ 2  
 γὰρ, ἐόντος ἰδιώτεω, οὐκ ἐνώρα τιμωρίην ἐσομένην ἐς Ἀστυ-  
 άγεα· Κῦρον δὲ ὀρέων ἐπιτρεφόμενον, ἐποιέετο σύμμαχον,  
 τὰς πάθας τὰς Κύρου τῇσι ἐωυτοῦ ὁμοιούμενος. πρὸ δ' ἔτι 3  
 τούτου τάδε οἱ κατέργαστο· ἐόντος τοῦ Ἀστυάγεος πικροῦ  
 ἐς τοὺς Μήδους, συμμίσγων ἐνὶ ἐκάστῳ ὁ Ἄρπαγος τῶν  
 πρώτων Μήδων, ἀνέπειθε ὡς χρὴ Κῦρον προστησαμένους,  
 τὸν Ἀστυάγεα παῦσαι τῆς βασιληΐης. κατεργασμένου δέ 4  
 οἱ τούτου, καὶ ἐόντος ἐτοίμου, οὕτω δὴ τῷ Κύρῳ διαιτωμένῳ  
 ἐν Πέρσησι βουλόμενος ὁ Ἄρπαγος δηλῶσαι τὴν ἐωυτοῦ  
 γνώμην, ἄλλως μὲν οὐδαμῶς εἶχε, ἅτε τῶν ὁδῶν φυλασσο-  
 μένων· ὁ δὲ ἐπιτεχνᾶται τοιόνδε. λαγὸν μηχανησάμενος,  
 καὶ ἀνασχίσας τούτου τὴν γαστέρα, καὶ οὐδὲν ἀποτίλας, ὡς  
 δὲ εἶχε, οὕτω ἐσέθηκε βιβλίον, γράψας τὰ οἱ ἐδόκεε. ἀπορ- 5

if we were to read πάντα in the present passage, the meaning would become 'verbis (non item animo) carissima erat Cyno.' Herm.

θειοτέρως] So μεζόνως, II. 49. 3; ἐνδεεστέρας, Plat. *Phaed.* 74. 3; μειόνως, Soph. *O. C.* 104; βελτιόνως, Plat. *Rep.* 484; ἐχθιόνως, Xen. *Symp.* IV. 3.

κατέβαλλον] 'Spread abroad:' prob. a metaphor from sowing seed.

CH. 123. § 1. τῶν ἡλίκων κ.τ.λ.] So in Xenophon's historical romance, Cyrus πάντων τῶν ἡλίκων διαφέρων ἐφαίνετο. *Cyrop.* I. 3. 1.

προσέκειτο] Abicht takes this with the part., 'sent gift upon gift,' προσκεῖσθαι ποιῶν τι meaning 'to do a thing urgently' (cf. Thuc. VIII. 52, θεραπεύων προσέκειτο). But in the other passages in which the word is used by Hdt. (see Schw. *Lex.*) it seems to have a dative depending directly on it. Translate therefore: 'sought to cleave to Cyrus.'

§ 2. ἐπιτρεφόμενον] ἐπι- = growing up as a successor to Astyages. Cf. ἐπιτραφέντων, II. 121. 4; ἐπιγενόμενοι, II. 49. 3.

§ 3. πρὸ δ' ἔτι τούτου] So πρὸς ἔτι τούτοις, 64. 2; ἐξ ἔτι τοῦ, 8τε, Hom. *Il.* IX. 106.

§ 4. τούτου] = τούτων (sc. τῶν Μήδων). Cf. ἐτοίμου τοῦ γε ἐνθάδε ἐόντος, 124. 7; 97. 1, note. For the passive sense of κατεργ. (= work upon, persuade), cf. 207. 8, n.

φυλασσομένων] Compare the description of the 'royal' road from Sardis to Susa (v. 52), where φυλακτήρια are mentioned at the bridges and passes. Hdt. is talking as if these existed in the days of Astyages. Cf. 188. 2, n.

ὁ δὲ] See 107. 4.

ὡς δὲ εἶχε] As if ἐάσας had been added (Kr.), δέ introducing an opposition to οὐδέν.

§ 5. ἀπορράψας] ἀπο- = 'back again,' as in ἀποδιδόναι.



· ράψας δὲ τοῦ λαγοῦ τὴν γαστέρα καὶ δίκτυα δοὺς, ἄτε  
θηρευτῇ, τῶν οἰκετέων τῷ πιστοτάτῳ, ἀπέστειλε εἰς τοὺς  
Πέρσας, ἐντειλάμενός οἱ ἀπὸ γλώσσης διδόντα τὸν λαγὸν  
Κύρῳ ἐπειπεῖν, αὐτοχειρίῃ μιν διελεῖν, καὶ μηδένα οἱ ταῦτα  
I 24 ποιεῦντι παρεῖναι. Ταῦτα δὲ δὴ ὧν ἐπιτελέα ἐγένετο· καὶ ὁ I  
Κῦρος παραλαβὼν τὸν λαγὸν ἀνέσχισε. εὐρών δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ  
τὸ βιβλίον ἐνεὸν, λαβὼν ἐπελέγετο. τὰ δὲ γράμματα ἔλεγε 2  
τάδε· “Ὡ παῖ Καμβύσεω, σὲ γάρ θεοὶ ἐπορέωσι· οὐ γὰρ ἂν  
κοτε εἰς τοσοῦτον τύχης ἀπίκει· σύ νυν Ἀστυάγεα τὸν 3  
σεωυτοῦ φονέα τίσαι. κατὰ μὲν γὰρ τὴν τούτου προθυμίην  
τέθνηκας, τὸ δὲ κατὰ θεοὺς τε καὶ ἐμὲ περίεις. τά σε καὶ 4  
πάλαι δοκέω πάντα ἐκμεμαθηκέναι, σέο τε αὐτοῦ πέρι ὡς  
ἐπρήχθη, καὶ οἷα ἐγὼ ὑπὸ Ἀστυάγεος πέπονθα, ὅτι σε οὐκ  
ἀπέκτεινα, ἀλλὰ ἔδωκα τῷ βουκόλῳ. σύ νυν ἤν βούληται μοι 5  
πείθεσθαι, τῆσπερ Ἀστυάγης ἄρχηι χώρης, ταύτης ἀπάσης  
ἄρξεις. Πέρσας γὰρ ἀναπείσας ἀπίστασθαι, στρατηλάτее 6  
ἐπὶ Μήδους· καὶ ἥν τε ἐγὼ ὑπὸ Ἀστυάγεος ἀποδεχθῶ  
στρατηγὸς ἀντία σεῦ, ἔστι τοι τὰ σὺ βούλει, ἥν τε τῶν τις  
δοκίμων ἄλλος Μήδων. πρῶτοι γὰρ οὗτοι ἀποστάντες ἀπ’ 7  
ἐκείνου, καὶ γενόμενοι πρὸς σέο, Ἀστυάγεα καταιρέειν πει-  
ρήσονται· ὡς ὧν ἐτοίμου τοῦ γε ἐνθάδε ἑόντος, ποίειε ταῦτα,  
καὶ ποίειε κατὰ τάχος.”

ἀπὸ γλώσσης] With ἐπειπεῖν.  
Cf. ὡς ἀπ' ὀμμάτων, 'to judge by  
the eye,' Soph. *O. C.* 15.

CH. 124. § I. ἐπελέγετο] 'Read,' lit. 'pondered over' the meaning contained in the characters. So the Attic ἀναγιγνώσκω lit. denotes the 'recognition' of the writer's meaning (St.).

§ 2. **σὶ γὰρ]** γὰρ gives a reason for **πισταί.** See 8. 2, n.

§ 3. **σὺ νῦν**] Krüg. reads **νῦν**, comparing the common use of **ἄν** after the anticipatory **γάρ** (cf. **δὴ**, 129. 3, n.). But (1) we constantly find the anticipated clause introduced without any resuming particle, (2) where **ἄν** is used, we frequently have **νῦν** as well (30. 5; 121. 1), and (3) there is force in **νῦν**, = **now** is

the time of vengeance (123, 1—3) for deeds of which you have long ago heard (*καὶ πάλαι*). The occurrence of *σύ νυν* below, § 5 (Bähr reads *νῦν* there as well), does not prove that *νῦν* is wrong here.

**φονέα]** Cf. 45. 4.

**τὸ δέ]** 'The expression originates in the omission of a sentence merely intimated by **τὸ** (e.g. **τὸ δὲ ὠδὲ ἔχει**),' Madv. (*G. S.* 118. r. 7). So far as Hdt. is concerned, compare (1) the use of **τοῦτο μὲν—τοῦτο δέ** (30. 8), (2) the pleonastic use of the personal pronoun with **δέ** (107. 4). Cf. VII. 158. 2, **τὸ δὲ κατ' ὑμέας, τάδε ἅπαντα ὑπὸ βαρβάρουσι νέμεται**, 'si per vos stetisset, haec omnia in barbarorum forent potestate' (Schw.).

§ 7. πρὸς σέο] Cf. 75. 2.



- 125 Ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Κῦρος ἐφρόντιζε ὅτεω τρόπῳ· σοφωτάτῳ 1  
Πέρσας ἀναπείσει ἀπίστασθαι. φροντίζων δὲ εὗρισκέ τε  
ταῦτα καιριώτατα εἶναι καὶ ἐποίεε δὴ ταῦτα· γράψας ἐς 2  
βιβλίον τὰ ἐβούλετο, ἀλίην τῶν Περσέων ἐποιήσατο· μετὰ  
δὲ ἀναπτύξας τὸ βιβλίον καὶ ἐπιλεγόμενος, ἔφη Ἀστυάγεά  
μιν στρατηγὸν Περσέων ἀποδεικνύναι. “Νῦν,” ἔφη τε 3  
λέγων, “ὦ Πέρσαι, προαγορεύω ὑμῖν, παρεῖναι ἕκαστον  
ἔχοντα δρέπανον.” Κῦρος μὲν ταῦτα προηγόρευσε. Ἔστι 4  
δὲ Περσέων συχνὰ γένεα· καὶ τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν ὁ Κῦρος συνάλισε,  
καὶ ἀνέπεισε ἀπίστασθαι ἀπὸ Μήδων, ἔστι δὲ τάδε, ἐξ ὧν  
ἄλλοι πάντες ἀρτέαται Πέρσαι· Πασαργάδαι, Μαράφιοι,  
Μάσπιοι. τούτων Πασαργάδαι εἰσὶ ἄριστοι· ἐν τοῖσι καὶ 5  
Ἀχαιμενίδαι εἰσὶ φρήτρη, ἔνθεν οἱ βασιλέες οἱ Περσεῖδαι  
γεγόνασι. ἄλλοι δὲ Πέρσαι εἰσὶ οἷδε· Πανθιαλαῖοι, Δηρου- 6  
σιαῖοι, Γερμάνιοι· οὗτοι μὲν πάντες ἀροτῆρές εἰσι. οἱ δὲ  
126 ἄλλοι νομάδες· Δάοι, Μάρδοι, Δροπικοὶ, Σαγάρτιοι. Ὡς  
δὲ παρῆσαν ἅπαντες ἔχοντες τὸ προειρημένον, ἐνθαῦτα ὁ

CH. 125. § 1. ταῦτα] Above, ch. 101, note.

§ 3. ἔφη τε λέγων] See note, 117. 3: 118, 2. τε prob. is part of what Cyrus says: ‘and now.’ Cf. νῦν τε, 37. 3; καὶ νῦν, 120. 3.

§ 4. γένεα] Below, § 5, we have a φρήτρη mentioned as a subdivision of the γένος. Hence Hdt. is not using these terms in the exact sense in which they were applied at Athens, where the γένος (*gens*) was a subdivision of the φρατρία (*curia*), and this latter a subdivision of the φυλή (*tribus*). In the present passage γένεα may be translated ‘clans,’ and φρήτρη ‘family.’

τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν] Opposed to ἄλλοι δέ, § 6. τὰ here is prob. the relative, and its antecedent τάδε is introduced by the apodictic δέ (112. 3, n.). Later writers mention a town Pasargadae (214. 6, n.).

§ 5. ἄριστοι] ‘Graecorum more, qui genere praestantes et nobiles s. optimates sic appellare solebant.’ Bähr. More prob. here it simply

= ‘bravest,’ as often in Hdt. The three clans first mentioned would seem to be the warrior-class (as opposed to the ἀροτῆρες and νομάδες below), and of these the Pasargadae are the bravest. For the Achaemenidae, see III. 65. 10; VII. 11. 3. Compare the words of Darius on the Behistun Inscription (Sir H. Rawlinson’s trans., col. 1):—‘On that account (owing to our descent from Achaemenes) we have been called Achaemenians; from antiquity we have descended (?); from antiquity our family have been kings.’ (Behistun is on the western frontier of ancient Media. The inscription is engraved at a height of 300 feet from the base of a precipitous rock. It is trilingual (in ancient Persian, Babylonian, and a Tatar dialect) and is thought to have been executed in the 5th year of Darius, B. C. 516. Rawlinson.)

Περσεῖδαι] i. e. descendants of Perses, the son of Perseus (VII. 61. 4).

Κῦρος (ἦν γάρ τις χῶρος τῆς Περσικῆς ἀκανθώδης ὅσον τε ἐπὶ ὀκτώκαϊδεκα σταδίους ἢ εἴκοσι πάντα) τοῦτον σφι τὸν χῶρον προεῖπε ἐξημερῶσαι ἐν ἡμέρῃ. ἐπιτελεσάντων δὲ τῶν 2 Περσέων τὸν προκείμενον ἄεθλον, δευτέρᾳ σφι προεῖπε, ἐς τὴν ὑστεραίην παρεῖναι λελουμένους. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τὰ τε 3 αἰπόλια καὶ τὰς ποιμένας καὶ τὰ βουκόλια ὁ Κῦρος πάντα τοῦ πατρὸς συναλίσας ἐς τὸν τόπον, ἔθνε καὶ παρεσκεύαζε ὡς δεξόμενος τῶν Περσέων τὸν στρατὸν, πρὸς δὲ οἶνῳ τε καὶ σιτίοισι ὡς ἐπιτηδεωτάτοισι. ἀπικομένους δὲ τῇ ὑστεραίῃ τοὺς 4 Πέρσας κατακλίνας ἐς λειμῶνα εὐώχῃ. ἐπεὶ τε δὲ ἀπὸ δείπνου ἦσαν, εἶρετό σφας ὁ Κῦρος κότερα τὰ τῇ προτεραίῃ εἶχον, ἢ τὰ παρεόντα σφι εἶη αἶρετώτερα. οἱ δὲ ἔφασαν, 5 πολλὸν εἶναι αὐτῶν τὸ μέσον. τὴν μὲν γὰρ προτέρην ἡμέρην πάντα σφι κακὰ ἔχειν, τὴν δὲ τότε παρεούσαν πάντα 6 ἀγαθὰ. Παραλαβὼν δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ἔπος ὁ Κῦρος παρεγύμνου τὸν πάντα λόγον, λέγων· “Ἄνδρες Πέρσαι, οὕτω ὑμῖν ἔχει. βουλομένοισι μὲν ἐμέο πείθεσθαι, ἔστι τάδε τε καὶ ἄλλα μυρία ἀγαθὰ, οὐδένα πόνον δουλοπρεπέα ἔχουσι· μὴ βουλομένοισι δὲ ἐμέο πείθεσθαι, εἰσὶ ὑμῖν πόνοι τῷ χθιζῶ παραπλήσιοι ἀναρίθμητοι. νῦν ὧν ἐμέο πειθόμενοι, γίνεσθε 7 ἐλεύθεροι. αὐτός τε γὰρ δοκέω θείῃ τύχῃ γεγονώς τάδε ἐς

CH. 126. § 1. ὅσον τε] See 14. 8, n. Hom. *Od.* x. 517, βόθρον ὀρύξαι ὅσον τε πυγούσιον ἐνθα καὶ ἐνθα.

πάντη] i. e. the tract to be cleared was square-shaped.

§ 3. ἔθνε] Simply = ‘slew’ without any notion of a sacrifice or burnt offering. Cf. 216. 3.

οἶνῳ τε] Sc. δεξόμενος, as if τοῦτοισι had been added above.

§ 5. πολλὸν εἶναι κ.τ.λ.] IX. 82. 3. Cf. Eur. *Alc.* 914, πολὺ γὰρ τὸ μέσον, followed by τότε μὲν —νῦν δέ.

σφι.] Krüg. reads σφεῖς. But ἡμέρην is the subj. of ἔχειν and not the accus. of duration. Compare πολλὰ πράγματα ἔχειν τινί. The old explanation was that ἔχειν = παρέχειν. But ‘in his locutionibus ἔχειν retinet suam vim, sic ut notet conjunctum quid cum quo esse.

Nulla enim modo fieri potest ut ἔχω idem sit atque παρέχω.’ Herm. *ad Viger.* 184. Cf. παρέχοντες—έχοντες, 155. 1. Translate: ‘yesterday contained nothing but evil, as they had found (σφι); to day nothing but good.’

§ 6. παρεγύμνου] παρ- (= ‘side-ways’) implies caution and reserve. Cf. ἐς τοσοῦτο παρεγύμνου, VIII. 19. 2. So παραδηλοῦν, *oblique significare*, to insinuate without actually stating; παραδύναι, to enter side-ways, to slip in.

ἐμέο] The gen. on the analogy of ἀκούειν, ‘to obey.’ 108. 6, n.

§ 7. θείῃ τύχῃ] Either in a general sense, ‘providentially’ (111. 2, n.), or more prob. with γεγονώς specially, referring to the popular belief about his birth (θειοτέρως, 122. 3).

χειρας ἄγεσθαι· καὶ ὑμέας ἡγημαὶ ἄνδρας Μήδων εἶναι οὐ φαυλοτέρους, οὔτε τᾶλλα οὔτε τὰ πολέμια. ὥς ὦν ἐχόντων ὧδε, ἀπίστασθε ἀπ' Ἀστυάγεος τὴν ταχίστην."

- 127 Πέρσαι μὲν νυν προστάτεω ἐπιλαβόμενοι, ἄσμενοι ἐλευ- 1  
θεροῦντο, καὶ πάλαι δεινὸν ποιούμενοι ὑπὸ Μήδων ἄρχεσθαι.  
'Αστυάγης δὲ ὥς ἐπύθετο Κῦρον πρήσσοντα ταῦτα, πέμψας 2  
ἄγγελον, ἐκάλεε αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ Κῦρος ἐκέλευε τὸν ἄγγελον  
ἀπαγγέλλειν, ὅτι πρότερον ἥξοι παρ' ἐκείνουν ἢ αὐτὸς Ἀστυ-  
άγης βουλήσεται. ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Ἀστυάγης Μήδους 3  
τε ὥπλισε πάντας, καὶ στρατηγὸν αὐτῶν ὥστε θεοβλαβῆς  
εἶναι ἀπέδεξε Ἀρπαγον, λήθην ποιούμενος τὰ μιν ἐόργεε. ὥς 4  
δ' οἱ Μῆδοι στρατευσάμενοι τοῖσι Πέρσησι συνέμισγον, οἱ  
μὲν τινες αὐτῶν ἐμάχοντο, ὅσοι μὴ τοῦ λόγου μετέσχον, οἱ  
δὲ αὐτομόλεον πρὸς τοὺς Πέρσας, οἱ δὲ πλείστοι ἐθελοκάκεον  
128 τε καὶ ἔφευγον. Διαλυθέντος δὲ τοῦ Μηδικοῦ στρατεύματος 1  
αἰσχυρῶς, ὥς ἐπύθετο τάχιστα ὁ Ἀστυάγης, ἔφη, ἀπειλέων  
τῷ Κύρῳ· "Ἄλλ' οὐδ' ὥς ὁ Κῦρός γε χαιρήσει." Τοσαῦτα 2  
εἶπας πρῶτον μὲν τῶν μάγων τοὺς ὄνειροπόλους, οἳ μιν ἀνέ-  
γνωσαν μετεῖναι τὸν Κῦρον, τούτους ἀνεσκολόπισε. μετὰ δὲ  
ὥπλισε τοὺς ὑπολειφθέντας τῶν Μήδων ἐν τῷ ἄστεϊ, νέους  
τε καὶ πρεσβύτας ἄνδρας. ἐξαγαγὼν δὲ τούτους, καὶ συμ- 3  
βαλὼν τοῖσι Πέρσησι, ἐσσώθη· καὶ αὐτὸς τε Ἀστυάγης  
129 ἐξωγρήθη, καὶ τοὺς ἐξήγαγε τῶν Μήδων ἀπέβαλε. Ἔοντι δὲ 1  
αἰχμαλώτῳ τῷ Ἀστυάγει προστὰς ὁ Ἀρπαγος, κατέχαιρέ  
τε καὶ κατεκερτόμεε, καὶ ἄλλα λέγων ἐς αὐτὸν θυμαλγέα  
ἔπεα, καὶ δὴ καὶ εἵρετό μιν πρὸς τὸ ἐωυτοῦ δεῖπνον, τό μιν

ἐχόντων] ἔχον impers., as at § 6.

τὴν ταχίστην] 24. 5.

CH. 127. § 1. καὶ πάλαι] 117.  
1, n.

§ 3. ὥστε] 8. 2, n.

θεοβλαβῆς] 'Quem deus vult perdere prius dementat.'

τά] = τούτων τά.

§ 4. ὅσοι μὴ] 'Those who had not had the word given them.' Strictly τοῦ λόγου is the secret conference of Harpagus with the Median chiefs (123. 3).

CH. 128. § 1. χαιρήσει] Hom. *Il.* xx. 362, οὐδέ τι' οἶω | Τρώων

χαιρήσειν, ὅστις σχεδὸν ἐγχεος ἔλθῃ (St.).

§ 2. τοσαῦτα] 'No more than this.' Krüg.

τούτους] simply repeats the subst. ἀνεσκολόπισε] ἀνα-, as in ἀνασταυρόω, implies that the body was raised from the ground.

CH. 129. § 1. προστὰς] 86. 3, note.

λέγων...εἶπετο] 8. 2; 85. 2, note. θυμαλγέα] Hom. *Od.* xxiii. 183, ἢ μάλα τοῦτο ἔπος θυμαλγὲς εἶπες.

πρὸς] = 'referring to,' or 'as compared with.' Harpagus put the

ἐκεῖνος σαρξὶ τοῦ παιδὸς ἐθοίνησε, ὃ τι εἶη ἢ ἐκείνου δουλο-  
 σύνη ἀντὶ τῆς βασιληΐης. ὁ δέ μιν προσιδὼν ἀντείρετο, εἰ 2  
 ἑωυτοῦ ποιεῖται τὸ Κύρου ἔργον. Ἀρπαγος δὲ ἔφη, αὐτὸς 3  
 γὰρ γράψαι, τὸ πρῆγμα ἑωυτοῦ δὴ δικαίως εἶναι. Ἀστυ- 4  
 ἀγῆς δέ μιν ἀπέφαινε τῷ λόγῳ σκαιότατόν τε καὶ ἀδικώτατον  
 ἔοντα πάντων ἀνθρώπων· σκαιότατον μὲν γε, εἰ παρεὼν αὐτῷ  
 βασιλέα γενέσθαι, εἰ δὴ δι' ἑωυτοῦ γε ἐπρήχθη τὰ παρεόντα,  
 ἄλλω περιέθηκε τὸ κράτος· ἀδικώτατον δὲ, ὅτι τοῦ δείπνου  
 εἵνεκεν Μήδους κατεδούλωσε. εἰ γὰρ δὴ δεῖν πάντως περι- 5  
 θεῖναι ἄλλω τέῳ τὴν βασιληΐην, καὶ μὴ αὐτὸν ἔχειν, δικαι-  
 ότερον εἶναι Μήδων τέῳ περιβαλεῖν τοῦτο τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἢ  
 Περσέων. νῦν δὲ Μήδους μὲν, ἀναιτίους τούτου ἔοντας, 6  
 δούλους ἀντὶ δεσποτέων γεγονέναι· Περσας δὲ, δούλους ἔοντας  
 τὸ πρὶν Μήδων, νῦν γεγονέναι δεσπότας.

130 Ἀστυάγῆς μὲν νυν, βασιλεύσας ἐπ' ἕτεα πέντε καὶ 1

question so as to point out that As-  
 tyages' misfortunes were the result  
 of that banquet. Compare the ques-  
 tion of Leotychides to Demaratus  
 (VI. 67. 2) ὁκοῖόν τι εἶη τὸ ἀρχειν μετὰ  
 τὸ βασιλεύειν. Krüg. suggests ἐκεῖ  
 νῦν instead of ἐκείνου, but the latter  
 brings out the antithesis to ἑωυτοῦ,  
 above: 'what *he* thought of *his*  
 bonds, after being a king.'

§ 3. ἑωυτοῦ δὴ] Another read-  
 ing is πρῆγμα δὴ ἑωυτοῦ, which Bähr  
 and Krüg. adopt, considering that  
 δὴ resumes after γάρ (124. 3, note).  
 The MS. authority is about equal  
 (Gaisf.), but more force is gained  
 by taking δὴ with ἑωυτοῦ ('his very  
 own'): cf. ἑωυτοῦ γε, below.

§ 4. τῷ λόγῳ] Cf. ἀπέφαινον  
 λόγῳ ὡς οὐκ ἀδικοῖεν, V. 84. 2; ἐδή-  
 λου λόγῳ ὡς εἶη, VIII. 61. 2; ἀπο-  
 δείκνυντες λόγῳ, V. 94. 3. In these  
 passages there is some doubt as to  
 whether λόγῳ = *oratione* or *ratione*.  
 Prob. the latter:—'offered (*imperf.*)  
 arguments to prove.'

εἰ δὴ] 'if really,' 'if as he said.'

αὐτῷ...ἑωυτοῦ] These both refer  
 to the subject of the dependent clause  
 (Hárpagus), but the former is used  
 where there is no emphasis on the

pronoun, the latter (as at § 2) where  
 special emphasis is required. See  
 86. 6, n.

§ 5. δεῖν] See 24. 11, note.

περιθεῖναι] This may possibly be  
 a reference to the *tiara*, as the sym-  
 bol of Persian sovereignty (so Stein:  
 cf. II. 162. 1). But the expression  
 also occurs, where this explanation  
 will not serve: cf. III. 142. 5; Thuc.  
 VI. 89. 2, ἐμοὶ ἀτιμίαν περιέθετε,  
 'crowned me with infamy.'

§ 6. τούτου] sc. τοῦ δείπνου.

CH. 130. § 1. πᾶρξ ἢ ὅσον] These words must = 'if we do not  
 reckon the 28 years of Scythian  
 dominion' (106. 1). But the form  
 of expression leaves it doubtful  
 whether Hdt. has already made the  
 deduction, or whether he intends  
 the reader to deduct the sum for  
 himself. In the former case (trans-  
 late 'besides') the 28 years will not  
 be included in the 128, so that the  
 whole duration of the Median he-  
 gemony will amount to 156 years:  
 on the latter alternative (translate  
 'with the exception of') the dura-  
 tion of the hegemony will be 128  
 years, but of this amount Hdt.  
 implies that 28 years, strictly speak-

τριήκοντα, οὕτω τῆς βασιλῆϊας κατεπαύθη· Μῆδοι δὲ ὑπέ-  
κυψαν Πέρσῃσι διὰ τὴν τούτου πικρότητα, ἄρξαντες τῆς  
ἄνω Ἀλυος ποταμοῦ Ἀσίης ἐπ' ἕτεα τριήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν  
δυῶν δέοντα, πάρεξ ἢ ὅσον οἱ Σκύθαι ἦρχον. Ὑστέρῳ μέντοι 2  
χρόνῳ μετεμέλησέ τέ σφι ταῦτα ποιήσασι, καὶ ἀπέστησαν  
ἀπὸ Δαρείου, ἀποστάντες δὲ ὀπίσω κατεστράφησαν, μάχῃ  
νικηθέντες. τότε δὲ ἐπὶ Ἀστυάγεος οἱ Πέρσαι τε καὶ ὁ 3  
Κῦρος ἐπαναστάντες τοῖσι Μήδοισι, ἦρχον τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου  
τῆς Ἀσίης. Ἀστυάγεα δὲ Κῦρος, κακὸν οὐδὲν ἄλλο ποιήσας,  
εἶχε παρ' ἐωυτῷ ἐς ὃ ἐτελεύτησε. Οὕτω δὲ Κῦρος γενόμενός 4

ing, cannot be reckoned. The latter interpretation seems preferable, since Hdt. gen. places the qualifying words (πάρεξ, ἔξω, πλὴν, χωρίς) early in the sentence where he has already made the deduction (see 164. 4; II. 77. 8; III. 91. 4, χωρίς τοῦ ἀργυρίου προσήϊε ἐπτακόσια τέλαιντα); while he places them at the end of the sentence (as here) when he means to imply that the deduction has still to be made (see 94. 1; II. 111. 5; III. 67. 2, ὥστε πόθον ἔχειν πάντας τοὺς ἐν Ἀσίῃ πάρεξ αὐτῶν τῶν Περσέων). Stein. This interpretation however does not get rid of chronological difficulties, since the dominion of the Medes over upper Asia cannot properly be placed before the accession of Phraortes (102. 1), i.e. only 96 years before the defeat of Astyages. To obviate this difficulty, some editors have actually deducted the 28 from the 128 years, so as to make the amount 100 years, forgetting that whether the years of the Scythian dominion are counted *as part of the Median hegemony* or not, the point of time at which the latter begins would still be the same, viz. 128 years before the defeat of Astyages. See Clinton *F. H.* I. 257. Another difficulty as great as that mentioned above is the improbability that the reigns of four successive kings, each the son of his predecessor, would amount to 150 years. Compare II. 127. 1, note.

§ 2. Δαρείου] i. e. Darius Nothus (B. C. 408) acc. to Bähr, Dahlm., and Mure, who compare Xen. *Hell.* I. 2. 19, καὶ ὁ ἐνιαυτὸς ἔληγεν οὗτος ἐν ᾧ καὶ Μῆδοι ἀπὸ Δαρείου τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως ἀποστάντες πάλιν προσεχώρησαν αὐτῷ. For the objections to this view, see Grote, *H. G.* III. 194 (IV. 304), n. On the other hand the passage can hardly refer to the usurpation of the pseudo-Smerdis, as recorded by Hdt. (III. 61—79), since (1) we hear of no battle then, (2) ἀπό here could hardly be used of a time when Darius was not yet king. But in the Behistun Inscription (125. 5, n.) as deciphered by Sir H. Rawlinson (*col.* II. 5—12) we have the following account of a revolt in the reign of Darius Hystaspes not elsewhere mentioned by Hdt. :—‘Says Darius the king—A man named Phraortes, a Mede, he rose up.’ To the state of Media thus he said: I am Xathrites of the race of Cyaxares. Then the Median troops who were at home revolted from me. They went over to that Phraortes: he became king of Media..... Then I went out from Babylon. I proceeded to Media. When I reached Media, there that Phraortes, who (was) called king of Media, came with an army against me to do battle. There we fought a battle. Ormazd brought help to me. By the grace of Ormazd I entirely defeated the army of Phraortes.’ Rawlinson, *App.* Bk. III.

τε καὶ τραφεῖς ἐβασίλευσε· καὶ Κροῖσον ὕστερον τούτων  
ἄρξαντα ἀδικίης κατεστρέψατο, ὡς εἴρηται μοι τὸ πρότερον.  
τοῦτον δὲ καταστρεφάμενος οὕτω πάσης τῆς Ἀσίης ἤρξε.

- 131 Πέρσας δὲ οἶδα νόμοισι τοῖσδε χρεωμένους· ἀγάλματα<sup>1</sup>  
μὲν καὶ νηοὺς καὶ βωμοὺς οὐκ ἐν νόμῳ ποιευμένους ἰδρύνεσθαι,  
ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖσι ποιεῦσι μωρίην ἐπιφέρουσι· ὥς μὲν ἐμοὶ  
δοκέειν, ὅτι οὐκ ἀνθρωποφυέας ἐνόμισαν τοὺς θεοὺς, κατάπερ  
οἱ Ἕλληνες, εἶναι. οἱ δὲ νομίζουσι Διὶ μὲν, ἐπὶ τὰ ὑψηλό-<sup>2</sup>  
τατα τῶν οὐρέων ἀναβαίνοντες, θυσίας ἔρδειν, τὸν κύκλον  
πάντα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ Δία καλέοντες· θύουσι δὲ ἡλίῳ τε καὶ  
σελήνῃ καὶ γῇ καὶ πυρὶ καὶ ὕδατι καὶ ἀνέμοισι.. τούτοις<sup>3</sup>  
μὲν δὴ μούνοισι θύουσι ἀρχῇθεν. ἐπιμεμαθήκασι δὲ καὶ τῇ  
Οὐρανίῃ θύειν, παρά τε Ἀσσυρίων μαθόντες καὶ Ἀραβίων.  
καλέουσι δὲ Ἀσσύριοι τὴν Ἀφροδίτην Μύλιττα, Ἀράβιοι  
132 δὲ Ἀλίττα, Πέρσαι δὲ Μίτραν. Θυσίῃ δὲ τοῖσι Πέρσησι<sup>1</sup>  
περὶ τοὺς εἰρημένους θεοὺς ἦδε κατέστηκε. οὔτε βωμοὺς  
ποιεῦνται, οὔτε πῦρ ἀνακαίουσι, μέλλοντες θύειν· οὐ σπονδῇ

§ 4. πάσης] See note, 103. 3.

CH. 131. § 1. τοῖσδε] simply  
anticipates the participial clause (II.  
2. 4; 143. 5).

ἀγάλματα] See 31. 9, n. οὐκ  
ἐν νόμῳ π., i. e. as the Greeks do:  
θεῶν ἰσὰ Ἑλληνικῶς κατεσκευασμένα  
ἀγάλμασι τε καὶ βωμοῖσι, IV. 108. 3.  
ἐπιφέρουσι, as if we had had ποιεῦνται  
above.

ὥς μὲν] implies that others may  
think differently.

δοκέειν] 172. 1, n.

ἀνθρωποφυέας] Krüg. prefers  
Valla's trans., 'ex hominibus ortos.'  
But that the word = 'having the  
nature of men' (ἀνθρωποειδής, II.  
142. 4) is proved by a passage in  
Empedocles. Speaking of the mon-  
sters produced during the earlier  
stages of creation, he says: ἐξανέ-  
τελλον | ἀνδροφυῇ βούκρανα, μεμυγ-  
μένα τῇ μὲν ἀπ' ἀνδρῶν, τῇ δὲ γυναι-  
κοφυῇ, 'of mingled shape having  
some parts derived from men, in  
others having the nature of women'  
(*androgynum*, Lucret. v. 837).

ἐνόμισαν] The aorist refers back

to the introduction of the practice  
(cf. νομίσαντες, 135. 1). St.

§ 2. οἱ δὲ] 107. 4, n.

Διὶ] Hdt. uses the Greek title  
for the chief god of the Persian re-  
ligion, viz. Auramazda (Ormazd).  
But the elemental worship which he  
proceeds to describe (cf. 86. 2) was  
prob. not the primitive Persian, but  
the Magian religion (ἀνευ μάγου,  
132. 4). The inscriptions shew no  
trace of this elemental religion  
(Rawlinson, *Arch.* Bk. I. v.).

§ 3. τῇ Οὐρ.] See 105. 2. The  
indeclinables Μύλιττα and Ἀλίττα  
are used acc. to one explanation  
because the Assyrian and Arabian  
languages have no declensions. The  
name Ἀλίττα becomes Ἀλιδάτ, at  
III. 8. 4.

The name Μίτρα is possibly the  
result of a confusion on the part of  
Hdt. between this goddess and the  
Persian sun-god Mithras.

CH. 132. § 1. Θυσίῃ] = mode  
of sacrifice. So μάχη, 79. 4.

οὐ...οὐκ] The asyndeton in-  
creases the emphasis. Cf. 71. 3.

χρέωνται, οὐκὶ αὐλῶ, οὐ στέμμασι, οὐκὶ οὐλῇσι. τῶν δὲ ὡς 2  
 ἐκάστῳ θύειν θέλει, ἐς χώρον καθαρὸν ἀγαγὼν τὸ κτήνος,  
 καλέει τὸν θεὸν, ἐστεφανωμένος τὸν τιάραν μυρσίνη μάλιστα.  
 ἐωυτῷ μὲν δὴ τῷ θύοντι ἰδίῃ μούνῳ οὐ οἱ ἐγγίνεται ἀρᾶσθαι 3  
 ἀγαθὰ, ὁ δὲ πᾶσι τοῖσι Πέρσησι κατεύχεται εὖ γίνεσθαι καὶ  
 τῷ βασιλεῖ. ἐν γὰρ δὴ τοῖσι ἅπασι Πέρσησι καὶ αὐτὸς  
 γίνεται. ἐπεὰν δὲ διαμιστύλας κατὰ μέρεα τὸ ἱρήϊον ἐψήσῃ 4  
 τὰ κρέα, ὑποπάσας ποίην ὡς ἀπαλωτάτην, μάλιστα δὲ τὸ  
 τρίφυλλον, ἐπὶ ταύτης ἔθηκε ὦν πάντα τὰ κρέα· διαθέντος  
 δὲ αὐτοῦ, μάγος ἀνὴρ παρεστὼς ἐπαεῖδει θεογονίην, οἷν δὴ  
 ἐκεῖνοι λέγουσι εἶναι τὴν ἐπαιδίην· ἄνευ γὰρ δὴ μάγου οὐ  
 σφι νόμος ἐστὶ θυσίας ποιέεσθαι. ἐπισχὼν δὲ ὀλίγον χρόνον, 5  
 ἀποφέρεται ὁ θύσας τὰ κρέα, καὶ χρᾶται ὅ τι μιν ὁ λόγος

**στέμμασι]** Since (1) Hdt. uses ἐστεφανωμένος below, and (2) Xen. says Κῦρος ἐστεφανωμένος ἔθυε (*Cyr.* III. 3. 34), it has been proposed here to read πέμμασι (cf. οὐλᾶς...πέμματα, 160. 6). But Bähr is right in retaining the old reading: 'Graecis suis scribebat non Graeco more sacra fieri a Persis.' Hdt. is tacitly contrasting the woollen chaplet on the bare head with the wreathed tiara. The *Cyropaedia* throughout is a romance of Greek life with the scene laid in Persia.

§ 2. τῶν δὲ] Sc. τῶν εἰρημ. θεῶν. For the change from plur. to sing. (θέλει), cf. 195. 1. Bähr supplies a subject from the verb (ὁ θύων), comparing II. 47. 4. But this explanation will not suit all passages, e.g. I. 216. 3, where τις must be supplied to γένηται.

**μάλιστα]** With μυρσίνη: = *potissimum*.

§ 3. οὐ οἱ] Cf. 109. 2.

**κατεύχεται]** κατ- here = fixedly, earnestly. Cf. κατήλπιζε, 'he firmly expected,' VIII. 136. 3; καταφρονήσας, I. 59. 4, n.

**γίνεται]** 'comes in.'

§ 4. ἐψήσῃ] This is not inconsistent with the words οὐτε πῦρ ἀνακαίουσι above, which are used with reference merely to the Greek cus-

tom of burning *on the altar* portions of the victim in honour of the god. So of the Scythian sacrifices, IV. 60. 2, οὐτε πῦρ ἀνακαύσας οὐτε καταρξάμενος...τρέπεται πρὸς ἔψησιν (Wess.).

**ὦν]** Put after its proper place in order that it may come with the verb. Cf. 194. 6, note.

**πάντα τὰ]** The MSS. have πάντα κρέα, which would naturally = 'all kinds of flesh.' But is the insertion of τὰ (adopted by all editors) absolutely necessary, considering Hdt.'s archaisms? Compare ἀφαρ δ' ἐκ μήρια τάμνον | πάντα κατὰ μοῖραν (of the sacrifice of an ox), Hom. *Od.* III. 456, and see above, 21. 2, note.

**μάγος ἀνὴρ]** The name Μάγοι, which properly denoted a Median γένος (ch. 101), was also applied by the Greeks to the Persian priest-caste.

**οἷν δὴ]** gives the reason for the statement, ἐπαεῖδει θεογονίην: = *τοιαύτην γὰρ τινα*. 'Forms of prayer of this character are frequently found in the Zend Avesta' (the sacred writings of the Parsees). Stein.

§ 5. λόγος] *Agendi ratio* (Schw.), almost = our 'motive' (not like ὁ λόγος αἰρέει, II. 33. 2). Cf. IV. 127. 3, ἦν μὴ ἡμέας λόγος αἰρῇ, unless the notion strikes us—the fancy takes



133 αἰρέει. Ἡμέρην δὲ ἀπασέων μάλιστα ἐκείνην τιμᾶν νομί- 1  
 ζουσι, τῇ ἕκαστος ἐγένετο. ἐν ταύτῃ δὲ πλέω δαῖτα τῶν 2  
 ἄλλων δικαιοῦσι προτίθεσθαι· ἐν τῇ οἱ εὐδαίμονες αὐτῶν  
 βοῦν καὶ ἵππον καὶ κάμηλον καὶ ὄνον προτιθέαται, ὅλους  
 ὀπτοὺς ἐν καμίνοισι· οἱ δὲ πένητες αὐτῶν τὰ λεπτὰ τῶν  
 προβάτων προτιθέαται. σίτοισι δὲ ὀλίγοισι χρέωνται, ἐπι- 3  
 φορήμασι δὲ πολλοῖσι καὶ οὐκ ἀλέσι· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο φασὶ  
 Πέρσαι τοὺς Ἕλληνας σιτεομένους, πεινῶντας παύεσθαι, ὅτι  
 σφι ἀπὸ δείπνου παραφορέεται οὐδὲν λόγου ἄξιον· εἰ δέ τι  
 παραφέροιτο, ἐσθίουντας ἂν οὐ. παύεσθαι. οἶνω δὲ κάρτα 4  
 προσκέαται· καὶ σφι οὐκ ἐμέσαι ἔξεστι, οὐκὶ οὐρῆσαι ἀντίον  
 ἄλλου. ταῦτα μὲν νυν οὕτω φυλάσσεται. μεθυσκόμενοι δὲ 5  
 ἐώθασι βουλεύεσθαι τὰ σπουδαιέστατα τῶν πρηγμάτων· τὸ  
 δ' ἂν ἄδη σφι βουλευομένοισι, τοῦτο τῇ ὑστεραίῃ νήφουσι  
 προτιθεῖ ὁ στέγαρχος, ἐν τοῦ ἂν ἐόντες βουλεύονται. καὶ 6

us. In this phrase and in the Homeric use of *θυμός* (above i. 5) we see the earliest attempts made by Greek thought to describe that within man which prompts him to action, and the influence of these expressions must have done much to determine the form which psychology subsequently took in Greek philosophy. Compare Plato's *τὸ λογιστικόν*, *τὸ θυμοειδές*, *Rep.* 440.

CH. 133. § 2. τῶν ἄλλων] i.e. ἡ ἐν τῇσι ἄλλῃσι. Cf. III. 137. 4, ἐπὶ τίνα τῆσδε προτέρην; (Kr.).

προβ.] πρόβατα, πάντα τὰ τετράποδα Ἡρόδοτος. *Schol. ad. II. XIV.* 124 (Wess.). But this is too wide, since the word does not include *ὑποζύγια*, 167. 2. Generally in Hdt. it may be rendered 'cattle.'

§ 3. σίτοισι] 'Chief dishes.' St. More prob. it='plain food.' In either case it is opposed to ἐπιφορήμασι.

καὶ οὐκ ἀλέσι] i.e. one dish after another (*ἀλής*=*ἀθρόος*). Bekker, who reads *ἀλεσι* (or *ἀλάσι*) here, takes it to mean 'salt,' of which the Greeks were very fond at dessert, because it improved the flavour of the wine (see

*Charicles*, § VI. *Exc.* 1). We have evidence that the Persians used salt (Bähr), but not that they took it at dessert. Notice the force of the compounded prepositions: *προτιθέαται* refers to the *pièce de resistance* which is placed before the guests; the *ἐπιφορήματα* are the additional courses or dessert; and as these do not come in all at once, they are said to be served as side dishes (*παραφορέεται*: cf. *παροψίς*, *παροψώνημα*).

ἀπὸ δείπνου] After the regular dinner. Cf. II. 78.

§ 5. βουλεύεσθαι] Tacitus says of the Germans: 'Questions of peace and war are canvassed during their carousals. They think that there is no time when the mind is more ready to throw itself open to ingenuous thoughts, or grow warm with grand ideas...When the sentiments of all have been laid bare, on the morrow the matter is handled anew. Each time has thus a sound reason for its adoption: they debate when they cannot hide their thoughts, they decide when they cannot make mistakes' (*Germ.* 22).

προτιθεῖ] 107. 4, n.



ἦν μὲν ἄδη καὶ νήφουσι, χρέονται αὐτῷ· ἦν δὲ μὴ ἄδη, 6  
 μετιεῖσι. τὰ δ' αὖ νήφοντες προβουλεύσονται, μεθυσκόμενοι  
 134 ἐπιδιαγινώσκουσι. Ἐντυγχάνοντες δ' ἀλλήλοισι ἐν τῇσι 1  
 ὁδοῖσι, τῷδε αὖ τις διαγνοίῃ εἰ ὁμοῖοι εἰσὶ οἱ συντυγχάνοντες.  
 ἀντὶ γὰρ τοῦ προσαγορεύειν ἀλλήλους, φιλέουσι τοῖσι στό-  
 μασι. ἦν δὲ ἡ οὔτερος ὑποδεέστερος ὀλίγῳ, τὰς παρειὰς 2  
 φιλέονται· ἦν δὲ πολλῷ ἡ οὔτερος ἀγενέστερος, προσπίπτων  
 προσκυνεῖ τὸν ἕτερον. τιμῶσι δὲ ἐκ πάντων τοὺς ἄγχιστα 3  
 ἑωυτῶν οἰκέοντας μετὰ γε ἑωυτοὺς, δεύτερα δὲ τοὺς δευτέρους,  
 μετὰ δὲ κατὰ λόγον προβαίνοντες τιμῶσι· ἥκιστα δὲ τοὺς  
 ἑωυτῶν ἑκαστάτῳ οἰκημένους ἐν τιμῇ ἄγονται· νομίζοντες 4  
 ἑωυτοὺς εἶναι ἀνθρώπων μακρῷ τὰ πάντα ἀρίστους, τοὺς δὲ  
 ἄλλους κατὰ λόγον τὸν λεγόμενον τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀντέχεσθαι,  
 τοὺς δὲ ἑκαστάτῳ οἰκέοντας ἀπὸ ἑωυτῶν κακίστους εἶναι.  
 Ἐπὶ δὲ Μήδων ἀρχόντων, καὶ ἦρχε τὰ ἔθνεα ἀλλήλων, 5  
 συναπάντων μὲν Μῆδοι καὶ τῶν ἄγχιστα οἰκεόντων σφίσι,  
 οὗτοι δὲ καὶ τῶν ὁμούρων, οἱ δὲ μάλα τῶν ἐχομένων. κατὰ  
 τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ λόγον καὶ οἱ Πέρσαι τιμῶσι· προέβαινε γὰρ δὴ 6

CH. 134. § 1. Ἐντυγχάνοντες]  
 Nom. abs. Cf. II. 9. 2.

§ 2. φιλέονται] Supply οἱ κρέσ-  
 σονες.

§ 3. μετὰ δὲ κ.τ.λ.] 'And so  
 on—the further they go (from home)  
 they esteem others proportionately  
 (less).' λόγος here almost = 'ratio'  
 in its mathematical sense. Cf. II.  
 109. 2. The phrase seems to have  
 meant originally 'in conformity with  
 a certain number or tale,' 'cor-  
 respondingly equal in number or  
 amount,' and so 'proportionately,'  
 since proportion is an equality of  
 ratios.

§ 4. τὸν λεγόμενον] 'That is  
 now being stated.' See 9. 4, n.

§ 5. καὶ ἦρχε] 'The nations  
 (composing the Median empire) ac-  
 tually (καὶ) ruled over each other in  
 the following order, viz. :—the  
 Medes, while (μὲν) lords of all, ruled  
 especially (καὶ) over those who dwelt  
 nearest to them' &c. The first καὶ  
 brings out the fact that the scale of

distance above mentioned applies  
 not only to the esteem in which the  
 different nations were held, but also  
 to their actual dominion: the second  
 καὶ answers to συναπάντων μὲν above  
 (106. 3, n.), and marks the more  
 important of the two facts stated  
 about the Medes. Or else συνα-  
 πάντων μὲν M. stands for M. μὲν  
 συναπάντων, in which case μὲν would  
 be regularly followed by οὗτοι δέ.  
 The system described is one of vas-  
 sal-kingdoms, which probably re-  
 mained unaltered till the introduc-  
 tion of satrapies by Darius (III. 89. 1).

καὶ τῶν ὁμ.] We should have  
 expected αὖ instead of καὶ (Kr.).  
 Prob. καὶ is put with τῶν ὁμούρων  
 instead of with οὗτοι, so that the  
 passage = καὶ οὗτοι δὲ τῶν ὁμούρων.

μάλα] = *deinceps*, Bähr: cf. 181. 3,  
 ἕτερος μάλα ἐπὶ τούτῳ, 'another  
 again upon this.' It has something  
 of the same force in the phrase μάλ'  
 αὐθις. Cf. II. 115. 5.

§ 6. προέβαινε γὰρ] As the text

- 135 τὸ ἔθνος ἄρχον τε καὶ ἐπιτροπεύον. Ξεινικὰ δὲ νόμαια 1  
Πέρσαι προσίενται ἀνδρῶν μάλιστα. καὶ γὰρ δὴ τὴν Μη-  
δικὴν ἐσθῆτα, νομίσαντες τῆς ἑωυτῶν εἶναι καλλίω, φορέ-  
ουσι, καὶ ἐς τοὺς πολέμους τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους θώρηκας. καὶ 2  
εὐπαθείας τε παντοδαπὰς πυνθανόμενοι ἐπιτηδεύουσι, καὶ δὴ  
καὶ, ἀπ' Ἑλλήνων μαθόντες, παισὶ μίσγονται. γαμέουσι 3  
δ' ἕκαστος αὐτῶν πολλὰς μὲν κουριδίας γυναῖκας, πολλῶ  
136 δ' ἔτι πλεῦνας παλλακὰς κτῶνται. Ἀνδραγαθίῃ δ' αὕτη 1  
ἀποδέδεται, μετὰ τὸ μάχεσθαι εἶναι ἀγαθὸν, ὅς ἂν πολλοὺς  
ἀποδέξῃ παῖδας· τῷ δὲ τοὺς πλείστους ἀποδεικνύντι δῶρα  
ἐκπέμπει ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος. τὸ πολλὸν δ' ἡγέεται  
ἰσχυρὸν εἶναι. παιδεύουσι δὲ τοὺς παῖδας, ἀπὸ πενταέτεος 2  
ἀρξάμενοι μέχρι εἰκοσαέτεος, τρία μούνα, ἵππεύειν καὶ  
τοξεύειν καὶ ἀληθίζεσθαι. πρὶν δὲ ἢ πενταέτης γένηται, οὐκ  
ἀπικνέεται ἐς ὄψιν τῷ πατρὶ, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τῇσι γυναιξὶ

stands it seems most natural to make τὸ ἔθνος refer to the Persians: 'for the (Persian) nation went on extending further and further from home its government and superintendence:' i.e. they esteem men acc. to distance, *for* they extended their empire to a distance. Though there is not much point in this, it seems better than to understand τὸ ἔθνος in a collective sense (=τὰ ἔθνεα) with Abicht, or to refer it to the Medes with Stein. If τὸ ἔθνος is to be understood of the Medes, δέ must be omitted after τὸν αὐτὸν and a comma placed at ἐχομένων, so as to make κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν κ.τ.λ. refer back to ἡρχε, 'ruled over each other on the same principle on which the Persians esteem nations (i.e. acc. to position and distance): for the (Median) nation' &c. Notice the difference between ἄρχον and ἐπιτροπεύον. The former implies direct personal government, and would only be used of the nearer nations; the latter merely denotes indirect superintendence (through vassal-kings or ἐπίτροποι) and would be applied to the more distant countries.

CH. 135. § 1. τῆς ἑωυτῶν] See 71. 3. Acc. to Xen. the Median dress was adopted by Cyrus because 'it concealed the form and showed off the beauty and stature of the wearer to the greatest advantage' (*Cyrop.* VIII. 1. 40).

θώρηκας] See II. 182. 1.

§ 3. κουριδίας] Homeric. See Buttm. *Lexil.*

CH. 136. § 1. μετὰ τὸ μ.] i.e. μετὰ τὸ εἶναι ἀγαθὸν μάχεσθαι.

ὅς ἂν] explains αὕτη, (=ἐάν τις) as if ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς οὗτος had been written. Cf. II. 65. 7. St. quotes Hom. *Il.* XIV. 81, βέλτερον, ὅς φεύγων προφύγη κακὸν ἢ ἐλῶν. Thuc. is fond of this form of construction (II. 44. 2: 62. 4; III. 45. 7; VI. 14, τὸ καλῶς ἀρξαι τοῦτο εἶναι, ὅς ἂν τὴν πατρίδα ὠφελήσῃ).

τὸ πολλὸν] 'Number, they think, is strength.' Compare *Ps.* CXXVII. 5.

§ 2. πενταέτεος] Supply παιδός. Krüg. and Stein suppose a neut. subst., πεντάετες, = *quinquennium*, but Plat. *Legg.* 794 a, which the latter quotes, does not establish this. In Hom. the neut. forms (τρίετες, &c.) are used, but only adverbially.

δλαινταν ἔχει τοῦ δὲ εἵνεκα τοῦτο οὕτω ποιέεται, ἵνα, ἣν ἀπο-  
θάνῃ τρεφόμενος, μηδεμίαν ἄσιν τῷ πατρὶ προσβάλλῃ.

- 137 Αἰνέω μὲν νυν τόνδε τὸν νόμον· αἰνέω δὲ καὶ τόνδε, τὸ  
μὴ μιῆς αἰτίας εἵνεκα μήτε αὐτὸν τὸν βασιλέα μηδένα  
φονεύειν, μήτε τῶν ἄλλων Περσέων μηδένα τῶν ἐωυτοῦ  
οἰκετέων ἐπὶ μιῇ αἰτίῃ ἀνήκεστον πάθος ἔρδειν· ἀλλὰ λογι-  
σάμενος ἦν εὐρίσκη πλέω τε καὶ μέζω τὰ ἀδικήματα ἔοντα  
τῶν ὑπουργημάτων, οὕτω τῷ θυμῷ χράται. Ἀποκτεῖναι δὲ  
οὐδένα κω λέγουσι τὸν ἐωυτοῦ πατέρα οὐδὲ μητέρα, ἀλλὰ  
ὁκόσα ἤδη τοιαῦτα ἐγένετο, πᾶσαν ἀνάγκην φασὶ ἀναζητεό-  
μενα ταῦτα ἀνευρέθῃναι ἥτοι ὑποβολιμαῖα ἔοντα ἢ μοιχίδια·  
οὐ γὰρ δὴ φασὶ οἶκος εἶναι τὸν γε ἀληθέως τοκέα ὑπὸ τοῦ  
138 ἐωυτοῦ παιδὸς ἀποθνήσκειν. Ἄσσα δὲ σφι ποιέειν οὐκ  
ἔξεστι, ταῦτα οὐδὲ λέγειν ἔξεστι. αἰσχιστον δὲ αὐτοῖσι τὸ  
ψεύδεσθαι νενόμισται, δεύτερα δὲ τὸ ὀφείλειν χρέος, πολλῶν  
μὲν καὶ ἄλλων εἵνεκα, μάλιστα δὲ ἀναγκαίην φασὶ εἶναι, τὸν  
ὀφείλοντα καὶ τι ψεῦδος λέγειν. Ὅς ἂν δὲ τῶν ἀστῶν  
λέπρην ἢ λεύκην ἔχῃ, ἐς πόλιν οὗτος οὐ κατέρχεται, οὐδὲ  
συμμίσγεται τοῖσι ἄλλοις Πέρσησι φασὶ δὲ μιν ἐς τὴν  
ἥλιον ἀμαρτόντα τι ταῦτα ἔχειν. ξεῖνον δὲ πάντα, τὸν

§ 3. **τρεφόμενος**] While still under the nurse (ἡ τροφός).

CH. 137. § 1. **τόνδε τὸν**] See note, ch. 101. The second **μηδένα** belongs to **Περσέων** and **τινά** has to be supplied from the former **μηδένα** to **οἰκετέων**. Cf. 99. 2.

**ἀνήκεστον**] seems to refer to the mutilations so common in the East.

**λογισάμενος**] An instance of the application of this law is given VII. 194. 2: but the Persian kings seem often not to have allowed themselves much time for the process. See III. 30. 5; 35. 3; VII. 39. 5; VIII. 90. 5.

§ 2. **ὁκόσα**] Supply either (1) **ἔργα** (Schw.), in which case **ὑποβολιμαῖα**=**ὑποβολιμαίων**, or (2) **τέκνα** (Kr.), in which case **τοιαῦτα**=**πατροφόνα**. The latter seems preferable.

CH. 138. § 1. **ψεύδεσθαι**] 'The Persians were not always so scrupu-

lous on the point of veracity. See III. 72. 6.' Larch. But though the acts ascribed to the seven conspirators are prob. in the main true, their 'discussions and intentions' are not. Grote *H. G.* III. 192 (IV. 302). In the Behistun Inscription lying is constantly mentioned with abhorrence: 'Says Darius the king—For this reason Ormazd brought help to me because that I was not wicked nor a liar nor a tyrant...Thou who mayest be king hereafter, the man who may be a liar and who may be an evil-doer, do not befriend them' (*Col.* IV. 13, 14). Rawlinson, *Arp.* Bk. III.

**μάλιστα δὲ κ.τ.λ.**] = **μάλιστα δὲ διὰ τὸ, ὡς φασι, ἀναγκαίην εἶναι**. See note on **ἀσθενέος δέ**, 143. 2.

§ 2. **Ὅς ἂν δέ**] More commonly **ὅς δ' ἂν**. But **ἂν** is regarded as forming one word with the relative.

λαμβάνόμενον ὑπὸ τούτων, πολλοὶ ἐξελαύνουσι ἐκ τῆς χώρας, καὶ τὰς λευκὰς περιστερὰς, τὴν αὐτὴν αἰτίην ἐπιφέροντες. Ἐς ποταμὸν δὲ οὔτε ἐνουρέουσι, οὔτε ἐμπτύουσι, οὐ χεῖρας 4 ἐναπονίζονται, οὐδὲ ἄλλον οὐδένα περιορέωσι, ἀλλὰ σέβονται 139 ποταμοὺς μάλιστα. Καὶ τότε ἄλλο σφι ὧδε συμπέπτωκε 1 γίνεσθαι, τὸ Πέρσας μὲν αὐτοὺς λέληθε, ἡμέας μὲν τοι οὔ. τὰ οὐνόματά σφι, ἔοντα ὁμοῖα τοῖσι σώμασι καὶ τῇ μεγαλο- 2 πρεπείῃ, τελευτῶσι πάντα ἐς τὸν τὸ γράμμα, τὸ Δωριέες μὲν Σὰν καλέουσι, Ἴωνες δὲ Σίγμα. ἐς τοῦτο διζήμενος εὐρήσεις 3

§ 3. πολλοί] This, as it stands, must refer to the practice of different districts: in some foreigners attacked by leprosy are merely treated like native Persians, i.e. are forbidden to enter the towns (see above), but many people (i.e. the people in many districts) actually drive them out of the country. An ingenious but unsatisfactory conjecture is *πομποί* (cf. ch. 121). Others insert *πολλοί* before *καὶ τὰς λευκάς*. But there is no reason for any change.

περιστερὰς] Apparently on account of their whiteness (cf. *λεύκη*, above).

CH. 139. § 2. οὐνόματα] 'Their proper-names.' *ὄνομα* in Hom. is only once used of a place (*Od.* XIII. 248). Hdt. uses it of places, e.g. II. 155. 3, but here it is restricted to the names of persons (and apparently of *men* only: see note § 3) by the use of *σφι*. The meaning 'word' is later than Hdt.

ἔοντα ὁμοῖα] This is usually explained to mean:—'Corresponding, as they do, to bodily (or pps. 'personal': cf. *ἀνθρώπου σώμα* for *ἄνθρωπος*, 32. 14, St.) qualities or high position,' i.e. signifying these things, ὁμοῖα ἔοντα meaning 'framed after.' Stein cites in illustration several Persian names: *Ἀριάμνης*=*φιλάγαθος*, *Ἰστιάσπης*=*κτήσιππος*, *Μιτραδάτης*, = *ἡλιόδωρος*, *Ὀτάνης*=*εὐσώματος*, *Πρηξάσπης*=*φίλιππος*. Schw. suggested that the *σώματα τῶν οὐνομάτων* (i.e. *corpora vocabulorum*, 'roots of words') might be opposed to their

terminations (*τελευταί*, implied in *τελευτῶσι*), and the general meaning be that the roots were grand and high-sounding, while the terminations were simple and uniform: but this meaning could only be obtained by taking the two datives in different senses, which would be very harsh. More prob. Hdt. means simply that the Persians generally were tall grand-looking men (like Masistius, IX. 25. 1), and that their names corresponded to their splendour and their *physique* (τοῖσι σ. καὶ τῇ μ. pps. a sort of Hendiadys), i.e. were long and fine-sounding.

τελευτῶσι] The plural verb pps. may be explained by the use of *πάντα*, 'each and all.' But see 100. 2, note.

Σὰν] The most primitive Greek alphabet seems to have had two sibilants *San* (= *sh* in sound; acc. to Don. *ts*) and *Sigma* (= *s*). When the introduction of *Xi* or *Zeta* had made the former letter unnecessary, the Dorians seem still to have retained its name for the remaining sibilant. But the Ionic custom of calling it *Sigma* eventually prevailed, as we should naturally have expected from the literary activity of the Ionic race. The Ionians of Asia Minor are said to have been the first to adopt the complete alphabet of twenty-four letters.

§ 3. ἐς τοῦτο] With *τελευτῶντα*. Hdt. must have intended to exclude female names from this rule, since they do not come under it either in

τελευτῶντα τῶν Περσέων τὰ οὐνόματα, οὐ τὰ μὲν, τὰ δὲ οὐ,  
 140 ἀλλὰ πάντα ὁμοίως. Ταῦτα μὲν ἀτρεκέως ἔχω περὶ αὐτῶν 1  
 εἰδὼς εἰπεῖν. τάδε μέντοι ὡς κρυπτόμενα λέγεται, καὶ οὐ  
 σαφηνέως, περὶ τοῦ ἀποθανόντος· ὡς οὐ πρότερον θάπτεται  
 ἀνδρὸς Πέρσεω ὁ νέκυσ, πρὶν ἂν ὑπ' ὄρνιθος ἢ κυνὸς ἐλκυσθῇ- 2  
 ναι. μάγους μὲν γὰρ ἀτρεκέως οἶδα ποιέοντας ταῦτα· ἐμφα-  
 νέως γὰρ δὴ ποιεῦσι. κατακηρώσαντες δὴ ὦν τὸν νέκυν  
 Πέρσαι γῇ κρύπτουσι. Μάγοι δὲ κεχωρίδαται πολλὸν τῶν 3  
 τε ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων καὶ τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἱρέων. οἱ μὲν γὰρ  
 ἀγνεύουσι ἔμψυχον μηδὲν κτείνειν, εἰ μὴ ὅσα θύουσι. οἱ δὲ 4  
 δὴ μάγοι αὐτοχειρίῃ πάντα, πλὴν κυνὸς καὶ ἀνθρώπου, κτεί-  
 νουσι· καὶ ἀγώνισμα μέγα τοῦτο ποιεῦνται, κτείνοντες ὁμοίως  
 μύρμηκας τε καὶ ὄφεις, καὶ τὰλλα ἐρπετὰ καὶ πετεινά. καὶ 5  
 ἀμφὶ μὲν τῷ νόμῳ τούτῳ ἔχεται ὡς καὶ ἀρχὴν ἐνομίσθη.  
 ἀνείμι δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν πρότερον λόγον.

141 Ἴωνες δὲ καὶ Αἰολέες, ὡς οἱ Λυδοὶ τάχιστα κατεστρά- 1  
 φατο ὑπὸ Περσέων, ἔπεμπον ἀγγέλους ἐς Σάρδεις παρὰ

Greek or in ancient Persian. Some names of men on the inscriptions do end in *S*, e.g. *Darayavus* (Darius) *Caïsris* (Teispes). But many 'were pronounced with a vowel-termination, not expressed in writing, and in these the last consonant might be almost any letter.' Rawlinson. Hdt. seems to have been misled by the Greek forms into which the Persian names were cast.

CH. 140. § 1. τοῦ ἀποθ. Prob. neuter (97. 1, n.).

πρὶν ἂν...ἐλκυσθῆναι] 'Very rare.' Madv. It seems best to regard the inf. not as directly governed by πρὶν ἂν, but as the result of the *oratio obliqua* implied in λέγεται. The inf. thus simply takes the place of the subj. which would naturally follow, just as παρῆναι, 24. 11 (see note) takes the place of the imperf. indic. 'Nihil refert conjunctivus an infinitivus addatur.' Hermann.

§ 3. καὶ τῶν] 'And especially,' as in the phrase ἄλλως τε καί.

ἀγνεύουσι] has a special force as applied to the Egyptian priesthood,

the notion of personal purity being the basis of all their ceremonial. See II. 37.

§ 4. ἐρπετὰ] 'Non dubito quin apud Herodotum ἐρπετῶν nomine non reptilia modo verum etiam bestiae comprehendantur.' Wordsw. *ad Theocr.* xv. 118. Cf. ἡμενος ἢ ἐρπων, Hom. *Od.* xvii. 158. Prob. here after τὰλλα we must mentally supply τὰ τοιαῦτα. 'The Zend Avesta prays all men, but esp. the priests, to destroy the animals of Angramainjus (Ahriman), 'the creator of evil creatures,' such as snakes, beasts of prey, &c., and on the other hand to protect and cherish the animals of Ahuramazda (Ormazd), viz. dogs, horses, cattle, and hares.' Stein.

§ 5. καὶ ἀρχὴν] 9. 3, note. καί as in καὶ πάλαι, καὶ πρότερον, refers to an implied νῦν, 'now, as also from the beginning.' The English idiom would rather have placed the 'also' with the 'now' (2. 3, note). See also II. 28. 1, n.

τὸν πρότ. λόγ.] See 95. 1, note.

Κῦρον, ἐθέλοντες ἐπὶ τοῖσι αὐτοῖσι εἶναι τοῖσι καὶ Κροίσῳ ἦσαν κατήκοοι. ὁ δὲ ἀκούσας αὐτῶν τὰ προΐσχοντο, ἔλεξέ 2 σφι λόγον· Ἄνδρα, φὰς, αὐλητὴν, ἰδόντα ἰχθῦς ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ, αὐλέειν, δοκέοντά σφεας ἐξελεύσεσθαι ἐς γῆν. ὥς δὲ ψευσθῆναι τῆς ἐλπίδος, λαβεῖν ἀμφίβληστρον, καὶ περιβαλεῖν τε πλήθος πολλὸν τῶν ἰχθύων καὶ ἐξειρῦσαι. ἰδόντα 3 δὲ παλλομένους, εἰπεῖν ἄρα αὐτὸν πρὸς τοὺς ἰχθῦς· “Παύεσθέ μοι ὀρχεόμενοι, ἐπεὶ οὐδ’ ἐμέο αὐλέοντος ἠθέλετε ἐκβαίνειν ὀρχεόμενοι.” Κῦρος μὲν τοῦτον τὸν λόγον τοῖσι 4 Ἰωσι καὶ τοῖσι Αἰολεῦσι τῶνδε εἵνεκα ἔλεξε, ὅτι δὴ οἱ Ἰωνες πρότερον, αὐτοῦ Κύρου δεηθέντος δι’ ἀγγέλων ἀπίστασθαί σφεας ἀπὸ Κροίσου, οὐκ ἐπείθοντο· τότε δὲ κατεργασμένων τῶν πρηγμάτων, ἦσαν ἐτοῖμοι πείθεσθαι Κύρῳ. ὁ μὲν δὴ ὀργῇ ἐχόμενος ἔλεγέ σφι τάδε. Ἰωνες δὲ ὥς ἤκουσαν τούτων 5 ἀνευειχθέντων ἐς τὰς πόλεις, τείχεά τε περιεβάλλοντο ἕκαστοι, καὶ συνελέγοντο ἐς Πανιώνιον οἱ ἄλλοι πλὴν Μιλησίων· πρὸς μούνους γὰρ τούτους ὄρκιον Κῦρος ἐποιήσατο, ἐπ’ οἷσί περ ὁ Λυδός. τοῖσι δὲ λοιποῖσι Ἰωσι ἔδοξε κοινῶ λόγῳ 6 πέμπειν ἀγγέλους ἐς Σπάρτην, δεησομένους Ἰωσι τιμωρέειν.

142 Οἱ δὲ Ἰωνες οὗτοι, τῶν καὶ τὸ Πανιώνιον ἐστὶ, τοῦ μὲν 1 οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῶν ὠρέων ἐν τῷ καλλίστῳ ἐτύγγανον ἰδρυ-

CH. 141. § 1. ἐπὶ τοῖσι αὐτ.] The terms included the payment of tribute (6. 2) and prob. the dismantling of their fortifications (below, § 5).

Κροίσῳ] κατήκ. usually takes the gen. A converse instance is the gen. after πείθεσθαι, 126. 6.

§ 2. λόγον] ‘A fable.’ So we have λογοποιός used of Aesop, II. 134. 3; and τὸν τοῦ κυνὸς λόγον (Xen. Mem. II. 8. 13), which begins in the orthodox way:—‘In the days when animals could talk’ &c. See Müller’s *Gr. Lit.* I. 191, foll. The present fable appears among the fragments of Babrias (about 60 B.C.) who collected and versified the earlier Greek fables.

ἔλεξε...φὰς] Cf. 122. 2.

§ 3. μοι] ‘I pray you cease:’

the *dativus ethicus* used ironically: or it may be what is called the dative of reference: ‘you may cease for me,’ i. e. as far as I am concerned.

οὐδ’] ‘as if καὶ νῦν had been expressed with παύεσθε.’ Kr. Its force will be best seen by transferring the negative to the verb: = refuse to dance now, since you *also* refused to dance before. Translate ‘since ye would not before either come out and dance to my piping.’

§ 4. αὐτοῦ] ‘Ultrō.’ See 76. 3.

§ 5. Πανιώνιον] Ch. 148.

Μιλησίων] ‘Why this favourable exception was extended to them we do not know.’ Grote. The other Ionians are mentioned as standing apart from them, above, 18. 3.

ὁ Λυδός] Cf. τὸν Κόλχον, 2. 4.

CH. 142. § 1. τῶν ὠρ. ἐν τῷ κ.]

σάμενοι πόλιας πάντων ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν. οὔτε 2  
 γὰρ τὰ ἄνω αὐτῆς χωρία τῶντὸ ποιεῖ τῇ Ἰωνίῃ, οὔτε τὰ  
 κάτω, οὔτε τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ, οὔτε τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἐσπέρην, τὰ  
 μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ ψυχροῦ τε καὶ ὑγροῦ πιεζόμενα, τὰ δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ  
 θερμοῦ τε καὶ αὐχμώδεος. Γλῶσσαν δὲ οὐ τὴν αὐτὴν οὔτοι 3  
 νενομίσκασι, ἀλλὰ τρόπους τέσσερας παραγωγέων. Μίλητος 4  
 μὲν αὐτῶν πρώτη κέεται πόλις πρὸς μεσαμβρίην, μετὰ δὲ  
 Μυούς τε καὶ Πριήνη· αὗται μὲν ἐν τῇ Καρίῃ κατοίκηνται,  
 κατὰ ταῦτὰ διαλεγόμεναί σφι. αἶδε δὲ ἐν τῇ Λυδίῃ· Ἐφεσος, 5  
 Κολοφῶν, Λέβεδος, Τέως, Κλαζομεναί, Φώκαια. αὗται δὲ 6  
 αἱ πόλιες τῇσι πρότερον λεχθείησι ὁμολογέουσιν κατὰ  
 γλῶσσαν οὐδὲν, σφὶ δὲ ὁμοφωνέουσιν. ἔτι δὲ τρεῖς ὑπόλοιποι

Hdt. uses much the same language of Greece proper:—ἡ Ἑλλὰς τὰς ὥρας πολλὸν τι κάλλιστα κεκραμένης ἐλαχε, III. 106. 1.

§ 2. ἄνω...κάτω] Since Libya had a very warm (II. 25. 1), and the north of Europe a very cold climate (IV. 28. 1), it is probable that by these words Hdt. really means 'north' and 'south:' but they cannot properly be translated in this way (72. 2, n.). Properly 'neither the parts above nor those below' is merely a rhetorical expression for 'no other country at all:' cf. the proverbial phrase ἄνω κάτω τιθέναι, III. 3. 5. It is not unlikely, as Stein suggests, that the words οὔτε τὰ πρὸς...ἐσπέρην are a marginal note inserted by some commentator to explain τὰ ἄνω and τὰ κάτω. Blakesley thinks that the account which follows is possibly derived from Charon of Lampsacus, and that the phrases are to be explained by taking Lampsacus as a centre, τὰ ἄνω being the country between L. and Ionia, τὰ κάτω the parts beyond Ionia. But even so the meaning would be rather irregular. Abicht gives up the passage.

ποιεῖ] In later Greek we should prob. have had πάσχει, but the country is represented as producing those effects which would more

naturally be attributed to the climate. In Attic ποιεῖν is frequently used of the weather, e.g. τί γὰρ ὁ Ζεὺς ποιεῖ; 'what kind of weather is it?' Ar. Av. 1501.

§ 3. νενομίσκασιν] Hdt. often uses the perf. of a custom, thus referring back to the time at which the custom originated:='have from the beginning.' The accus. after νομίζω may be explained as being in apposition with an implied cognate accus., νόμον.

παραγωγέων] 'Four kinds of deviations.' In the technical language of the grammarians a *paragoge* is an added syllable either in the middle or at the end of the word: e.g. εἰκαθεῖν παραγωγῶς ἀντὶ τοῦ εἰκειν, Schol. ad Soph. Aj. quoted by Larcher. But here the word is simply used of dialectical variation.

§ 4. πρὸς μεσαμβρίην] Looking southwards M. comes first. We might have had πρὸς with the gen.: 'starting from the south and going northwards, M. comes first:' cf. πρώτη πρὸς Σικυῶνος, 145. 2; 110. 2, n.

σφι = σφίσι (3. 3, n.).

§ 6. ὁμολογέουσιν] ὁμολογ. simply = 'to agree' (*commune aliquid habere*: cf. II. 81. 3, Schw.), so that with κατὰ γλῶσσαν added it exactly = ὁμοφωνέειν.

οὐδὲν] This must be an exaggera-



Ἰάδες πόλεις, τῶν αἱ δύο μὲν νήσους οἰκέαται, Σάμον τε καὶ Χίον, ἡ δὲ μία ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ ἱδρύται, Ἐρυθραί. Χῖοι μὲν γυν καὶ Ἐρυθραῖοι κατὰ τῶντὸ διαλέγονται, Σάμιοι δὲ ἐπ' ἐωυτῶν μούνοι. οὗτοι χαρακτήρες γλώσσης τέσσερες γίνονται.

- 143 Τούτων δὲ ὧν τῶν Ἰώνων οἱ Μιλήσιοι μὲν ἦσαν ἐν ἰσκέπη τοῦ φόβου, ὄρκιον ποιησάμενοι. τοῖσι δὲ αὐτῶν νησιώτησι ἦν δεινὸν οὐδέν. οὔτε γὰρ Φοίνικες ἦσαν κω Περσέων κατήκοοι, οὔτε αὐτοὶ οἱ Πέρσαι ναυβάται. Ἀπεσχίσθησαν δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων Ἰώνων οὗτοι κατ' ἄλλο μὲν οὐδέν, ἀσθενέος δὲ ἐόντος τοῦ παντὸς τότε Ἑλληνικοῦ γένεος,

tion, the existence of the Pan-Ionic festival proving that they were able to understand one another readily. 'But the author, who nowhere conceals a grudge against the Ionians, is anxious to bring out prominently the fact that the special purity of descent, on which the twelve cities prided themselves (146. 2: 147. 2), receives but little confirmation from their language.' Stein.

αἱ δύο] 18. 2, n.

μὲν] We may have either αἱ δύο μὲν or αἱ μὲν δύο. Xen. An. v. 8. 24, τοὺς κύνας τὰς μὲν ἡμέρας διδέασι, τὰς δὲ νύκτας ἀφιασι, τοῦτον δὲ τὴν νύκτα μὲν δῆσετε, τὴν δὲ ἡμέραν ἀφήσετε.

οἰκέαται] 27. 6, n.

§ 7. ἐπ' ἐωυτῶν] 'By themselves.' Acc. to one tradition Hdt. emigrated to Samos from Halicarnassus. 'If this be true, we must consider that we have in the writings of Hdt. the *Samian* variety of the Ionic dialect.' Rawlinson. But 'it may be questioned whether each or any of these sub-dialects possessed a distinct classical style of composition.... There is indeed much reason to believe that the Ionic of Hdt. is a more or less artificial compound of the materials placed at his disposal by these four varieties.' Mure. *Gr. Lit.* IV. 114.

CH. 143. § 1. ἐν σκ. τοῦ φ.] 'à l'abri du danger' (St.), φόβος

denoting the cause for fear: = κίνδυνος.

§ 2. οὗτοι] The Asiatic Ionians (τούτων τῶν Ἰ. above). Hdt. is giving a reason for the fact that the Ionians determined to apply for help, not to those of their own race in Greece proper, but to the Spartans (140. 6). They did so simply (κατ' ἄλλο μὲν οὐδέν) because (1) there was no powerful Ionic state except Athens, and (2) the Athenians (and indeed the rest of the European Ionians) endeavoured as far as possible to sink their Ionic origin. The phrase οἱ ἄλλοι Ἴωνες would include, besides the Athenians, all the Euboeans except the Styrians and Carystians (VIII. 46. 4; Thuc. VII. 57. 4), and the inhabitants of the Cyclades with the exception of Thera (Hdt. IV. 148. 4) and Melos (VIII. 48. 2).

ἀσθενέος δὲ κ.τ.λ.] This sentence exhibits several peculiarities. (1) We have δέ used after ἄλλο μὲν οὐδέν, where we should naturally have expected πλὴν or ἢ or ἀλλά. Cf. ἄλλω μὲν οὐκ ἐφράζετο ἔργῳ δυνατὸς εἶναι, εἰ δ' ἐωυτὸν λωβησάμενος αὐτομολήσεις, III. 154. 3, where εἰ δέ = πλὴν εἰ. (2) We have the statement introduced by δέ put forward as a simple fact, whereas we should have expected it to be brought forward as a cause (with ὅτι) after the use of κατά, above: δέ thus stands for πλὴν ὅτι 'on no other account but



πολλῷ δὲ ἦν ἀσθενέστατον τῶν ἐθνέων τὸ Ἴωνικὸν καὶ λόγου  
 ἐλαχίστου· ὅτι γὰρ μὴ Ἀθῆναι, ἦν οὐδὲν ἄλλο πόλισμα  
 λόγιμον. οἱ μὲν νυν ἄλλοι Ἴωνες καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἔφυγον<sup>3</sup>  
 τὸ οὖνομα, οὐ βουλόμενοι Ἴωνες κεκληῖσθαι· ἀλλὰ καὶ νῦν  
 φαίνονται μοι οἱ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν ἐπαισχύνεσθαι τῷ οὐνόματι.  
 αἱ δὲ δυνάδεκα πόλεις αὐταὶ τῷ τε οὐνόματι ἠγάλλοντο, καὶ<sup>4</sup>  
 ἱρὸν ἰδρύσαντο ἐπὶ σφέων αὐτῶν, τῷ οὖνομα ἔθεντο Πανιών-  
 νιον· ἐβουλεύσαντο δὲ αὐτοῦ μεταδοῦναι μηδαμοῖσι ἄλλοις  
 Ἰώνων (οὐδ' ἐδεήθησαν δὲ οὐδαμοὶ μετασχεῖν, ὅτι μὴ Σμυρ-  
 144 ναῖοι)· κατὰπερ οἱ ἐκ τῆς Πενταπόλιος νῦν χώρας Δωριέες,<sup>1</sup>  
 πρότερον δὲ Ἑξαπόλιος τῆς αὐτῆς ταύτης καλεομένης, φυ-  
 λάσσονται ὧν μηδαμὸς ἐσδέξασθαι τῶν προσοίκων Δωριέων  
 εἰς τὸ Τριοπικὸν ἱρὸν, ἀλλὰ καὶ σφέων αὐτῶν τοὺς περὶ τὸ  
 ἱρὸν ἀνομήσαντας ἐξεκλήϊσαν τῆς μετοχῆς. ἐν γὰρ τῷ ἀγῶνι<sup>2</sup>  
 τοῦ Τριοπίου Ἀπόλλωνος ἐτίθεσαν τὸ πάλαι τρίποδας χάλ-  
 κέους τοῖσι νικῶσι· καὶ τούτους χρῆν τοὺς λαμβάνοντας ἐκ  
 τοῦ ἱροῦ μὴ ἐκφέρειν, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ ἀνατιθέναι τῷ θεῷ. ἀνὴρ<sup>3</sup>  
 ὧν Ἀλικαρνησσεὺς, τῷ οὖνομα ἦν Ἀγασικλῆς, νικήσας τὸν  
 νόμον κατηλόγησε· φέρων δὲ πρὸς τὰ ἐωυτοῦ οἰκία προσε-  
 πασσάλευσε τὸν τρίποδα. διὰ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίην αἱ πέντε<sup>4</sup>  
 πόλεις, Λίνδος, καὶ Ἰήλυσσός τε καὶ Κάμειρος, καὶ Κῶς τε  
 καὶ Κνίδος, ἐξεκλήϊσαν τῆς μετοχῆς τὴν ἕκτην πόλιν Ἀλι-

because.' Cf. κατ' ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν, φοβεύμενος δὲ (= πλὴν ὅτι ἐφοβέτο), IX. 109. 4: see also I. 138. 1, note on μάλιστα δέ. (3) As a further complication we have a gen. abs. intervening before the verb (ἦν), and the sentence resumed by a second δέ, which simply repeats and carries on the first: 'except, I say, because.'

ὅτι γὰρ μὴ] 18. 3, n.

§ 3. ἔφυγον] So acc. to Hdt. Cleisthenes abolished the old Ionian tribes at Athens, ὑπεριδὼν Ἴωνας.

ἀλλὰ καὶ νῦν] (and not only so) but: 'nay, even now.' This statement is attacked by the pseudo-Plutarch (*de Herod. malign.* 19).

§ 4. οὐδὲ—δὲ] The negative form corresponding to καὶ—δέ.

Σμυρναῖοι] Below, ch. 150.

CH. 144. § 1. ὧν] Cf. 69. 2; 132. 4.

τῶν προσ. Δωρ.] e.g. the inhabitants of Cyme (174. 3), Phaselis (II. 178. 2), Nisyros and Calydna (VII. 99. 3), and Telos (VII. 153. 2). St.

τὸ...τοῦς] These words anticipate the story and so introduce γὰρ below. Cf. 65. 1. For the Asiatic Dorians, see Grote, *Pt.* II. ch. 15.

§ 2. ἐτίθεισαν] 'Used to give as prizes.' Hom. *Il.* XXIII. 262, ἱππεύσω μὲν πρῶτα ποδώκεσσι ἀγλὰ δαῖθλα | θῆκε. We have the full phrase εἰς μέσσον ἔθηκεν, *Ib.* 704.

§ 4. τε καὶ] Prob. there was something in the constitution of the league, which would explain why Lindus stands by itself, while the

καρνησσόν. τούτοις μὲν νῦν οὗτοι ταύτην τὴν ζημίην ἐπέ-  
 145 θηκαν. Δυώδεκα δέ μοι δοκέουσι πόλιας ποιήσασθαι οἱ ἱ  
 Ἴωνες, καὶ οὐκ ἐβελῆσαι πλεῦνας ἐσδέξασθαι, τοῦδε εἵνεκα,  
 ὅτι καὶ ὅτε ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ οἴκεον, δυώδεκα ἦν αὐτῶν μέρεα,  
 κατάπερ νῦν Ἀχαιῶν τῶν ἐξελασάντων Ἴωνας, δυώδεκά ἐστι  
 μέρεα· Πελλήνη μὲν τε πρώτη πρὸς Σικυῶνος, μετὰ δὲ ἡ  
 Αἴγαιρα, καὶ Αἴγαι, ἐν τῇ Κράθις ποταμὸς αἰνῆαός ἐστι, ἀπ’  
 ὅτου ὁ ἐν Ἰταλίῃ ποταμὸς τὸ οὖνομα ἔσχε, καὶ Βοῦρα καὶ ἡ  
 Ἑλίκη, ἐς τὴν κατέφυγον Ἴωνες ὑπὸ Ἀχαιῶν μάχῃ ἐσσω-  
 θέντες, καὶ Αἴγιον καὶ Ῥύπες καὶ Πατρέες καὶ Φαρέες καὶ  
 Ὡλενος, ἐν τῷ Πείρῳ ποταμὸς μέγας ἐστὶ, καὶ Δύμη καὶ  
 146 Τριταῖες, οἱ μούνοι τούτων μεσόγαῖοι οἰκέουσι. Ταῦτα δυώ- ἡ  
 δεκα μέρεα νῦν Ἀχαιῶν ἐστὶ, καὶ τότε γε Ἰώνων ἦν. τούτων ἡ  
 δὴ εἵνεκα καὶ οἱ Ἴωνες δυώδεκα πόλιας ἐποίησαντο· ἐπεὶ, ὥς  
 γέ τι μᾶλλον οὗτοι Ἰωνές εἰσι τῶν ἄλλων Ἰώνων, ἢ κάλλιόν  
 τι γεγόνاسι, μωρίῃ πολλὴ λέγειν· τῶν Ἀβαντες μὲν ἐξ  
 Εὐβοίης εἰσὶ οὐκ ἐλαχίστη μοῖρα, τοῖσι Ἰωνίης μέτα οὐδὲ  
 τοῦ οὐνόματος οὐδέν· Μινύαι δὲ Ὀρχομένιοι ἀναμεμίσχονται ἡ

other four cities are thus coupled in pairs. Homer mentions the three Rhodian cities in the same order, *Λίνδον Ἰηλυσόν τε καὶ ἀργινόεντα Κάμειρον* (*Il.* II. 656).

CH. 145. § 1. Ἀχαιῶν κ.τ.λ.] The same tradition, VII. 94. ‘The Homeric poems take no notice of Ionians in the northern district of Achaia.’ Grote *H. G.* I. 414 (*Il.* 17). See also II. 368 (*Il.* 236).

§ 2. μὲν τε] The occurrence of μὲν γε elsewhere does not justify the correction γε here. In Hom. we find μὲν τε followed by δέ τε (*Il.* V. 139), and also, as here, by δέ only (*Il.* XXI. 464): see 14. 8, note.

ἐν τῇ] Sc. πόλι, or χώρα.

αἰνῆαός] Most of the rivers of Achaia are dry in summer owing to the nearness of the mountains to the coast.

ὅτου] See 7. 4, note.

ὁ ἐν Ἰταλ.] This river (*Κράστις*, V. 45. 1) would naturally be men-

tioned by Hdt. because it flowed near Thurii, his adopted home.

CH. 146. § 2. ἐπεὶ κ.τ.λ.] ‘I say this is the reason, *since* the following is not the reason.’ This elliptical use of ἐπεὶ implies a transition from one thought to another, and may often be rendered ‘though.’ Grote notices ‘the polemical tone in which the remark is delivered,’ and Dahlmann considers that it is directed against certain boastful pretensions of the Milesian Hecataeus.

οὗτοι Ἴων.] Ἴωνες is pred.

Ἀβαντες] Cf. Hom. *Il.* II. 536, οἱ δ’ Εὐβοίαν ἔχον μένεα πνέοντες Ἀβαντες.

§ 3. Μινύαι] Hom. gives Orchomenus the epithet of Μινύειος (*Il.* II. 511). They are said to have founded Teos. The Καδμεῖοι were the ancient Boeotians (V. 57. 2; Thuc. I. 12. 3), and were connected with Miletus (170. 3, n.), Priene and Colophon. Nothing is known of the connection of the Dryopians

καὶ Καδμεῖοι καὶ Δρύοπες καὶ Φωκέες ἀποδάσμιοι καὶ Μολοσσοὶ καὶ Ἀρκάδες Πελασγοὶ καὶ Δωριέες Ἐπιδαύριοι, ἄλλα τε ἔθνεα πολλὰ ἀναμεμίσχεται. οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ 4  
 πρυτανητοῦ τοῦ Ἀθηναίων ὀρμηθέντες, καὶ νομίζοντες γυναιότατοι εἶναι Ἰώνων, οὗτοι δὲ οὐ γυναικας ἡγάγοντο εἰς τὴν ἀποικίην, ἀλλὰ Καείρας ἔσχον, τῶν ἐφόνευσαν τοὺς γονέας. διὰ τοῦτον δὲ τὸν φόνον αἱ γυναῖκες αὗται νόμον θέμεναι 5  
 σφίσι αὐτῇσι ὅρκους ἐπήλασαν καὶ παρέδοσαν τῇσι θυγατράσι, μή κοτε ὁμοσιτῆσαι τοῖσι ἀνδράσι, μηδὲ οὐνόματι βῶσαι τὸν ἐωυτῆς ἄνδρα, τοῦδε εἵνεκα, ὅτι ἐφόνευσαν σφέων τοὺς πατέρας καὶ ἄνδρας καὶ παῖδας, καὶ ἔπειτεν, ταῦτα ποιήσαντες, αὐτῇσι συνοίκεον. ταῦτα δὲ ἦν γινόμενα ἐν 6  
 147 Μιλήτῳ. Βασιλέας δὲ ἐστήσαντο, οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν Λυκίους, 1  
 ἀπὸ Γλαύκου τοῦ Ἱππολόχου γεγονότας, οἱ δὲ Καύκωνας Πυλίους, ἀπὸ Κόδρου τοῦ Μελάνθου· οἱ δὲ καὶ συναμφο-

(56. 5; VIII. 43. 2) with Ionia. The Phocians are said to have founded Phocaea.

ἀποδάσμιοι] This prob. (cf. II. 103. 3) implies a species of *secessio*, the result of internal dissensions (St.). Translate 'detached.'

Μολοσσοὶ] Of these and the remaining peoples named nothing certain is known.

ἄλλα ἔθν.] Such as the Carians, Lycians, &c.

§ 4. πρυτανητοῦ] This implies that they were full Athenian citizens. See Smith's *Dict. Ant. Colonia*. For the connection of Athens with the Ionian emigration, see Thuc. I. 2. 6.

οὗτοι δὲ] repeats οἱ δὲ above.

Καείρας] i. e. women of the country: Miletus, Myus and Priene were in Caria (142. 4).

§ 5. ἐπήλασαν] Acc. to Buttmann (*Lexil.* ὅρκος) ἐπ- refers to the thing, and νόμον θέμεναι must be joined to σφίσι αὐτῇσι. ὅρκον ἐπελάσαι means therefore 'to lay a solemn oath on a thing,' 'bind oneself to it by an oath.' But ὅρκους προσάγων σφι (VI. 74. 2) is in favour of taking σφίσι αὐτῇσι with ἐπήλα-

σαν. On this view ἐπελαύνειν will only be a stronger form of προσάγειν (compare ὅρκος ἐπακτός, a compulsory oath, Isocr. *Dem.* 23). St. Translate: 'forcibly laid oaths upon one another.' The Lat. phrase *jus-jurandum adigere* is not really parallel, since there the real object of the verb is always *aliquem*, either expressed or implied.

τὸν ἐωυτῆς] As if μηδεμίαν had been used above. Compare the change from plur. to sing. 132. 2.

§ 6. ἦν γινόμενα] 'It was at M. that these things went on.' The periphrasis for ἐγένετο emphasizes the duration of the action.

CH. 147. § 1. βασιλέας δὲ κ.τ.λ.] Hdt. states three arguments against the special claims of the Asiatic Ionians:—(1) they were for the most part a mixed race originally: (2) those of them who, like the Milesians, were originally Athenian citizens, took foreign wives: (3) the chiefs whom they set over them were not of Ionic descent.

Γλαύκου] Cf. Hom. *Il.* II. 876; VI. 119.

Καύκ. Πυλ(ους)] i. e. the Caucones of Triphylia (IV. 148. 4). The Ho-

τέρους. ἀλλὰ γὰρ περιέχονται τοῦ οὐνόματος μᾶλλον τι<sup>2</sup>  
 τῶν ἄλλων Ἰώνων, ἔστωσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ καθαρῶς γεγονότες  
 Ἴωνες· εἰσὶ δὲ πάντες Ἴωνες, ὅσοι ἀπ' Ἀθηνῶν γεγόνασιν καὶ  
 Ἀπατούρια ἄγουσι ὕρτην. ἄγουσι δὲ πάντες πλὴν Ἐφεσίων<sup>3</sup>  
 καὶ Κολοφωνίων· οὗτοι γὰρ μῦνοι Ἰώνων οὐκ ἄγουσι Ἀπα-  
 148 τούρια, καὶ οὗτοι κατὰ φόνου τινὰ σκῆψιν. Τὸ δὲ Πανιώνιον<sup>1</sup>  
 ἐστὶ τῆς Μυκάλης χῶρος ἱρὸς πρὸς ἄρκτον τετραμμένος,  
 κοινῇ ἐξαραιρημένος ὑπὸ Ἰώνων Ποσειδέωνι Ἑλικωνίῳ· ἡ δὲ  
 Μυκάλη ἐστὶ τῆς ἠπείρου ἄκρη, πρὸς ζέφυρον ἄνεμον κατή-  
 κουσα Σάμῳ, ἐς τὴν συλλεγόμενοι ἀπὸ τῶν πολλῶν Ἴωνες  
 ἄγεσκον ὀρτὴν, τῇ ἔθεντο οὐνομα Πανιώνια. πεπόνθασιν δὲ<sup>2</sup>

meric Pylus was apparently not in the territory of the Caucones: see *Oid.* III. 366. St. Acc. to Hdt. Codrus and Melanthus emigrated from Pylus to Athens (V. 65. 4).

**συναμφοτέρους]** This implies that the two races intermarried.

§ 2. **ἔστωσαν δὲ κ.τ.λ.]** Not 'let us call then those that are of pure descent Ionians,' but 'let us call them then the really thoroughbred Ionians,'—a hit at their extravagant pretensions. *ἔστωσαν* implies giving a new name. Cf. *Aristot. Eth.* II. 7. 3, *ἐλλείποντες δὲ περὶ τὰς ἡδονὰς οὐ πάνυ γίγνονται· διόπερ οὐδ' ὀνόματος τετυχήκασιν, ἔστωσαν δὲ ἀναίσθητοι.* δὲ repeats *ἀλλά*, and introduces the *apodosis* after the clause *ἀλλά γὰρ κ.τ.λ.* See II. 116. 1, n. *καί* adds emphasis:='not merely Ionians but' (117. 1, n.).

**εἰσὶ δὲ πάντες κ.τ.λ.]** 'We must construe both these tests of Ionism with indulgence.' Grote *H. G.* II. 367 (III. 234), n.

§ 3. **πλὴν Ἐφεσίων]** The Ephesians must have kept the feast originally, since one of the months in their calendar, which nearly corresponds with the month in which the feast was kept at Athens (*Pyanepsion*), was called *Ἀπατουρέων* (see *Dict. Ant. Calendarium, Apaturia*).

**καὶ οὗτοι]** *καί* has a restrictive force (102. 4).

**φόνου]** Advantage was often taken

of feasts for purposes of assassination or revolution. Thus Hipparchus was assassinated at the *Panathenaea*, 'the only day on which no suspicion attached to large bodies of citizens wearing arms,' *Thuc.* VI. 56. 2.

CH. 148. § 1. **πρὸς ἄρκτον τετρ.]** i.e. on the north-side of the promontory (*ἄκρη*, below).

**ἐξαραιρημένος]** 'Set apart:' cf. *ἐξαιρετος*, II. 98. 1. With the anomalous reduplication compare *ὀρώρυκτο*, 186. 4.

**Ἑλικωνίῳ]** The god of Helice (145. 3): *Ἑλικώνιον ἀμφὶ ἀνακτα*, *Hom. Il.* XX. 404.

**κατήκουσα Σ.]** 'Stretching (out to sea: cf. *οὐρος ἐς θάλασσαν κατήκον*, VII. 22. 3) off Samos.' This local dative is uncommon except with names of cities. Krüg. compares *τῇ Δήλῳ ἔσχον*, 'touched at Delos,' *Thuc.* III. 29. 1; *Ἰεὺς λίμνῃ κεκλιμένος* *Κηφισίδι*, *Hom. Il.* V. 709.

**ἐς τὴν]** refers, not to Samos, but to Mycale.

§ 2. **πεπόνθασιν δὲ κ.τ.λ.]** Stein thinks that this sentence was originally a marginal note, in answer to a previous commentator, who had written *Ἰωνικῶς* or *Ἰακῶς* over the termination of *Πανιώνια*. Certainly the use of *πάσχω* here is an idiom which one would hardly have expected in Hdt.

- οὔτι μούναι αἱ Ἰώνων ὀρταὶ τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἑλλήνων πάντων ὁμοίως πᾶσαι ἐς τὸν γράμμα τελευτῶσι, κατὰ περ τῶν Περσέων τὰ οὐνόματα. αὗται μὲν αἱ Ἰάδες πόλεις εἰσι.
- 149 Αἶδε δὲ αἱ Αἰολίδες, Κύμη, ἡ Φρικωνὶς καλεομένη, Λήρισσαι, Νέον τεῖχος, Τήμνος, Κίλλα, Νότιον, Αἰγυρόεσσα, Πιτάνη, Αἰγαῖαι, Μύρινα, Γρύνεια· αὗται ἔνδεκα Αἰολέων πόλεις αἱ ἀρχαῖαι. μία γὰρ σφεων παρελύθη ὑπὸ Ἰώνων, Σμύρνη. ἦσαν γὰρ καὶ αὗται δωδέκα αἱ ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ. οὗτοι δὲ οἱ Αἰολέες χώραν μὲν ἔτυχον κτίσαντες ἀμείνω Ἰώνων, ὥρέων δὲ ἤκουσαν οὐκ ὁμοίως. Σμύρνην δὲ ᾧδε ἀπέβαλον Αἰολέες.
- 150 Κολοφωνίους ἄνδρας στάσει ἐσσωθέντας καὶ ἐκπεσόντας ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος ὑπεδέξαντο. μετὰ δὲ οἱ φυγάδες τῶν Κολοφωνίων φυλάξαντες τοὺς Σμυρναίους ὀρτὴν ἔξω τείχεος ποιούμενους Διονύσῳ, τὰς πύλας ἀποκληΐσαντες, ἔσχον τὴν πόλιν. βοηθησάντων δὲ πάντων Αἰολέων, ὁμολογίῃ ἐχρήσαντο, τὰ ἐπιπλα ἀποδόντων τῶν Ἰώνων, ἐκλιπεῖν Σμύρνην Αἰολέας. ποιησάντων δὲ ταῦτα Σμυρναίων, ἐπιδιείλοντό σφεας αἱ ἔνδεκα πόλεις, καὶ ἐποίησαντο σφέων αὐτέων πολιήτας.
- 151 Αὗται μὲν νυν αἱ ἡπειρώτιδες Αἰολίδες πόλεις, ἔξω τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἰδῇ οἰκημένων· κεχωρίδαται γὰρ αὗται. αἱ δὲ τὰς νήσους ἔχουσαι, πέντε μὲν πόλεις τὴν Λέσβον νέμονται· τὴν γὰρ ἑκτην ἐν τῇ Λέσβῳ οἰκεομένην Ἀρίσβαν ἡνδραπόδισαν Μη-

τοῦτο] = having the termination, α. κατὰ περ τῶν ΠΛ.] 139. 2.

CH. 149. § 1. αἱ Αἰολίδες] Grote *H. G.* Part II. ch. 14.

Φρικωνίς] Prob. so called from Phricium, a mountain above Thermopylae, the Aeolic emigrants having come from Locris.

αἱ ἀρχαῖαι] These older cities are opposed to the later Aeolic settlements round mount Ida (151. 1). See Grote.

σφεων] depends on παρελύθη, = 'was set loose from,' λύεσθαι referring to the severing of the *Bund*.

§ 2. ἦσαν] 'Used to be,' before this.

καὶ αὗται] as well as the Ionian cities.

ἀμείνω] = more fertile: cf. ἀρίστη, 103. 2.

ἤκουσαν] 30. 8, n.

CH. 150. § 1. ὑπεδέξαντο] Sc. οἱ Σμυρναῖοι. ὑπ- = under shelter.

§ 3. τῶν Ἰώνων] Colophon was an Ionian town (142. 5).

§ 4. ἐπιδιείλ. σφεας] Not 'distributed themselves afresh,' but 'distributed them (the Smyrnaeans) among themselves.' So ἐπιδιελόμενοι τὰς πόλεις ἐπὶ ὁρθεον, V. 116. 2. For Σμυρναίων... σφεας, see 3. 3, n. 'Smyrna appears to have become Ionic before B. C. 688.' Grote. Cf. 16. 2.

CH. 151. § 1. κεχωρίδαται] = χωρὶς εἰσι (cf. κεχωρίσθαι, 4. 4).

§ 2. πέντε μὲν] Answered by ἐν Τενέδῳ δὲ μία.

ἑκτην] is pred., τὴν belonging to οἰκεομένην, which is the imperf. participle.

θυμναῖαι, ἐόντας ὁμαίμους. ἐν Τενέδῳ δὲ μία οἰκέεται πόλις, καὶ ἐν τῇσι Ἑκατὸν Νήσοισι καλεομένησι ἄλλη μία. Λεσ-  
βίοισι μὲν νυν καὶ Τενεδίοισι, κατάπερ Ἰώνων τοῖσι τὰς  
νήσους ἔχουσι, ἣν δεινὸν οὐδέν· τῇσι δὲ λοιπῇσι πόλισι ἕαδε  
κοινῇ Ἰωσι ἔπεσθαι, τῇ ἂν οὗτοι ἐξηγέωνται.

- 152 Ὡς δὲ ἀπικέατο ἐς τὴν Σπάρτην τῶν Ἰώνων καὶ Αἰολέων  
οἱ ἄγγελοι (κατὰ γὰρ δὴ τάχος ἦν ταῦτα πρησσόμενα) εἶλοντο  
πρὸ πάντων λέγειν τὸν Φωκαέα, τῷ οὖνομα ἦν Πύθερμος. ὁ  
δὲ, πορφύρεόν τε εἶμα περιβαλόμενος, ὥς ἂν πυνθανόμενοι  
πλείστοι συνέλθοιεν Σπαρτιητέων, καὶ καταστὰς ἔλεγε  
πολλὰ, τιμωρέειν ἐωυτοῖσι χρήζων. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ οὐ  
κως ἤκουον, ἀλλ' ἀπέδοξέ σφι μὴ τιμωρέειν Ἰωσι. οἱ μὲν  
δὲ ἀπαλλάσσοντο, Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ἀπωσάμενοι τῶν Ἰώνων  
τοὺς ἀγγέλους, ὅμως ἀπέστειλαν πεντηκοντέρῳ ἄνδρα, ὥς  
μὲν ἐμοὶ δοκέει, κατασκόπους τῶν τε Κύρου πρηγμάτων καὶ  
Ἰωνίης. ἀπικόμενοι δὲ οὗτοι ἐς Φώκαιαν, ἔπεμπον ἐς Σάρδεις  
σφέων αὐτῶν τὸν δοκιμώτατον, τῷ οὖνομα ἦν Λακρίνης,  
ἀπερέοντα Κύρῳ Λακεδαιμονίων ῥῆσιν, γῆς τῆς Ἑλλάδος  
μηδεμίαν πόλιν σιναμωρέειν, ὥς αὐτῶν οὐ περιοψομένων.  
153 Ταῦτα εἰπόντος τοῦ κήρυκος, λέγεται Κῦρον ἐπείρεσθαι τοὺς  
παρέοντας οἱ Ἑλλήνων, τίνες ἐόντες ἄνθρωποι Λακεδαιμόνιοι  
καὶ κόσιοι πλῆθος, ταῦτα ἐωυτῷ προαγορεύουσι. πυνθανό-  
μενον δὲ μιν εἰπεῖν πρὸς τὸν κήρυκα τὸν Σπαρτιήτην· “Οὐκ

Ἀρίσβαν...ἐόντας] Cf. 67. 3;  
211. 2.

ἄλλη μία] i.e. the scattered in-  
habitants of these small islands  
formed one state in the league.

CH. 152. § 1. οἱ ἄγγελοι] See  
141. 6.

γάρ] *As soon as* they arrived (for  
there was no time to be lost) they  
chose etc.

τὸν Φ.] This seems to imply that  
each state sent one envoy.

§ 2. πορφύρεον] ‘An attractive  
spectacle amid the plain clothing  
universal at Sparta.’ Grote. ‘Hdt.  
thinks this fact deserves prominence  
as a mark of Ionian luxury.’ St.

εἶμα] = ἱμάτιον (155. 6).

ὥς ἂν] 75. 5.

καταστὰς] implies a ‘set’ speech.

ἔλεγε πολλὰ] This would not  
help them at Sparta: see III. 46. 1.

ἀπέδοξέ σφι] ‘They resolved on  
the contrary’ (172. 3).

§ 3. ὥς μὲν] Cf. 131. 1.

§ 4. ἀπερέοντα...ῥῆσιν] This  
may = ‘to deliver a verbal message’  
(L. and S. *Lex.*), ἀπο- thus merely  
meaning ‘forth,’ as in *χρῆ μὲν δὴ τὸν  
μῦθον ἀπηλεγέως ἀποειπεῖν*, Hom.  
II. IX. 309. But more prob. here as  
in other passages in Hdt. ἀπο- an-  
ticipates the following negative (cf.  
155. 6). ῥῆσιν is thus a cognate accus.  
(instead of ἀπόρρησιν), depending on  
part only of the verbal notion.

CH. 153. § 2. οὐκ ἔδισα κω]  
Krüg. reads κως here and at IV. 97. 5,

ἔδεισά κω ἄνδρας τοιούτους, τοῖσι ἐστὶ χῶρος ἐν μέσῃ τῇ πόλει ἀποδεδεγμένος, ἐς τὸν συλλεγόμενοι ἀλλήλους ὁμοῦντες ἔξαπατῶσι. τοῖσι, ἣν ἐγὼ ὑγιαίνω, οὐ τὰ Ἰώνων πάθεα 3 ἔσται ἔλλεσχα, ἀλλὰ τὰ οἰκήϊα." Ταῦτα ἐς τοὺς πάντας 4 Ἕλληνας ἀπέρριψε ὁ Κῦρος τὰ ἔπεα, ὅτι ἀγορὰς κτησάμενοι ὦνῃ τε καὶ πρήσει χρέωνται. αὐτοὶ γὰρ οἱ Πέρσαι ἀγορῇσι 5 οὐδὲν ἐώθασι χρᾶσθαι, οὐδέ σφί ἐστι τὸ παράπαν ἀγορή. Μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπιτρέψας τὰς μὲν Σάρδεις Ταβάλῳ ἀνδρὶ Πέρσῃ, 6 τὸν δὲ χρυσὸν, τὸν τε Κροίσου καὶ τὸν τῶν ἄλλων Λυδῶν, Πακτῆν ἀνδρὶ Λυδῷ κομίζειν, ἀπήλαυνε αὐτὸς ἐς Ἀγβάτανα, Κροίσον τε ἅμα ἀγόμενος, καὶ τοὺς Ἴωνας ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ

and Stein explains οὐκ...κω as equivalent to οὐ κως, οὐδαμῶς, comparing Hom. *Od.* XVI. 161, οὐ γάρ πω πάντεσσι θεοὶ φαίνονται ἐναργεῖς. But this is unnecessary. The meaning may be either 'never yet did I fear,' like οὐ γάρ πω τοίους ἴδον ἀνέρας, *Il.* I. 262; or more prob. 'not yet do I fear,' like οὐ κω λέγω, 32. 7. On this latter view, ἔδεισα is an example of the idiomatic use of the aorist, so common in the dramatists, e.g. παρήνεσα, Soph. *Phil.* 1434; ἀπέπτυσσα, Eur. *Hec.* 1276; ὦ γὰρ, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐμαυτοῦ νῦν δὴ κατεγέλασα, Plat. *Leg.* III. 686, the action, though really in present time, being referred by the aorist to the moment immediately preceding the speech: = 'I do not yet fear, I felt' (i.e. just now, while being informed about the Lacedaemonians).

ὁμοῦντες] Nowhere else used: but Bähr does not adopt Bekker's correction, ὁμυντες.

§ 3. ἔλλεσχα] 'Matter for gossip,' i.e. in their ἀγορά. The λέσχη was an important institution in Dorian states. At Sparta each tribe had its λέσχη or club-room (*Dict. Ant.*). So γενομένης λέσχης, of a discussion among Spartans, IX. 71. 5: cf. II. 32. 1, n.

§ 4. τοὺς πάντας] 'The Greeks, as a body.'

ἀπέρρ.] 'Cast in the teeth of.'

κτησάμενοι] Stein reads στησά-

μενοι, comparing ἀγορῇ οὐκ ἴσταται σφι, VI. 58. 7. Certainly we should have expected ἐκτημένοι, like μαυτήϊον ἐκτῆσθαι, I. 49. But the aor. is used by Homer (for the pluperf.) in the sense of 'possessed': *Il.* IX. 400, κτήμασι τέρπεσθαι, τὰ γέρων ἐκτήσατο Πηλεΐς, *Od.* XIV. 4, κήδετο οἰκῆων, οὓς κτήσατο δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς.

§ 5. οἱ Πέρσαι] So Xenophon in his ideal Persian state only allows an ἐλευθέρῃ ἀγορᾷ, *Cyr.* I. 2. 3 (compare Aristotle's double ἀγορά, *Pol.* IV. 12). Even in Greece the commercial side of the ἀγορά was never a subject of national pride. Notice the use of ἀγοραῖος (II. 141. 4; 167. 2). The ancient Greek commercial ἀγορά has its counterpart at the present day in the Oriental bazaar.

§ 6. ἐπιτρέψας] A trace of the way in which the Persian empire was administered before the time of Darius: 'Tabalus being governor of Sardis, Pactyas receiver-general of the treasury, and Mazares (156. 3) commander-in-chief.' Heeren.

κομίζειν] Not 'to carry to Agbatana' (for this office he would prob. have named a Persian, not a Lydian), but simply 'to take care of,' like κτήματα μὲν, τὰ μοι ἐστι, κομίζεμεν ἐν μεγάροισιν, Hom. *Od.* XXIII. 355. St. So κόμισε (of a plant) 'take care of it,' 'rear it up.' Aesch. *Cho.* 262.



- ποιησάμενος τὴν πρώτην εἶναι. ἥ τε γὰρ Βαβυλών οἱ ἦν 7  
 ἐμπόδιος, καὶ τὸ Βάκτριον ἔθνος, καὶ Σάκαι τε καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι,  
 ἐπ' οὓς ἐπεῖχέ τε στρατηλατέειν αὐτὸς, ἐπὶ δὲ Ἴωνας ἄλλον  
 154 πέμπειν στρατηγόν. Ὡς δὲ ἀπήλασε ὁ Κῦρος ἐκ τῶν  
 Σαρδίων, τοὺς Λυδοὺς ἀπέστησε ὁ Πακτύης ἀπὸ τε Ταβάλου  
 καὶ Κύρου· καταβὰς δὲ ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, ἅτε τὸν χρυσὸν ἔχων  
 πάντα τὸν ἐκ τῶν Σαρδίων, ἐπικούρους τε ἐμισθοῦτο καὶ  
 τοὺς ἐπιθαλασσίους ἀνθρώπους ἔπειθε σὺν ἐωυτῷ στρατεύ-  
 εσθαι. ἐλάσας δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς Σάρδεις ἐπολιόρκεε Τάβαλον,  
 ἀπεργμένον ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει.
- 155 Πυθόμενος δὲ κατ' ὁδὸν ταῦτα ὁ Κῦρος εἶπε πρὸς Κροῖσον 1  
 τάδε· “Κροῖσε, τί ἔσται τὸ τέλος τῶν γινομένων τούτων  
 ἐμοί; οὐ παύσονται Λυδοί, ὥς οἴκασι, πρήγματα παρέχοντες  
 καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔχοντες. φροντίζω, μὴ ἄριστον ἢ ἐξανδραποδί-  
 σασθαί σφεας· ὁμοίως γάρ μοι νῦν γε φαίνομαι πεποιη- 2  
 κέναι, ὥς εἴ τις πατέρα ἀποκτείνας τῶν παιδῶν αὐτοῦ  
 φείσαιο. ὥς δὲ καὶ ἐγὼ Λυδῶν τὸν μὲν πλέον τι ἢ πατέρα  
 εἶντα σὲ λαβὼν ἄγω, αὐτοῖσι δὲ Λυδοῖσι τὴν πόλιν παρέ-  
 δωκα· καὶ ἔπειτα θωυμάζω, εἴ μοι ἀπεστᾶσι;” Ὁ μὲν δὲ 3  
 τὰ περ ἐνόεε, ἔλεγε· ὁ δ' ἀμείβετο τοῖσδε, δείσας μὴ ἀναστά-  
 τους ποιήσῃ τὰς Σάρδεις· “ὦ βασιλεῦ, τὰ μὲν οἰκότα  
 εἴρηκας· σὺ μέντοι μὴ πάντα θυμῷ χρέο, μηδὲ πόλιν ἀρχαίην  
 ἐξαναστήσῃς, ἀναμάρτητον εὐῶσαν καὶ τῶν πρότερον καὶ

τὴν πρώτην] An adverbial phrase like τὴν ταχίστην (cf. τὴν πρώτην εἶναι, III. 134. 8).

εἶναι] This has been explained as added pleonastically after ἐν οὐδενί λ. ποιησάμενος, like ἐπωνυμίην ἔχοντος Θασίου εἶναι (II. 44. 3). But more prob. εἶναι is to be taken with τὴν πρώτην in a restrictive sense (172. I, n.); = ‘at least to begin with.’ Cf. τὸ σύμπαν εἶναι, VII. 143. 5, and the common phrases τὸ νῦν εἶναι, τὸ τήμερον εἶναι (Bähr).

§ 7. τε...δὲ] See II. 126. 2, n. For the misplacement of τε, cf. I. 117. 3.

CH. 154. ἅτε τὸν χρ. ἔχων] This gives a reason for ἐμισθοῦτο.

CH. 155. § 1. μὴ] On the analogy of verbs of fearing: ‘I doubt whether it be not best.’

§ 2. ὥς εἴ τις κ.τ.λ.] An allusion to the Greek proverb, attributed to Stasinus (II. 117. 1, n.), νῆπιος, δς πατέρα κτείνας παῖδας καταλείπει (Aristot. *Rhet.* I. 15. 14; II. 21. 11). Below, § 4, another Greek proverbial saying is put into the mouth of Croesus.

Λυδῶν] Governed by πατέρα.

ἄγω] as prisoner: captivity being equivalent to death.

§ 3. τὰ μὲν] τὰ is demonstrative: οἰκότα predicate.

πάντα] Cf. 99. 2; II. 95. 3.



τῶν νῦν ἐστεώτων. τὰ μὲν γὰρ πρότερον ἐγὼ τε ἔπρηξα, 4  
καὶ ἐγὼ ἐμῇ κεφαλῇ ἀναμάξας φέρω. τὰ δὲ νῦν παρεόντα,  
Πακτύης γάρ ἐστι ὁ ἀδικέων, τῷ σὺ ἐπέτρεψας Σάρδεις,  
οὗτος δότω τοι δίκην. Λυδοῖσι δὲ συγγνώμην ἔχων τάδε 5  
αὐτοῖσι ἐπίταξον, ὥς μήτε ἀποστέωσι, μήτε δεινοί τοι ἔωσι.  
ἄπειπε μὲν σφί πέμψας ὅπλα ἀρήϊα μὴ ἐκτῆσθαι, κέλευε δέ 6  
σφέας κιθῶνάς τε ὑποδύνειν τοῖσι εἵμασι, καὶ κοθόρνους ὑπο-  
δέεσθαι· πρόειπε δ' αὐτοῖσι κιθαρίζειν τε καὶ ψάλλειν καὶ 7  
καπηλεύειν παιδεύειν τοὺς παῖδας. καὶ ταχέως σφέας, ὦ  
βασιλεῦ, γυναῖκας ἀντ' ἀνδρῶν ὄψεαι γεγονότας, ὥστε οὐδὲν  
156 δεινοί τοι ἔσονται, μὴ ἀποστέωσι." Κροῖσος μὲν δὴ ταῦτά 1  
οἱ ὑπετίθετο, αἰρετώτερα ταῦτα εὗρίσκων Λυδοῖσι, ἣ ἀνδρα-  
ποδισθέντας πρηθῆναι σφέας· ἐπιστάμενος ὅτι ἦν μὴ ἀξιό-  
χρεων πρόφασιν προτείνῃ, οὐκ ἀναπείσει μιν μεταβουλεύ-  
σασθαι, ἀρρωδέων δὲ, μὴ καὶ ὕστερόν κοτε οἱ Λυδοί, ἦν τὸ

ἐστεώτων] Thuc. V. 46. 1, εὖ  
ἐστώτων τῶν πραγμάτων (Kr.).

§ 4. κεφαλῇ ἀναμάξας] Hom.  
Od. XIX. 92, ἔρδουσα μεγὰ ἔργον, ὃ  
σῇ κεφαλῇ ἀναμάξεις. On the usual  
explanation of this phrase (L. and  
S. *Lex.*) the metaphor would seem  
to have come from the custom of  
wiping the sword on the head of the  
murdered man: *κάπι λουτροῖσιν κά-  
ρα | κηλίδας ἐξέμαξεν*, Soph. *El.* 445.  
But neither here nor in the passage  
from the Odyssey is there any allu-  
sion to punishment by death. Hence  
Stein ingeniously suggests that the  
verb may be *ἀν-αμαγεῖν* (*ἀμ-αγεῖν*  
= *cogere*, *coacervare*, whence *ἄμαξα*),  
so that the meaning would be:  
'That which happened before was  
my own work, and I bear the bur-  
den of it heaped upon my own head.'  
Cf. *τίνες εἰσὶν οἱς ἂν εἰκότως τὴν τῶν  
γεγενημένων αἰτίαν ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν  
ἀναθεῖεν ἅπαντες*, Dem. *de Cor.* 323.  
It is difficult to find any parallel for  
the combination of *ἀνά* and *ἄμα* in  
composition, but this interpretation  
seems simpler than the older one.  
There is a similar doubt as to whe-  
ther *προεσάξαντο* is to be referred to  
*ἄγω* or *σάσσω* (190. 3, n.).

τὰ δὲ νῦν π.] Put in construction  
with *ἀδικέων* (the nearer verbal no-  
tion) instead of with *δότω δίκην*.  
See 24. 7, n.

τῷ σὺ ἐπέτρ.] This is slightly in-  
consistent with 153. 6.

§ 6. ἀρήϊα] Added because *ὄπλα*  
in Hdt. is not entirely restricted to  
the meaning, 'weapons' (cf. VII. 25.  
1). So Hom. *Il.* X. 407, *ποῦ δέ οἱ  
ἔντεα κείται ἀρήϊα*; where the epithet  
marks the distinction from other *ἔν-  
τεα*, e.g. *ἔντεα δαιτός* (Od. VII. 232).

ὑποδύνειν] This implies that they  
had not hitherto worn both garments  
together. Either was worn sepa-  
rately: cf. *οἰοχίτων* (Od. XIV. 489)  
with *ἄχιτων*, i.e. wearing only the  
*ἱμάτιον* (Xen. *Mem.* I. 6. 2). The  
*κόθορνος* had a thick sole; hence it  
would tend to make the Lydians  
*ποδαβροί* (55. 2).

§ 7. κιθαρίζειν] depends on *παι-  
δεύειν*.

CH. 156. § 1. ταῦτά οἱ ὑπ.]  
'Evidently an hypothesis to explain  
the contrast between the Lydians of  
Hdt.'s time and the old irresistible  
horsemen of the days of Croesus.'  
Grote.

ἐπιστάμενος] 122. 1, n.

παρεὼν ὑπεκδράμωσι, ἀποστάντες ἀπὸ τῶν Περσέων ἀπό-  
λωνται. Κῦρος δὲ ἡσθεὶς τῇ ὑποθήκῃ, καὶ ὑπεὶς τῆς ὀργῆς, <sup>2</sup>  
ἔφη οἱ πείθεσθαι. καλέσας δὲ Μαζάρεα ἄνδρα Μῆδον, <sup>3</sup>  
ταῦτά οἱ ἐνετείλατο προειπεῖν Λυδοῖσι, τὰ ὃ Κροῖσος ὑπε-  
τίθετο· καὶ πρὸς ἐξανδραποδίσασθαι τοὺς ἄλλους πάντας, οἳ  
μετὰ Λυδῶν ἐπὶ Σάρδις ἐστρατεύσαντο, αὐτὸν δὲ Πακτύην  
<sup>157</sup> πάντως ζῶντα ἀγαγεῖν παρ' ἐωυτόν. 'Ο μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐκ <sup>1</sup>  
τῆς ὁδοῦ ἐντειλάμενος ἀπήλαυνε ἐς ἡθεα τὰ Περσέων. Πακ- <sup>2</sup>  
τύης δὲ πυθόμενος ἀγχοῦ εἶναι στρατὸν ἐπ' ἐωυτόν ἰόντα,  
δείσας ὄχκετο φεύγων ἐς Κύμην. Μαζάρης δὲ ὁ Μῆδος ἐλά- <sup>3</sup>  
σας ἐπὶ τὰς Σάρδις, τοῦ Κύρου στρατοῦ μοῖραν ὅσῃν δὴ κοτε  
ἔχων, ὥς οὐκ εὔρε' ἔτι ἔοντας τοὺς ἀμφὶ Πακτύην ἐν Σάρδισι,  
πρῶτα μὲν τοὺς Λυδοὺς ἠνάγκασε τὰς Κύρου ἐντολὰς ἐπι-  
τελέειν· ἐκ τούτου δὲ κελευσμοσύνης Λυδοὶ τὴν πᾶσαν  
δίαιταν τῆς ζόης μετέβαλον. Μαζάρης δὲ μετὰ τοῦτο ἔπεμπε <sup>4</sup>  
ἐς τὴν Κύμην ἀγγέλους, ἐκδιδόναι κελεύων Πακτύην· οἱ δὲ  
Κυμαῖοι ἔγνωσαν, συμβουλῆς πέρι ἐς θεὸν ἀνῶσαι τὸν ἐν  
Βραγχίδῃσι. ἦν γὰρ αὐτόθι μαντήϊον ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἰδρυμένον, <sup>5</sup>  
τῷ Ἰωνέσ τε πάντες καὶ Αἰολέες ἐώθεσαν χρέεσθαι. ὁ δὲ  
χῶρος οὗτος ἐστὶ τῆς Μιλησίου ὑπὲρ Πανόρμου λιμένος.  
<sup>158</sup> Πέμψαντες ὦν οἱ Κυμαῖοι ἐς τοὺς Βραγχίδας θεοπρόπους, <sup>1</sup>  
εἰρώτεον περὶ Πακτύην ὁκοῖόν τι ποιέοντες θεοῖσι μέλλοιεν

ὑπεκδράμωσι.] 'Should they es-  
cape the present imminent danger.'  
τρέχειν often implies a notion of  
danger: *περὶ ἐωυτοῦ τρέχων*, VII. 57.  
<sup>2</sup>; *τρέχων περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς*, IX. 37. <sup>3</sup>  
ὑπεκ- either as in *ὑπεκτιθέναί* (V. 65.  
<sup>2</sup>) 'to convey out and place in safety,'  
or more simply 'from under.'

CH. 157. § 1. ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ] Cf.  
'*quas ex itinere literas misisti.*' Cic.  
*Fam.* III. 9.

ἡθεα τὰ Π.] i. e. Agbatana (153.  
6), which was properly the home of  
the Median race (98. 5). But Hdt.  
uses the language of his own day,  
when the distinction between Mede  
and Persian was scarcely recognized.  
See note, 163. 3.

§ 2. ὄχκετο φεύγων] See 160.  
5, n.

§ 3. ὅσῃν δὴ κοτε] See note on  
*οἷα δὴ*, 86. 6.

τοὺς ἀμφὶ Π.] The phrase includes  
Pactyas himself.

§ 4. συμβουλῆς πέρι] *πέρι* de-  
notes the subject on which they re-  
ferred to the god: 'on the matter  
of the counsel which they had to  
take together,' like *περὶ σπονδέων*  
*ἀνάλσειν ἐς τοὺς πλεῦνας*, VII. 149. 2.

§ 5. ὑπὲρ] The temple stood on  
high ground. Its remains are still  
'visible to one who sails along the  
coast.' *Dict. Geogr.* No one would  
gather from this passage that Hdt.  
had already twice mentioned the  
oracle (46. 2; 92. 2). Cf. 170. 3.

CH. 158. § 1. τοὺς Βρ.] See  
92. 2, n.

ὁκοῖόν τι] An unnecessarily in-

χαριεῖσθαι ἐπειρωτῶσι δέ σφι ταῦτα χρηστήριον ἐγένετο, ἐκδιδόναι Πακτύνην Πέρσησι. Ταῦτα δὲ ὡς ἀπενειχθέντα 2 ἤκουσαν οἱ Κυμαῖοι, ὀρμέατο ἐκδιδόναι. ὀρμεωμένου δὲ ταύτῃ 3 τοῦ πλήθους, Ἀριστόδικος ὁ Ἡρακλείδew, ἀνὴρ τῶν ἀστῶν ἐὼν δόκιμος, ἔσχε μὴ ποιῆσαι ταῦτα Κυμαίους, ἀπιστέων τε τῷ χρησμῷ, καὶ δοκέων τοὺς θεοπρόπους οὐ λέγειν ἀληθέως· ἐς δὲ, τὸ δεύτερον περὶ Πακτύew ἐπειρησόμενοι, ἤσαν 159 ἄλλοι θεοπρόποι, τῶν καὶ Ἀριστόδικος ἦν. Ἀπικομένων δὲ 1 ἐς Βραγχίδας, ἐχρηστηριάζετο ἐκ πάντων Ἀριστόδικος, ἐπειρωτέων τάδε· “Ὦναξ, ἦλθε παρ’ ἡμέας ἰκέτης Πακτύης ὁ 2 Λυδὸς, φεύγων θάνατον βίαιον πρὸς Περσέων· οἱ δέ μιν ἐξαιτέονται, προεῖναι Κυμαίους κελεύοντες· ἡμεῖς δὲ δειμαίνοντες τὴν Περσέων δύναμιν, τὸν ἰκέτην ἐς τόδε οὐ τετολμήκαμεν ἐκδιδόναι, πρὶν ἂν τὸ ἀπὸ σεῦ ἡμῖν δηλωθῇ ἀτρεκέως, ὁκότερα ποιέωμεν.” Ὁ μὲν ταῦτα ἐπειρώτα, ὁ δ’ αὐτὶς τὸν 3 αὐτόν σφι χρησμὸν ἔφαινε, κελεύων ἐκδιδόναι Πακτύνην Πέρσησι. πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Ἀριστόδικος ἐκ προνοίης ἐποίησε τάδε 4 περιῶν τὸν νηὸν κύκλῳ, ἐξαίρει τοὺς στρουθοὺς, καὶ ἄλλα ὅσα ἦν νενεοσσευμένα ὀρνίθων γένεα ἐν τῷ νηῷ. ποιέοντος 5 δὲ αὐτοῦ ταῦτα, λέγεται φωνὴν ἐκ τοῦ ἀδύτου γενέσθαι, φέρουσιν μὲν πρὸς τὸν Ἀριστόδικον, λέγουσαν δὲ τάδε·

definite phrase (like τὰ τῶν ὄν. ἐχόμενα for ὀνειράτα, 120. 4), since there were but two or three courses open to them: we have ὁκότερα, 159. 2.

§ 3. Ἡρακλείδew] About forty years later (500 B.C.), we find an Aristagoras, son of Heraclides, tyrant of Cyme (V. 37. 1).

ἔσχε...ἐς δ] So ὑπήκουσαν, ἐς δ σφι ἔαδε, IV. 201. 4. Generally we find the imperfect or present before ἐς δ, but it is often coupled very loosely on to the preceding clause: = ‘so that at last.’ See II. 116. 1, n.

CH. 159. § 2. δειμαίνοντες] ‘Although fearing.’

τὸ ἀπὸ σεῦ] ‘Thy counsel:’ cf. ἐθέλω τὸ ἀπὸ σεῦ, ὁκοῖάν τι λέγεις, πυθέσθαι, VII. 101. 3.

ποιέωμεν] Cf. 206. 5.

§ 3. ὁ δ] The god, Apollo: to whom alone Hdt. applies the title ὦναξ (§ 2).

§ 5. ἀδύτου] Here apparently distinct from the μέγαρον, in which the θεοπρόποι would be. Prob. not all temples were constructed alike: cf. ἐς τὸ μέγαρον ἐσελθόντες ἴσονται (at Delphi), and the Pythia’s answer, ἀλλ’ ἴτον ἐξ ἀδύτοις, VII. 140.

φέρουσιν] Probably with a local signification like τὰ πρὸς νότον φέροντα, VII. 201. 3; ὁδὸς φέρουσα ἐς ἱρόν, II. 122. 3. The word refers to that modification in the sound of a voice, by which we can tell, without seeing the speaker, whether we ourselves are addressed or not. χρηστήριον ἐς Ἀργείους φέρον (VI. 19. 1) is different.

“Ἀνοσιώτατε ἀνθρώπων, τί τάδε τολμᾷς ποιεῖν; τοὺς 6  
 ἰκέτας μου ἐκ τοῦ νηοῦ κεραΐζεις;” Ἀριστόδικον δὲ οὐκ 7  
 ἀπορήσαντα πρὸς ταῦτα εἰπεῖν· “ὦναξ, αὐτὸς μὲν οὕτω  
 τοῖσι ἰκέτησι βοηθείς, Κυμαίους δὲ κελεύεις τὸν ἰκέτην  
 ἐκδιδόναι;” Τὸν δὲ αὐτὶς ἀμείψασθαι τοῖσδε· “Ναὶ κελεύω, 8  
 ἵνα γε ἀσεβήσαντες θᾶσσον ἀπόλησθε, ὥς μὴ τὸ λοιπὸν περὶ  
 160 ἰκετέων ἐκδόσιος ἔλθῃτε ἐπὶ τὸ χρηστήριον.” Ταῦτα ὡς 1  
 ἀπενειχθέντα ἤκουσαν οἱ Κυμαῖοι, οὐ βουλόμενοι οὔτε ἐκδόν-  
 τες ἀπολέσθαι, οὔτε παρ’ ἐωντοῖσι ἔχοντες πολιορκέεσθαι,  
 ἐς Μυτιλήνην αὐτὸν ἐκπέμπουσι. οἱ δὲ Μυτιληναῖοι, ἐπι- 2  
 πέμποντος τοῦ Μαζάρεος ἀγγελίας ἐκδιδόναι τὸν Πακτύν  
 παρσκευάζοντο ἐπὶ μισθῷ ὅσῳ δὴ· οὐ γὰρ ἔχω τοῦτό γε  
 εἰπεῖν ἀτρεκέως· οὐ γὰρ ἐτελεώθη. Κυμαῖοι γὰρ, ὥς ἔμαθον 3  
 ταῦτα πρησόμενα ἐκ τῶν Μυτιληναίων, πέμψαντες πλοῖον  
 ἐς Λέσβον, ἐκκομίζουσι Πακτύν ἐς Χίον. ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ, ἐξ 4  
 ἱεροῦ Ἀθηναίης Πολιούχου ἀποσπασθεὶς ὑπὸ Χίων, ἐξεδόθη·  
 ἐξέδοσαν δὲ οἱ Χῖοι ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀταρνέϊ μισθῷ τοῦ δὲ Ἀταρνέος  
 τούτου ἐστὶ χῶρος τῆς Μυσίης, Λέσβου ἀντίος. Πακτύν 5  
 μὲν νυν παραδεξάμενοι οἱ Πέρσαι εἶχον ἐν φυλακῇ, θέλοντες  
 Κύρῳ ἀποδέξαι. ἦν δὲ χρόνος οὗτος οὐκ ὀλίγος γενόμενος, 6

§ 8. ἵνα γε ἀσεβ.] Compare the ironical answer given to Glaucus at Delphi, VI. 86. 13. Notwithstanding this attempt to evade responsibility, the temple at Branchidae was eventually plundered by the Persians during the Ionic revolt (VI. 19. 4).

CH. 160. § 1. Μυτιλήνην] The Lesbians and Chians (§ 3) had nothing to fear from the Persians (143. 1).

§ 2. ἐκδιδόναι] The inf. depends on παρσκευάζοντο.

ἐπὶ μισθῷ ὅσῳ δὴ] ‘For such and such a price:’ ἐπὶ, because the price was the *basis* of the negotiations: cf. 60. 3.

§ 4. Πολιούχου] ‘Guardian of the *citadel*’ (14. 8, n.): a title derived from the Athenian use of the term πόλις (Thuc. II. 15. 8; V. 23. 5).

τοῦ δὲ Ἀ. τούτου] Ἀταρνέος go-

verned by χῶρος would only give the (non-) sense: ‘a part of A. belongs to M.’ Hdt. prob. wrote ὁ δὲ Ἀταρνέος οὗτος or simply ὁ δέ, so that τοῦ Ἀ. τούτου would have arisen from what follows (§ 6).’ Krüg. Possibly however Ἀταρνέος may denote the town, so that τοῦ Ἀ. τούτου (ὁ) χῶρος would = *ager hic Atarnensis*, the sentence fully expressed being τοῦ δὲ Ἀ. τ. ὁ χῶρος ἐστὶ χῶρος τῆς Μ., but the phrase is a strange one.

§ 5. Π. μὲν νυν] Hdt.’s account is confirmed by Charon of Lampsacus: Πακτύης δὲ ὡς ἐπύθετο προσελαύνοντα τὸν στρατὸν τὸν Περσικὸν ὤχετο φεύγων (above, 157. 2) ἄρτι μὲν ἐς Μυτιλήνην· ἔπειτα δὲ εἰς Χίον· καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐκράτησε Κῦρος,—though the pseudo-Plutarch cites the passage to prove Hdt.’s *κακοήθεια*.

§ 6. οὗτος] anticipates *δε*. ‘But

- ὅτε Χίων οὐδείς ἐκ τοῦ Ἀταρνέος τούτου οὔτε οὐλὰς κριθῶν  
 πρόχυσιν ἐποιέετο θεῶν οὐδενί, οὔτε πέμματα ἐπέσσετο καρ-  
 ποῦ τοῦ ἐνθεῦτεν, ἀπείχετό τε τῶν πάντων ἰρῶν τὰ πάντα  
 ἐκ τῆς χώρας ταύτης γινόμενα. Χῖοι μὲν νυν Πακτίην  
 161 ἐξέδοσαν. Μαζάρης δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐστρατεύετο ἐπὶ τοὺς  
 συμπολιορκήσαντας Τάβαλον. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν Πριηνέας  
 ἐξηνδραποδίσατο, τοῦτο δὲ Μαιάνδρου πεδίου πᾶν ἐπέδραμε,  
 λητήν ποιούμενος τῷ στρατῷ, Μαγνησίην δὲ ὡσαύτως. μετὰ  
 δὲ ταῦτα αὐτίκα νούσῳ τελευτᾷ.
- 162 Ἀποθανόντος δὲ τούτου, Ἀρπαγος κατέβη διάδοχος τῆς 1  
 στρατηγίης, γένος καὶ αὐτὸς ἐὼν Μῆδος, τὸν ὁ Μήδων βασι-  
 λεὺς Ἀστυάγης ἀνόμῳ τραπέζῃ ἔδαισε, ὁ τῷ Κύρῳ τὴν  
 βασιλητήν συγκατεργασάμενος. οὗτος ὦνῆρ τότε ὑπὸ Κύρου 2  
 στρατηγὸς ἀποδεχθεὶς, ὡς ἀπίκητο ἐς τὴν Ἰωνίην, αἶρεε τὰς  
 πόλιας χάμασι· ὅκως γὰρ τειχήρεας ποιήσκει, τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν  
 χώματα χῶν πρὸς τὰ τείχεα ἐπόρθει. πρώτη δὲ Φωκαίῃ 3  
 Ἰωνίης ἐπεχείρησε.
- 163 Οἱ δὲ Φωκαῖέες οὗτοι ναυτιλίῃσι μακρῇσι πρῶτοι Ἑλ- 1  
 λήνων ἐχρήσαντο· καὶ τὸν τε Ἀδρίην καὶ τὴν Τυρσηνίην καὶ

that was no short time which passed wherein.'

πρόχυσιν ἐποιέετο] This forms one verbal notion (= προέχεε), and so takes another accus. Cf. 68. 2. The πρόχυσις was the sprinkling of meal on the victim's head.

ἀπείχετο] Very uncommon in a passive sense. Prob. Abicht is right in explaining it as the middle voice (like ἐπέσσετο), and supplying ἑκαστος (from οὐδείς, above) for its subject. Cf. 99. 2, n.

τὰ πάντα γινόμενα] Produce of every kind; not merely barley and wheat (St.).

CH. 161. τοὺς συμπ.] i. e. τοὺς ἐπιθαλασσίους, above, ch. 154. Magnesia is situated on a tributary of the Maeander.

ὡσαύτως] = ἐξηνδραποδίσατο.

CH. 162. § 1. καὶ αὐτὸς] As well as Mazares.

τραπέζῃ] Virtually = 'dish,' the courses being served on separate

trays (119. 4).

§ 2. χάμασι] See Thuc. II. 75, foll.

ὅκως] See 17. 4, n.

τειχήρεας π.] 'Having shut them up (i. e. the inhabitants: cf. 151. 2) within their walls.'

ἐπόρθει] = 'stormed.' Schw. quotes Diodor. Sicul. (xv. 5), τὴν πόλιν ἐπόρθουν κατὰ γῆν ἅμα καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν.

§ 3. Ἰωνίης] Acc. to Stein this depends on πρώτη, like Ἑλλήνων πρώτοις ἐπεθήκατο Ἐφεσίοις, 26. 1. More prob. however it depends on Φωκαίῃ, = 'in Ionia' (see note on τῆς πόλιος, 84. 4). Krüger says that in this case we must read τῆς Ἰωνίης, but cf. Αἰγύπτου, II. 113. 2; οἰκημένους δὲ Λιβύης ἐπὶ τῇ νοτίῃ θαλάσῃ, III. 17. 1.

CH. 163. § 1. τὸν τε Ἀδρίην] Sc. κόλπον. 'The phrase includes the adjacent land. So often Πόντος and Ἑλλήσποντος.' Kr.

τὴν Ἰβηρίην καὶ τὸν Ταρτησσὸν οὗτοί εἰσι οἱ καταδέξαν-  
 τες. ἐναυτίλλοντο δὲ οὐ στρογγύλῃσι νηυσὶ, ἀλλὰ πεντη-  
 κοντέροισι. ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἐς τὸν Ταρτησσὸν προσφιλέες  
 ἐγένοντο τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν Ταρτησσίων, τῷ οὖνομα μὲν ἦν  
 Ἀργανθώνιος· ἐτυράννευσε δὲ Ταρτησσοῦ ὀγδῶκοντα ἔτεα,  
 ἐβίωσε δὲ πάντα εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν. τούτῳ δὲ τῷ ἀνδρὶ  
 προσφιλέες οἱ Φωκαῖές οὕτω δὴ τι ἐγένοντο, ὥς τὰ μὲν  
 3 πρῶτά σφεας ἐκλιπόντας Ἰωνίην ἐκέλευσε τῆς ἐωυτοῦ χώρας  
 οἰκῆσαι, ὅκου βούλονται· μετὰ δὲ, ὥς τοῦτό γε οὐκ ἔπειθε  
 τοὺς Φωκαῖεας, ὁ δὲ πυθόμενος τὸν Μῆδον παρ' αὐτῶν ὥς  
 αὔξειτο, ἐδίδου σφι χρήματα τείχος περιβαλέσθαι τὴν πόλιν.  
 ἐδίδου δὲ ἀφειδέως· καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἡ περίοδος τοῦ τείχεος οὐκ  
 4

Ἰβηρίην] i. e. the Spanish penin-  
 sula and the Mediterranean coast of  
 France. Tartessus (prob. = 'Tar-  
 shish') was near the site of the  
 mod. *Cádiz*.

καταδέξαντες] Some Samians had  
 discovered Tartessus about a century  
 before (IV. 152. 3): but the Pho-  
 caeans first 'pointed out the way'  
 for a regular traffic.

§ 2. πεντηκοντέροισι] Though  
 their object was commercial, they  
 did not employ merchant vessels of  
 the ordinary build, 'prob. for fear of  
 the Etruscan pirates.' Bähr. A  
 fragment of Anacreon refers to Ar-  
 ganthonius: ἐγὼ δ' οὐτ' ἄν Ἀμαλ-  
 θίης | βουλομένη κέρας, οὐτ' ἔτεα | πεν-  
 τήκοντά τε καὶ ἑκατόν | Ταρτησσοῦ  
 βασιλεύσαι.

πάντα] τὰ πάντα Hermann (*ad*  
*Viger.* 94), who compares ἀπέθανον  
 οἱ πάντες ('in all') εἰς καὶ ἐννεήκοντα,  
 IX. 70. 8, and says that πᾶς, with-  
 out the article, when joined with  
 numerals, either = *e quoque genere*  
 (see 50. 1, note), or *tota*, implying  
 that nothing is to be subtracted from  
 the number. But this latter is prob.  
 the meaning here (Schw.). τὰ πάντα  
 (*in universum*, 'in all') implies that  
 the number is small, considering the  
 circumstances (cf. 214. 4); whereas  
 πάντα (= *integros, totos*, 'full 120

years') implies that the number is a  
 large one. Cf. εἴκοσι πάντα, Hom.  
*Od.* v. 244. Apparently there is no  
 other instance of this use in Hdt.

§ 3. οὕτω δὴ τι] Cf. 185. 4.

ὥς...ἐκέλευσε] ὥς (= ὥστε in later  
 Greek: 199. 8, n.) with the indic.  
 is not uncommon in Hdt., who ap-  
 parently makes no distinction be-  
 tween this use and that of the infin-  
 itive. Cf. ἐξηρώθη οὕτω ὥστε ἔσχον,  
 VI. 83. 1. In later Greek the indic.  
 is only used where ὥστε may be  
 rendered by *quia re*. Klotz, *Devar.*  
 772.

ὁ δὲ] 112. 3, n.

τὸν Μῆδον] Taken apart from  
 the context this might refer to  
 Cyrus, or might simply mean the  
 Persian people (69. 2). For the  
 inaccurate use of Μῆδος, cf. 206. 1;  
 Thuc. I. 69. 9: above, 157. 1, note.  
 But this involves a chronological  
 difficulty, to obviate which it has  
 been proposed to read τὸν Λυδόν.  
 See on this point Grote, *H. G.* III.  
 174 (IV. 274), n.

περιβαλέσθαι] 'Wherewith to  
 throw a wall round their town.'  
 Compare the construction of περι-  
 βάλλουσι, 215. 3. The infinitive de-  
 notes the result or purpose of the  
 main verb (cf. 32. 8), like ἔδοσαν  
 Θυρέαν οἰκεῖν, Thuc. II. 27. 3.

ὀλίγοι στάδιοί εἰσι· τοῦτο δὲ πᾶν λίθων μεγάλων καὶ εὖ  
 164 συναρμοσμένων. Τὸ μὲν δὴ τείχος τοῖσι Φωκαιεῦσι τρόπῳ 1  
 τοιῷδε ἐξεποιήθη. ὁ δὲ Ἄρπαγος, ὡς ἐπήλασε τὴν στρα-  
 τιὴν, ἐπολιόρκεε αὐτοὺς, προῖσχύμενος ἔπεα ὥς οἱ κατα-  
 χρά, εἰ βούλονται Φωκαῖες προμαχεῶνα ἓνα μῦνον τοῦ  
 τείχεος ἐρεῖψαι καὶ οἴκημα ἐν κατιρῶσαι. οἱ δὲ Φωκαῖες, 2  
 περιημεκτέοντες τῇ δουλοσύνῃ, ἔφασαν θέλειν βουλεύσασθαι  
 ἡμέρην μίαν, καὶ ἔπειτα ὑποκρινέεσθαι. ἐν ᾧ δὲ βουλεύονται  
 αὐτοὶ, ἀπαγαγεῖν ἐκείνον ἐκέλευον τὴν στρατιὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ  
 τείχεος. Ὁ δὲ Ἄρπαγος ἔφη εἰδέναι μὲν εὖ τὰ ἐκείνοι μέλ- 3  
 λειεν ποιεῖν, ὅμως δὲ σφί παριέναι βουλεύσασθαι. Ἐν ᾧ 4  
 ὧν ὁ Ἄρπαγος ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχεος ἀπήγαγε τὴν στρατιὴν, οἱ  
 Φωκαῖες ἐν τούτῳ κατασπάσαντες τὰς πεντηκοντέρους,  
 ἐσθέμενοι τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ ἔπιπλα πάντα, πρὸς δὲ  
 καὶ τὰ ἀγάλματα τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἱρῶν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἀναθήματα,  
 χωρὶς ὅ τι χαλκὸς ἢ λίθος ἢ γραφὴ ἦν, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα πάντα  
 ἐσθέντες, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐσβάντες, ἔπλεον ἐπὶ Χίου. τὴν δὲ  
 165 Φωκαίην ἐρημωθείσαν ἀνδρῶν ἔσχον οἱ Πέρσαι. Οἱ Φω- 1  
 καῖες, ἐπεὶ τε σφί Χίοι τὰς νήσους τὰς Οἰνούσσας καλεο-  
 μένας οὐκ ἐβούλοντο ὠνεομένοισι πωλέειν, δειμαίνοντες μὴ  
 αἱ μὲν ἐμπόριον γένωνται, ἡ δὲ αὐτῶν νῆσος ἀποκληῖσθῃ

§ 4. εἰσι] The verbs εἶναι, γίγνεσθαι, καλέεσθαι often agree in *number* with the predicate (93. 5; II. 15. 7), just as their participles agree in *gender* with the predicate (68. 4).

τοῦτο δέ] 'As if before we had had τοῦτο μὲν, instead of καί.' Ab. But though we often find τοῦτο δέ in this sense after μὲν (V. 45. 1; VIII. 60. 5), prob. here τοῦτο simply = τὸ τείχος. Supply ἐστί.

CH. 164. § 1. τοιῷδε] See note, ch. 101.

κατιρᾶσαι] To dedicate (to the king in token of submission). Cf. 92. 5, where though the word can be taken in its literal sense it virtually = 'confiscate.'

§ 4. τὰς πεντηκ.] 'Their galleys: those mentioned above, 163. 2.

χωρὶς ὅ τι] More usually χωρὶς ἢ, as at II. 77. 8.

χαλκὸς ἢ λίθος] These would be left behind owing to their weight. The pictures were prob. on walls and so could not be moved (Bähr), although Greek artists seem generally to have painted upon panels (πίνακες).

τὰ δὲ ἄλλα] δέ resumes after the intervening clause, χωρὶς κ.τ.λ.

CH. 165. § 1. Οἰνούσσας] Between Chios and the main land: hence ἀποκληῖσθῃ below.

ὠνεομένοισι] *empturientibus* (68. 6).

ἡ δὲ αὐτῶν νῆσος] In Attic prose we should prob. have had ἡ δὲ νῆσος αὐτῶν, the rule being that in the case of reflexives (ἐμαυτοῦ &c.) the genitive immediately fol-



τούτου εἵνεκα, πρὸς ταῦτα οἱ Φωκαῖες ἐστέλλοντο ἐς Κύρ-  
 νον. ἐν γὰρ τῇ Κύρνῳ εἴκοσι ἔτεσι πρότερον τούτων ἐκ 2  
 θεοπροπίου ἀνεστήσαντο πόλιν, τῇ οὖνομα ἦν Ἀλαλίη.  
 Ἀργανθώνιος δὲ τηνικαῦτα ἤδη τετελευτήκεε. στελλόμενοι 3  
 δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν Κύρνον, πρῶτα καταπλεύσαντες ἐς τὴν Φωκαίην,  
 κατεφόνευσαν τῶν Περσέων τὴν φυλακὴν, ἣ ἐφρούρεε παρα-  
 δεξαμένη παρὰ Ἀρπάγου τὴν πόλιν. μετὰ δὲ, ὡς τοῦτό σφι 4  
 ἐξέργαστο, ἐποιήσαντο ἰσχυρὰς κατάρας τῷ ὑπολειπομένῳ  
 ἑωυτῶν τοῦ στόλου. πρὸς δὲ ταύτησι καὶ μύδρον σιδήρεον  
 κατεπόντωσαν, καὶ ὤμοσαν μὴ πρὶν ἐς Φωκαίην ἥξειν, πρὶν  
 ἢ τὸν μύδρον τοῦτον ἀναφῆναι. Στελλομένων δὲ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ 5  
 τὴν Κύρνον, ὑπὲρ ἡμίσεως τῶν ἀστῶν ἔλαβε πόθος τε καὶ  
 οἶκτος τῆς πόλιος καὶ τῶν ἡθέων τῆς χώρας· ψευδόρκιοι δὲ  
 γενόμενοι ἀπέπλεον ὀπίσω ἐς τὴν Φωκαίην. οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν 6  
 τὸ ὄρκιον ἐφύλασσον, ἀερθέντες ἐκ τῶν Οἰνουςσέων ἔπλεον.  
 166 Ἐπεὶ τε δὲ ἐς τὴν Κύρνον ἀπίκοντο, οἴκεον κοινῇ μετὰ τῶν 1  
 πρότερον ἀπικομένων ἐπ' ἕτεα πέντε, καὶ ἱρὰ ἐνιδρύσαντο.  
 καὶ, ἦγον γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἔφερον τοὺς περιοίκους ἅπαντας, στρα- 2

lows the article, while in the case of personal pronouns (μοῦ &c.) it either precedes the article, or follows the subst. without any repetition of the article (Krüg.). But several exceptions to this rule are to be found in Hdt. Cf. τὸν ἀδελφεὸν ἑωυτοῦ, II. 107. 1: ὁ μὲν αὐτοῦ πατήρ, II. 133. 2. So too the partitive genitive αὐτῶν is frequently inserted after the article (often also in Attic). Cf. 98. 8; 143. 1. In most of the exceptions, as here, the insertion of the genitive 'is at any rate softened by the addition of a conjunction,' and as regards Hdt. we may compare his fondness for placing 'a sort of possessive dative' between the article and the subst. (I. 4, n.).

Κύρνον] The Greek name for Corsica.

§ 2. ἀνεστήσαντο] Either 'had set up a state for themselves,' or (more prob.) 'had turned out the (previous) settlers of a state for

themselves' (i. e. in order to settle there themselves). Cf. ἀναστάτους, 155. 3; ἀνίστασαν, IX. 73. 2; ἀναστάσιος, IX. 106. 2. Greek colonies seldom settled on entirely new ground. On either interpretation the use of the middle voice is unusual. But Abicht's conjecture ἀνεκτήσαντο (which would = 'had recovered') is inadmissible.

τηνικαῦτα] i. e. at the time when the Phocaeans deserted Phocaea.

§ 4. μύδρον σιδήρεον] Horace does not follow Hdt.'s account very closely:—'sed juremus in haec: simul imis saxa renarint Vadis levata, ne redire sit nefas,' *Ep.* XVI. 25.

ἀναφῆναι] must be taken transitively: 'till they had found and produced the mass of iron.' Blakesley. Krüg. reads ἀναπεφηνέναι (II. 15. 4), others ἀναφανῆναι.

§ 5. πόθος τε καὶ οἶκτος] 'A pitiful yearning for.' 'They became homesick,' Grote.

CH. 166. § 2. ἔφερον] properly



τεύονται ὧν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς κοινῷ λόγῳ χρησάμενοι Τυρσηνοὶ καὶ Καρχηδόνιοι, νηυσὶ ἑκάτεροι ἐξήκοντα. οἱ δὲ Φωκαῖες 3 πληρώσαντες καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰ πλοῖα, ἔοντα ἀριθμὸν ἐξήκοντα, ἠντίαζον ἐς τὸ Σαρδόνιον καλεόμενον πέλαγος, συμμισγόντων δὲ τῇ ναυμαχίῃ, Καδμεΐη τις νίκη τοῖσι Φωκαεῦσι ἐγένετο. αἱ μὲν γὰρ τεσσεράκοντά σφι νῆες διεφθάρησαν, 4 αἱ δὲ εἴκοσι αἱ περιεοῦσαι ἦσαν ἄχρηστοι· ἀπεστράφατο γὰρ τοὺς ἐμβόλους. καταπλώσαντες δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἀλαλίην 5 ἀνέλαβον τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ τὴν ἄλλην κτῆσιν, ὅσῃν οἰαί τε ἐγίνοντο αἱ νῆες σφι ἄγειν καὶ ἔπειτα ἀφέντες 167 τὴν Κύρνον ἔπλεον ἐς Ῥήγιον. Τῶν δὲ διαφθαρεισέων νεῶν 1 τοὺς ἄνδρας οἳ τε Καρχηδόνιοι καὶ οἱ Τυρσηνοὶ ἔλαχόν τε αὐτῶν πολλῷ πλείους, καὶ τούτους ἐξαγαγόντες κατέλευσαν.

would only apply to things, ἦγον to persons: but the two verbs together = διήρπαζον. Compare the old Border word 'to lift' (= to plunder), which still survives in the term 'shoplifting.'

κοινῷ λόγῳ] Mommsen, *Hist. Rome* I. 153.

Τυρσηνοὶ] Prob. the inhabitants of Agylla (167. 2), which was exactly opposite the settlement of Alalia. The Carthaginians had colonies in Corsica (VII. 165. 1).

§ 3. τὸ Σαρδόνιον κ. π.] That to the south and west of Sardinia: distinct from the Tyrrhenian sea (*Tuscanum mare*, Livy v. 33. 6) which lay between the islands and Italy, and from the Libyan sea which included the two Syrtes and the waters along the African coast to the eastward.

τῇ ναυμ.] The engagement implied in στρατεύονται, ἠντίαζον above (cf. 80. 6). This cannot be the one mentioned by Thuc. (I. 13. 8), since Massilia was prob. founded about 600 B.C.

Καδμεΐη] As we talk of *Dutch* courage, *French* leave &c. See L. and S. *Lex.* With τις cf. τῶν 74. I, n.

§ 4. αἱ μὲν] See 18. 2, n.

διεφθάρησαν] Were sunk or

waterlogged: for διαφθεῖραι = καταδύειν (Thuc. I. 50. 1; Arnold's note).

ἄχρηστοι] 'Disabled.' Thuc. VII. 34. 5, τῶν μὲν Κορινθίων τρεῖς νῆες διαφθείρονται, τῶν δὲ Ἀθηναίων κατέδυν μὲν οὐδεμία ἀπλῶς, ἑπτὰ δὲ τινες ἀπλοὶ (= unseaworthy) ἐγένοντο.

ἀπεστράφατο] Bent back, i. e. forced upwards. So of the neck of an animal about to be sacrificed, IV. 188.

§ 5. ἐγίνοντο] 'Became able,' after being repaired.

ἀφέντες τὴν Κ.] 'Let C. go,' i. e. gave up their plan of settling in the island. Or very possibly the phrase refers to the fact that land appears to recede, as one sails away from it. If so, the metaphor seems to come from the idea of *casting off* a boat in tow. Somewhat similar are ἀποκρύψαντα γῆν, Plat. *Protag.* 338 A; 'abscondimus arces,' Virg. *Aen.* III. 291: both used of ships at sea.

CH. 167. § 1. ἔλαχόν τε κ. τ. λ.] The assumption of a *lacuna* (e. g. that διέλαχον οἱ δὲ Τυρσηνοὶ has dropped out after Τυρσηνοὶ in the text) is unsatisfactory; but the sentence is obscure. Schw. takes αὐτῶν after πλείους—'divided more

μετὰ δὲ Ἀγυλλαίοισι πάντα τὰ παριόντα τὸν χώρον, ἐν τῷ 2  
οἱ Φωκαῖες καταλευσθέντες ἐκέατο, ἐγένετο διάστροφα καὶ  
ἔμπηρα καὶ ἀπόπληκτα, ὁμοίως πρόβατα καὶ ὑποζύγια καὶ  
ἄνθρωποι. οἱ δὲ Ἀγυλλαῖοι ἐς Δελφοὺς ἔπεμπον, βουλό- 3  
μενοι ἀκέσασθαι τὴν ἀμαρτάδα. ἡ δὲ Πυθίη σφέας ἐκέλευσε  
ποιέειν τὰ καὶ νῦν οἱ Ἀγυλλαῖοι ἔτι ἐπιτελέουσιν· καὶ γὰρ  
ἐναγίζουσί σφι μεγάλως, καὶ ἀγῶνα γυμνικὸν καὶ ἵππικὸν  
ἐπιστᾶσι. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν τῶν Φωκαίων τοιούτῳ μόρῳ διε- 4  
χρήσαντο. οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν ἐς τὸ Ῥήγιον καταφυγόντες, ἐνθεῦ-  
τεν ὀρμεώμενοι, ἐκτήσαντο πόλιν γῆς τῆς Οἰνωτρίας ταύτην,  
ἣτις νῦν Ἑλέη καλεῖται. ἔκτισαν δὲ ταύτην πρὸς ἀνδρὸς 5  
Ποσειδωνιήτεω μαθόντες, ὥς τὸν Κύρνον σφι ἡ Πυθίη ἔχρησε  
κτίσαι ἥρων ἑόντα, ἀλλ' οὐ τὴν νῆσον. Φωκαίης μὲν νυν  
168 πέρι τῆς ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ οὕτω ἔσχε. Παραπλήσια δὲ τούτοις  
καὶ Τήϊοι ἐποίησαν. ἐπεὶ τε γὰρ σφεων εἶλε χώματι τὸ  
τεῖχος Ἀρπαγος, ἐσβάντες πάντες ἐς τὰ πλοῖα, οἴχοντο

prisoners than the Phocaeans did.' More prob. αὐτῶν is the partitive gen., πολλῶ πλείους being added for the sake of greater accuracy after τοὺς ἀνδρας above (Bähr). On this view πλείους = 'more of them than escaped,' for which we should rather have expected τοὺς πλείους. For ἔλαχον Bähr unnecessarily proposes ἔλαβον. Cf. ἀξομαι ἄσσ' ἔλαχόν γε (of prisoners, as well as booty), Hom. II. IX. 367. Tr. 'as for the crews of the water-logged ships, at least a far greater number of them than escaped, the Carthaginians and Tyrrhenians each received their share of them by lot, and these they landed on the shore and stoned to death.'

§ 2. ἀπόπληκτα] 'Palsied.'

πρόβατα] 133. 2, n.

§ 3. ἐς Δελφοὺς] Niebuhr concludes from this that Agylla had not yet become Caere. See *Dict. Geogr. Caere*.

ἐναγίζουσι] sc. ὡς ἥρωσι (II. 44. 6).

σφι] = the dead Phocaeans.

§ 4. πόλιν] 'Proleptic, for the

site on which they afterwards placed the city: cf. Μέμφιν, II. 99. 3.' Kr. More prob. the meaning is that they seized a town belonging to the Oenotrii (165. 2, n.).

ἥτις] 7. 4, n. 'Probably they were here joined by the Colophonian philosopher and poet Xenophanes, from whom the Eleatic ('Ἑλέη became Ἑλέα, *Velia*) school of philosophy took its rise.' Grote.

§ 5. τὸν Κύρνον] Cynus was a son of Heracles. Stein suggests an allusion to the Cynus addressed in the Elegies of Theognis; but these seem not to have been written much before 500 B. C. Müll. *Gr. Lit.* I. 162.

ἔχρησε] i. e. in the θεοπρόπιον mentioned 165. 2.

ἥρων] is pred. Posidonia was the earlier name of Paestum.

κτίσαι] as applied to the hero would = ἰδρύσαι (172. 3). Cf. ἥρωσι τοῖς κατὰ τὴν χώραν καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἰδρυμένοις, Lycurgus, 147. 43 (Bekk.).

CH. 168. οἴχοντο] 'A portion of them must have remained, since the town appears in after-times (VI.

πλέοντες ἐπὶ τῆς Θρηϊκίης, καὶ ἐνθαῦτα ἔκτισαν πόλιν Ἀβδηρα· τὴν πρότερος τούτων Κλαζομένιος Τιμήσιος κτίσας οὐκ ἀπώνητο, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ Θρηϊκῶν ἐξελασθεὶς τιμὰς νῦν ὑπὸ Τηϊῶν τῶν ἐν Ἀβδήροισι ὡς ἥρως ἔχει.

- 169 Οὗτοι μὲν νυν Ἰώνων μῦνοι, τὴν δουλοσύνην οὐκ ἀνεχόμενοι, ἐξέλιπον τὰς πατρίδας. οἱ δ' ἄλλοι Ἴωνες, πλὴν Μιλησίων, διὰ μάχης μὲν ἀπικέατο Ἀρπάγῳ, κατὰπερ οἱ ἐκλιπόντες, καὶ ἄνδρες ἐγένοντο ἀγαθοὶ, περὶ τῆς ἐωυτοῦ ἑκαστος μαχόμενοι· ἐσσωθέντες δὲ καὶ ἀλόντες ἔμενον κατὰ χώραν ἑκαστοὶ, καὶ τὰ ἐπιτασσόμενα ἐπετέλεον. Μιλήσιοι δὲ, ὡς καὶ πρότερόν μοι εἴρηται, αὐτῷ Κύρῳ ὄρκιον ποιησάμενοι, ἡσυχίην ἤγουν. Οὕτω δὲ τὸ δεύτερον Ἰωνίῃ ἐδεδούλωτο. ὡς δὲ τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ Ἴωνας ἐχειρώσατο Ἀρπαγος, οἱ τὰς νήσους ἔχοντες Ἴωνες, καταρρωδήσαντες ταῦτα, σφέας 170 αὐτοὺς ἔδοσαν Κύρῳ. Κεκακωμένων δὲ Ἰώνων καὶ συλλεγομένων οὐδὲν ἔσσον ἐς τὸ Πανιώνιον, πυνθάνομαι γνώμην Βίαντα ἄνδρα Πριηνέα ἀποδέξασθαι Ἴωσι χρησιμωτάτην τῇ εἰ ἐπείθοντο, παρείχε ἄν σφι εὐδαιμονέειν Ἑλλήνων μάλιστα· ὃς ἐκέλευε κοινῷ στόλῳ Ἴωνας ἀερθέντας πλέειν ἐς Σαρδῶν, καὶ ἔπειτα πόλιν μίαν κτίζειν πάντων Ἰώνων. καὶ οὕτω ἀπαλλαχθέντας σφέας δουλοσύνης εὐδαιμονήσειν, νήσων τε ἀπασέων μεγίστην νεμομένους καὶ ἄρχοντας ἄλλων, μένουσι δὲ σφι ἐν τῇ Ἰωνίῃ οὐκ ἔφη ἐνορᾶν ἐλευθερίην ἔτι

8. 3; Thuc. VIII. 16. 1; 20. 2) still peopled and still Hellenic.' Grote.

οὐκ ἀπώνητο] Homeric: μῦνον ἐμ' ἐν μεγάροισι τεκῶν λῖπεν, οὐδ' ἀπώνητο. *Od.* XVI. 120.

τιμὰς] Cf. ὡς ἥρωϊ τιμὰς δεδώκασιν (of Brasidas), Thuc. V. 11. 1.

CH. 169. § 1. ἑκαστος] refers to each individual citizen; ἑκαστοὶ (below), to each individual state.

κατὰ χώραν] Not the same as ἐν τῇ χώρῃ. See 17. 4, n.

§ 2. ὡς καὶ πρότ.] 141. 5.

αὐτῷ Κ.] Cyrus is opposed to his subordinates, Mazares and Harpagus.

τὸ δεύτερον] The first time was by Croesus (6. 3; 28).

οἱ τὰς νήσους ἔχ.] i. e. the Chians and the Lesbians. The strait between Chios and the main-land is only about four miles broad in the narrowest part. The Samians were independent till the time of Darius (III. 120. 4).

CH. 170. § 1. παρείχε] See 9. 5, n.

§ 2. μεγίστην] It appears that Sardinia is actually 'the largest of the Mediterranean islands, though the difference between it and Sicily is trifling.' Smyth's *Mediterranean*, p. 28.

ἄλλων] i. e. the barbarian islanders.

έσομένην. Αὕτη μὲν Βίαντος τοῦ Πριηνέος γνώμη, ἐπὶ 3  
 διεφθαρμένοισι Ἴωσι γενομένη. χρηστὴ δὲ καὶ, πρὶν ἢ  
 διαφθαρῆναι Ἰωνίην, Θάλεω ἀνδρὸς Μιλησίου ἐγένετο, τὸ  
 ἀνέκαθεν γένος ἔοντος Φοίνικος, ὃς ἐκέλευε ἐν βουλευτήριον  
 Ἴωνας ἐκτῆσθαι, τὸ δὲ εἶναι ἐν Τέῳ· Τέων γὰρ μέσον εἶναι  
 Ἰωνίης. τὰς δὲ ἄλλας πόλεις οἰκεομένας μηδὲν ἔσσαν νομί- 4  
 ζεσθαι κατὰπερ εἰ δῆμοι εἶεν. οὕτω μὲν δὴ σφι γνώμας  
 τοιάσδε ἀπεδέξαντο.

171 Ἄρπαγος δὲ καταστρεφάμενος Ἰωνίην, ἐποιέετο στρα- 1  
 τητὴν ἐπὶ Κᾶρας καὶ Καυνίους καὶ Λυκίους, ἅμα ἀγόμενος  
 καὶ Ἴωνας καὶ Αἰολέας. Εἰσὶ δὲ τούτων Κῆρες μὲν ἀπιγμέ- 2  
 νοι ἐς τὴν ἡπειρον ἐκ τῶν νήσων. τὸ γὰρ παλαιὸν ἔοντες  
 Μίνω τε κατήκοοι, καὶ καλεόμενοι Λέλεγες, εἶχον τὰς νήσους,  
 φόρον μὲν οὐδένα ὑποτελέοντες, ὅσον καὶ ἐγὼ δυνατός εἰμι

§ 3. ἀνδρὸς Μιλ.] Yet Thales  
 has already been mentioned twice  
 as δ. Μιλήσιος (74. 3; 75. 3). Cf.  
 II. 143. 1, n. Clearly the work was  
 never thoroughly revised.

τὸ ἀνέκαθεν] 'By descent.' The  
 grammarians say that Hdt. uses this  
 word of time, while in Attic it has  
 only a local signification (Bähr).  
 But in these and similar passages  
 the meaning is prob. local: = if we  
 start from the top of the pedigree  
 (II. 91. 7, n.).

Φοίνικος] Thales was a descen-  
 dant of Cadmus, who came from  
 Tyre into Boeotia (II. 49. 7), and  
 whose descendants the Καδμεῖοι  
 emigrated to Miletus (I. 146. 3).

§ 4. μηδὲν ἔσσαν] With οἰκεο-  
 μένας,—'though inhabited all the  
 same.' These words mark the dif-  
 ference between this plan and that  
 of Bias, above. Thales proposed  
 merely one central seat of govern-  
 ment, not one large πόλις within  
 which every citizen should reside.  
 Compare Thuc.'s account of Attica  
 (II. 15): ἡ Ἀττικὴ ἐς Θησέα αἰὲ κατὰ  
 πόλεις ᾤκειτο... ἐπειδὴ δὲ Θησεὺς ἐβα-  
 σίλευσε, καταλύσας τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων  
 τὰ τε βουλευτήρια καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς ἐς  
 τὴν νῦν πόλιν οὔσαν, ἐν βουλευτήριον

ἀποδείξας καὶ πρυτανεῖον ξυνώκισε  
 πάντας. Hdt. uses the Athenian  
 term δῆμοι as a well-known expres-  
 sion (cf. 59. 8), but we have τῶν  
 δῆμων καλουμένων, Thuc. II. 19. 2.

CH. 171. § 1. Αἰολέας] Hdt.  
 says nothing about their subjugation.  
 He dwells on the conquest  
 of Ionia, because he regards the  
 Ionic revolt and the assistance sent  
 by the Athenians as the immediate  
 cause of the Persian war (V. 28. 1;  
 97. 6).

§ 2. Κῆρες μὲν] Answered by  
 οἱ δὲ Καύνιοι, 172. 1.

ἐκ τῶν νήσων] The Cyclades:  
 cf. Thuc. I. 8. 2, 3; 4. 1. 'In  
 Homer both Leleges and Carians  
 appear as auxiliaries of the Trojans  
 (Il. X. 428).' Dict. Geogr.

ὅσον καὶ ἐγὼ] 'As far back as  
 the very furthest period extends to  
 which hearsay can carry me.' καὶ  
 either goes with ἐγὼ (like καὶ ἡμεῖς,  
 II. 127. 2), or else belongs to the  
 whole sentence, and especially to the  
 emphatic word, μακρότατον.

ἀκοῇ] Hdt. does not accept the  
 accounts of Minos as thoroughly his-  
 torical (cf. III. 122. 3). So Thuc.  
 says of Minos, παλαιάτατος ὢν ἀκοῇ  
 ἴσμεν (I. 4. 1).

μακρότατον ἐξικέσθαι ἀκοῇ· οἱ δὲ, ὅπως Μίνως δέοιτο, ἐπλή-  
 ρουν· οἱ τὰς νέας· ἅτε δὲ δὴ Μίνω τε κατεστραμμένου γῆν 3  
 πολλήν, καὶ εὐτυχέοντος τῷ πολέμῳ, τὸ Καρικὸν ἦν ἔθνος  
 λογιμώτατον τῶν ἐθνέων ἀπάντων κατὰ τοῦτον ἅμα τὸν  
 χρόνον μακρῷ μάλιστα· καὶ σφί τριξὰ ἐξευρήματα ἐγένετο, 4  
 τοῖσι οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐχρήσαντο· καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τὰ κράνεα λό- 5  
 φους ἐπιδέεσθαι Κᾶρες εἰσι οἱ καταδέξαντες, καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς  
 ἀσπίδας τὰ σημήϊα ποιεέσθαι· καὶ ὄχανα ἀσπίσι οὗτοί εἰσι 6  
 οἱ ποιησάμενοι πρῶτοι· τέως δὲ ἄνευ ὀχάνων ἐφόρεον τὰς  
 ἀσπίδας πάντες, οἵπερ ἐώθεσαν ἀσπίσι χρέεσθαι, τελαμῶσι  
 σκυτίνοισι οἰηκίζοντες, περὶ τοῖσι αὐχέσι τε καὶ τοῖσι ἀρι-  
 στεροῖσι ὤμοισι περικείμενοι· Μετὰ δὲ, τοὺς Κᾶρας χρόνῳ 7  
 ὕστερον πολλῷ Δωριέες τε καὶ Ἴωνες ἐξανέστησαν ἐκ τῶν  
 νήσων καὶ οὕτω ἐς τὴν ἡπειρον ἀπίκαντο· Κατὰ μὲν δὴ 8  
 Κᾶρας οὕτω Κρήτες λέγουσι γενέσθαι· οὐ μέντοι αὐτοὶ γε  
 ὁμολογέουσι τούτοις οἱ Κᾶρες· ἀλλὰ νομίζουσι αὐτοὶ ἐωυ-  
 τοὺς εἶναι αὐτόχθονας ἡπειρώτας, καὶ τῷ οὐνόματι τῷ αὐτῷ  
 αἰεὶ διαχρεωμένους τῷπερ νῦν· ἀποδεικνύσι δὲ ἐν Μυλάσοισι 9  
 Διὸς Καρίου ἱερὸν ἀρχαῖον, τοῦ Μυσοῖσι μὲν καὶ Λυδοῖσι

οἱ δὲ] 107. 4, n.

ὅπως] 68. 7, n.

§ 3. κατεστραμμένου] Used also in a middle sense by Xen. and Dem.

λογιμώτατον] Partly no doubt on account of their piracies (Thuc. I. 5. 1; 8. 3).

ἅμα] Along with Minos.

§ 4. ἐχρήσαντο] 'Took into use.' The λόφος was common in Homer's time. Aeschylus describes the seven warriors who attacked Thebes as having devices on their shields (Sept. 387). For τριξὰ (instead of τρία), see II. 169. 10, n.

§ 6. τελαμῶσι] Homer frequently mentions the τελαμών, but in one passage (II. VIII. 193) he also mentions κάρηες, which seem to have been two rods or cross-pieces inside the shield, beneath one of which the arm was passed, while the other was grasped by the hand. This was prob. the earliest form of the ὄχανον and πόρπαξ.

οἰηκίζοντες] 'steering them from side to side.' So νωμάω (which is also used of steering, e. g. οἶακα νωμών, Aesch. Sept. 3): οἶδ' ἐπὶ δεξιᾷ οἶδ' ἐπ' ἀριστερᾷ νωμῆσαι βῶν (βῶν = shield of bull's hide), Hom. II. VII. 238.

τοῖσι ἀριστ.] Since the shield was always held on the left arm (Thuc. V. 71. 1), this must mean that the belt went *over* the right shoulder, and so *surrounded*, as it were, the left.

περικείμενοι] = περιτεθειμένοι (cf. 14. 3), sc. τὰς ἀσπίδας, like 'laevo suspensi loculos tabulamque lacerato,' Hor. Sat. I. 6. 4.

§ 8. Κρήτες] They would be likely to know, because Minos was king of Crete.

αὐτόχθονας] A favourite national boast: cf. II. 2. 1; VII. 161. 6; VIII. 73. 1.

τῷ αὐτῷ αἰεὶ] i. e. that they had never been called Leleges (§ 2).

μέτεστι, ὡς κασιγνήτοισι εἴουσι τοῖσι Καρσί. τὸν γὰρ Λυ- 10  
δὸν καὶ τὸν Μυσὸν λέγουσι εἶναι Καρὶς ἀδελφεούς. τού-  
τοις μὲν δὴ μέτεστι· ὅσοι δὲ, εἶντες ἄλλου ἔθνους, ὁμό-  
172 γλωσσοὶ τοῖσι Καρσί ἐγένοντο, τούτοις δὲ οὐ μέτα. Οἱ  
δὲ Καύνιοι αὐτόχθονες, δοκέειν ἐμοὶ, εἰσί· αὐτοὶ μέντοι ἐκ  
Κρήτης φασὶ εἶναι. προσκεχωρήκασι δὲ γλῶσσαν μὲν πρὸς  
τὸ Καρικὸν ἔθνος, ἣ οἱ Κᾶρες πρὸς τὸ Καυνικόν· τοῦτο γὰρ  
οὐκ ἔχω ἀτρεκέως διακρίναι. νόμοισι δὲ χρέωνται κεχω- 2  
ρισμένοις πολλὸν τῶν τε ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων καὶ Καρῶν.  
τοῖσι γὰρ κάλλιστόν ἐστι κατ' ἡλικίην τε καὶ φιλότητα  
εἰλαδὸν συγγίνεσθαι ἐς πόσιν, καὶ ἀνδράσι καὶ γυναιξὶ καὶ  
παισὶ. ἰδρυθέντων δὲ σφὶ ἱρῶν ξεινικῶν, μετέπειτα ὥς σφὶ 3  
ἀπέδοξε (ἔδοξε δὲ τοῖσι πατρίοισι μῦνον χρᾶσθαι θεοῖσι),  
ἐνδύμτες τὰ ὄπλα ἅπαντες Καύνιοι ἡβηδόν, τύπτοντες δού-  
ρασι τὸν ἥερα, μέχρι οὖρων τῶν Καλυνδικῶν εἶποντο, καὶ  
ἔφασαν ἐκβάλλειν τοὺς ξεινικοὺς θεοὺς. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν τρό-  
173 ποιςι τοιούτοις χρέωνται. Οἱ δὲ Λύκιοι ἐκ Κρήτης τῶρ- 1

§ 10. τούτοις μὲν] As if ὅσοι μὲν κασιγνήτοί εἰσι τοῖσι Καρσί had preceded—τούτοις repeating Μυσοῖσι μὲν καὶ Λυδοῖσι above. See 113. 1, note.

ὅσοι δὲ] e. g. the Caunians (172. 1).

CH. 172. § 1. δοκέειν ἐμοὶ] 'In my opinion at least.' Cf. τὴν πρώτην εἶναι (153. 6, n.); ἐκὼν εἶναι, 'willingly at least,' VII. 104. 3. These phrases seem to be derived from the use of the infinitive to denote limitation (e. g. καλὸς ὁρᾶν), and imply a restriction in the action of the main verb owing to a particular mode of treating the matter. More commonly we find ὥς before the infinitive (34. 1; 131. 1; II. 8. 4; 125. 5; 135. 2) to denote a subjective point of view (Madv.), i. e. to mark more clearly that the restriction in question is nothing more than an idea existing in the mind of the speaker or writer—is the result of his point of view. Other explanations are (1) that ὥς = 'as far as,' (2) that it stands for ὥστε

(see 199. 8, n., and compare the use of ὥστε at II. 10. 2):

§ 2. τῶν τε ἄλλων] = τῶν νόμων τῶν τε ἄλλων. Cf. ἐκείνου, II. 127. 2; τοῦ πατρὸς, 134. 1. 'This form of brachylogy is especially common in the case of words denoting resemblance and difference.' Ab.

τοῖσι γάρ] = τούτοις γάρ. Cf. II. 124. 6; 148. 3.

κατ' ἡλ. καὶ φιλ.] 'As age and friendship determine:' i. e. ὁμήλικες and φίλοι would naturally join the same party.

§ 3. ἱρῶν] perhaps = 'temples,' ἰδρύω being very frequently used in this connection (II. 42. 1; 44. 1; 182. 3). Schw.

ἀπέδοξε] Sc. μὴ χρᾶσθαι (152. 4, n.).

ἡβηδόν] (formed on the analogy of ἀγεληδόν, II. 93. 2) = 'the young men by companies,' ἡβη denoting all who can bear arms.

οὖρων] Distinguish between οὖρων, 'frontiers,' and οὐρέων, 'mountains' (110. 2).

χαῖον γεγόνασι. τὴν γὰρ Κρήτην εἶχον τὸ παλαιὸν πᾶσαν  
 βάρβαροι. διενειχθέντων δὲ ἐν Κρήτῃ περὶ τῆς βασιληΐης  
 τῶν Εὐρώπης παίδων, Σαρπηδόνοσ τε καὶ Μίνω, ὡς ἐπεκρά-  
 τησε τῇ στάσει Μίνωσ, ἐξήλασε αὐτὸν τε Σαρπηδόνα καὶ  
 τοὺς στασιώτας αὐτοῦ· οἱ δὲ ἀπωσθέντες ἀπίκοντο τῆς Ἀσίας<sup>2</sup>  
 εἰς γῆν τὴν Μιλυάδα· τὴν γὰρ νῦν Λύκιοι νέμονται, αὕτη τὸ  
 παλαιὸν ἦν Μιλυάς· οἱ δὲ Μιλύαι τότε Σόλυμοι ἐκαλέοντο,  
 τέως μὲν δὴ αὐτῶν Σαρπηδῶν ἦρχε· οἱ δὲ ἐκαλέοντο, τό περ<sup>3</sup>  
 τέ ἠνεύκοντο οὖνομα, καὶ νῦν ἔτι καλέονται ὑπὸ τῶν περιοί-  
 κων οἱ Λύκιοι, Τερμίλαι. ὡς δὲ ἐξ Ἀθηνέων Λύκος ὁ Παν-<sup>4</sup>  
 δίουνοσ, ἐξελασθεὶς καὶ οὗτοσ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀδελφεοῦ Αἰγέωσ, ἀπί-  
 κετο εἰς τοὺς Τερμίλασ παρὰ Σαρπηδόνα, οὕτω δὲ κατὰ τοῦ  
 Λύκου τὴν ἐπωνυμίην Λύκιοι ἀνὰ χρόνον ἐκλήθησαν. νό-<sup>5</sup>  
 μοισι δὲ τὰ μὲν Κρητικοῖσι, τὰ δὲ Καρικοῖσι χρέωνται. ἐν  
 δὲ τόδε ἴδιον νενομίκασι, καὶ οὐδαμοῖσι ἄλλοισι συμφέρονται  
 ἀνθρώπων καλέουσι ἀπὸ τῶν μητέρων ἐωντοὺς, καὶ οὐκὶ  
 ἀπὸ τῶν πατέρων. εἰρομένου δὲ ἐτέρου τὸν πλησίον, τίς εἴη,<sup>6</sup>  
 καταλέξει ἐωυτὸν μητρόθεν, καὶ τῆς μητρὸς ἀνανεμέεται τὰς

CH. 173. § 1. γὰρ] The clause with γὰρ explains how it was that there was room for the Lycians, as well as for the Caunians and the Leleges.

τὸ παλαιὸν] Before the Trojan war. See the account of the successive colonizations of Crete, VII. 171.

βάρβαροι] The Lycian language, 'while undoubtedly Indo-European in type, is utterly unlike the Greek.' Rawlinson.

§ 2. οἱ δὲ Μιλύαι] i. e. οἱ νῦν Μ. τότε] = when Lycia was called Μιλυάς (Bähr). Homer speaks of the Solymi in Lycia. II. vi. 184.

§ 3. τέως μὲν] 'For ἕως,' Kr. Cf. IV. 165. 1, ἡ δὲ μήτηρ, τέως μὲν ὁ Ἀρκεσίλειωσ ἐν τῇ Βάρκῃ διαιτᾶτο, ἡ δὲ εἶχε κ.τ.λ., where we should certainly translate 'whilst' (*quamdiu*), whereas at I. 11. 5; 84. 5; 94. 3, we should rather translate 'for a time' (*aliquamdiu*). But the meaning of τέως is really the same in

both cases, and the passages exemplify the change from coordinate (paratactic) to subordinate constructions (cf. II. 93. 8, n.), the earlier τέως μὲν—τέως δὲ being gradually supplanted by ἕως—τέως. In Homer we have ἕως μὲν—τέως (τόφρα) δέ, and sometimes ἕως μὲν without any apodosis expressed.

ἠνεύκοντο] = brought with them from Crete (cf. 57. 4).

οἱ Λύκιοι] virtually = now that they have become Lycians. On the obelisk at Xanthus (176. 4, n.) the Lycians in the Lycian part of the inscription are called Tramilae. Fellows' *Lycia*, p. 274.

§ 4. καὶ οὗτοσ] As well as Sarpedon (§ 1).

ἀνὰ χρόνον] 'in course of time,' = Att. χρόνῳ.

§ 6. εἴη] As if εἰρομένου were the imperfect participle. Krüg. reads ἐστι.

καταλέξει] 'He will recite his pedigree in the female line:' = γενεή.



μητέρας. καὶ ἦν μὲν γε γυνὴ ἀστὴ δούλῳ συνοικήσῃ, γεν- 7  
καὶ α τὰ τέκνα νενόμισται· ἦν δὲ ἀνὴρ ἀστὸς, καὶ ὁ πρῶτος  
αὐτῶν, γυναῖκα ξείνην ἢ παλλακὴν ἔχῃ, ἄτιμα τὰ τέκνα  
γίνεται.

- 174 Οἱ μὲν νυν Κᾶρες, οὐδὲν λαμπρὸν ἔργον ἀποδεξάμενοι, 1  
ἐδουλώθησαν ὑπὸ Ἀρπάγου, οὔτε αὐτοὶ οἱ Κᾶρες ἀποδε-  
ξάμενοι οὐδὲν, οὔτε ὅσοι Ἑλλήνων ταύτην τὴν χώραν  
οἰκέουσι. οἰκέουσι δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι, καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων ἄποι- 2  
κοι Κνίδιοι, τῆς χώρας τῆς σφετέρης τετραμμένης ἐς πόντον,  
τὸ δὴ Τριόπιον καλέεται. ἀργμένης δὲ ἐκ τῆς χερσονήσου 3  
τῆς Βυβασσίδος, εὐούσης τε πάσης τῆς Κνιδίης, πλὴν ὀλίγης,  
περιρροῦ (τὰ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῆς πρὸς βορρην ἄνεμον ὁ Κερα-  
μεικὸς κόλπος ἀπέργει, τὰ δὲ πρὸς νότον ἢ κατὰ Σύμην τε  
καὶ Ῥόδον θάλασσα)· τὸ ὦν δὴ ὀλίγον τοῦτο, ἐὼν ὅσον τε  
ἐπὶ πέντε στάδια, ὥρυsson οἱ Κνίδιοι, ἐν ὧ Ἀρπαγὸς τὴν  
Ἰωνίην κατεστρέφετο, βουλόμενοι νῆσον τὴν χώραν ποιῆσαι.  
ἐντὸς δὲ πᾶσά σφι ἐγένετο· τῇ γὰρ ἡ Κνιδίη χώρα ἐς τὴν 4  
ἡπειρον τελευτᾷ, ταύτῃ ὁ ἰσθμὸς ἐστὶ τὸν ὥρυsson. καὶ 5

λογίσει ἐωυτὸν (II. 143. 1). Compare the use of καταλέγειν, VI. 53. 1, 3. The future denotes a regular custom. Cf. ἄψονται, 198. 3; ἀποδοκιμᾷ, 199. 8; γεύσεται, II. 39. 5; χρήσεται, 41. 3 (Kr.).

μητρόθεν] of the metronymic: cf. πατρόθεν οὐνομάζων, III. 1. 7. 'In the funereal inscriptions copied from the monuments of these (Lycian) cities all the pedigrees of the deceased with one exception are derived from their mothers: the exception is on the tomb of ..... a foreigner.' Fellows' *Lycia*, p. 276.

CH. 174. § 2. ἄλλοι] Among them the Halicarnassians.

τὸ] For ἡ (sc. χώρα), owing to the attraction of Τριόπιον.

δὴ] δὴ is inserted because the name has been mentioned before (144. 1). The clauses which follow do not run easily owing to the genitives absolute, but there is no authority for αὐτῶν, which Bekker inserts after Κνίδιοι.

§ 3. ἀργμένης] agrees with τῆς Κνιδίης. The simplest explanation is that Τριόπιον here (= ἡ Κνιδίη, = ἡ σφετέρη χώρα) is the western half of the long peninsula, which terminates in Cnidus, while the Bybassian Chersonese is the land to the east, being itself also a peninsula between Τριόπιον and the main-land. The attempted canal would thus lie between the two peninsulas. *Dict. Geogr. Bubassus*.

τὸ ὀλίγον τοῦτο] τοῦτο refers to πλὴν ὀλίγης above.

ὅσον τε ἐπὶ] Homeric: ὅσον τ' ἐπὶ δούρῳ ἐρωῇ | γίνεται, II. XV. 358. For ὅσον τε (= *quantum fere, circiter*), cf. 126. 1.

§ 4. ἐντὸς δὲ] 'Thus all their territory came within the isthmus' Or perhaps: 'within the isthmus thus all became their own.' ἐντὸς, from the point of view of a Cnidian (6. 1, n.).

γὰρ] gives the reason for πᾶσα.

τελευτᾷ ἐς] must = 'ends at' (not



δὴ πολλῇ χειρὶ ἐργαζομένων τῶν Κνιδίων, μᾶλλον γάρ τι καὶ θειότερον ἐφαίνοντο τιτρώσκεσθαι οἱ ἐργαζόμενοι τοῦ οἰκότος τὰ τε ἄλλα τοῦ σώματος, καὶ μάλιστα τὰ περὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς, θραυομένης τῆς πέτρης, ἔπεμπον ἐς Δελφοὺς θεοπρόπους ἐπειρησομένους τὸ ἀντίξουν. ἡ δὲ Πυθίη σφι, 6 ὡς αὐτοὶ Κνίδιοι λέγουσι, χρᾶ ἐν τριμέτρῳ τόνῳ τάδε·

Ἴσθμὸν δὲ μὴ πυργοῦτε, μὴδ' ὀρύσσετε·

Ζεὺς γάρ κ' ἔθηκε νῆσον, εἰ κ' ἐβούλετο.

Κνίδιοι μὲν, ταῦτα τῆς Πυθίης χρησάσης, τοῦ τε ὀρύγματος 7 ἐπαύσαντο καὶ Ἀρπάγῳ, ἐπιόντι σὺν τῷ στρατῷ, ἀμαχητί 175 σφεας αὐτοὺς παρέδοσαν. Ἦσαν δὲ Πηδασέες οἰκοῦντες, ὑπὲρ Ἀλικαρνησσοῦ μεσόγαιαν τοῖσι ὅκως τι μέλλοι ἀνεπιτήδεον ἔσεσθαι, αὐτοῖσί τε καὶ τοῖσι περιοίκοις, ἡ ἱερεὶα τῆς Ἀθηναίης πώγωνα μέγαν ἴσχει. τρίς σφι τοῦτο ἐγένετο. οὗτοι τῶν περὶ Καρίην ἀνδρῶν μῦθοί τε ἀντέσχον, 2 χρόνον Ἀρπάγῳ, καὶ πρήγματα παρέσχον πλείστα, οὔρος τειχίσαντες, τῷ οὐνομά ἐστι Λίδη. Πηδασέες μὲν νυν χρόνῳ 3

'ends towards') just as ἀρχεται ἐκ (§ 3) = 'begins at' (cf. IV. 39. 2, 3). Hence ἡπειρον is here used of what has been called above a peninsula (χερσονήσου τῆς Βυβασίης).

§ 5. τῶν Κνιδίων ... ἔπεμπον]. Cf. 3. 3, n.

§ 6. ὡς αὐτοὶ Κν. λ.] These words seem to imply a doubt as to the genuineness of the oracle. Certainly the metre is different from that of the other oracles quoted by Hdt. (47. 4, n.).

εἰ κ'] 'Potuit etiam εἰ κεν dici. II. XXIII. 526, εἰ δέ κ' ἔτι προτέρω γένητο δρόμος ἀμφοτέροισι | τῷ κέν μιν παρέλασσε. Recentior usus eo tantum ab epico differt, quod particulam εἰ in secundaria sententia non aliter quam si necessaria est addit.' Herm. *de part. εἰ*, I. 10. By 'necessaria' Hermann means that εἰ is joined to εἰ with the subjunctive, because there is no εἰ in the apodosis, to show that the sentence

is conditional : whereas when εἰ takes the optative or the imperf. or aor. indicative, there is no need to join εἰ with it, because the conditional character of the sentence is sufficiently marked by εἰ in the apodosis.

CH. 175. § 1. ἦσαν δὲ Πηδ... οἱ τοι.] The subject of the story is first introduced in an independent clause, and then the story itself is told :—a common Epic formula. Cf. ἔστι τις ... ἐνθ' Ἀγαμεμνονίδην, 67. 4.

ἴσχει] = φορέει (III. 12. 5), or φύει (VIII. 104. 2). Hom. II. XVIII. 595, τῶν δ' αἱ μὲν λεπτὰς ὀθόνας ἔχον, οἱ δὲ χιτῶνας | εἰατ' εὐννήτους.

τρίς] The same story is told, VIII. 104. 2, almost in the same words. But there the occurrence is said to have happened only twice (ὅς τ' ἦδη). This implies either an interpolation or a want of revision (170. 3, n.). If the latter is the explanation it would seem that the passage in Bk. VIII. was written before this one. The asyndeton adds emphasis.

- 176 ἐξαιρέθησαν. Λύκιοι δὲ, ὡς ἐς τὸ Ξάνθιον πεδῖον ἤλασε ὁ ἱ  
 Ἄρπαγος τὸν στρατὸν, ὑπεξιόντες καὶ μαχόμενοι, ὀλίγοι  
 πρὸς πολλοὺς, ἀρετὰς ἀπεδείκνυντο· ἐσσωθέντες δὲ καὶ  
 κατεῖληθέντες ἐς τὸ ἄστυ συνήλυσαν ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν τὰς  
 τε γυναῖκας καὶ τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὰ χρήματα καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας·  
 καὶ ἔπειτα ὑπῆψαν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν πᾶσαν ταύτην καίεσθαι.  
 ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες καὶ συνομόσαντες ὄρκους δεινούς, ὑπεξ- 2  
 ελθόντες ἀπέθανον πάντες Ξάνθιοι μαχόμενοι. τῶν δὲ νῦν 3  
 Λυκίων φαμένων Ξανθίων εἶναι οἱ πολλοὶ, πλὴν ὀγδώκοντα  
 ἰστιέων, εἰσὶ ἐπήλυδες· αἱ δὲ ὀγδώκοντα ἰστίαι αὗται ἔτυχον  
 τηνικαῦτα ἐκδημέουσαι, καὶ οὕτω περιεγέγοντο. τὴν μὲν δὴ 4  
 Ξάνθον οὕτως ἔσχε ὁ Ἄρπαγος. παραπλησίως δὲ καὶ τὴν  
 Καῦνον ἔσχε. καὶ γὰρ οἱ Καύνιοι τοὺς Λυκίους ἐμιμήσαντο  
 τὰ πλέω.
- 177 Τὰ μὲν νυν κάτω τῆς Ἀσίης Ἄρπαγος ἀνάστατα ἐποίησε, 1  
 τὰ δὲ ἄνω αὐτῆς αὐτὸς Κῦρος, πᾶν ἔθνος καταστρεφόμενος

CH. 176. § 1. τὸ Ξάνθιον π.] i. e. the plain watered by the river Xanthus, on which the town of the same name (the chief town of the Lycians) was situated.

ὑπεξιόντες] 'Coming forth suddenly.' Generally ὑπεξ- denotes giving ground, withdrawing (73. 2; 156. 1; IV. 120. 1). But ὑπ-, 'secretly,' might fairly denote a sudden *sortie*. Bekker reads ἐπεξιόντες, and ἐπεξελθόντες, § 2.

ἀρετὰς] 'brave deeds.'

καίεσθαι] Added epexegetically, to express the result or purpose (32. 1). Xanthus made an equally desperate resistance to the Romans under Brutus during the civil war, B. C. 42.

§ 3. τῶν δὲ νῦν Λ.] Either 'of the present dwellers in Lycia, although they assert that they are (real) Xanthians,' i. e. are descended from the former Xanthians: or (more prob.) Λυκίων is pred., and occupies its regular place between the article and participle: 'of the Xanthians who at the present day claim to be Lycians.' The position

of εἶναι makes the sentence rather involved, but not more so than (e. g.) at 60. 6; 66. 1.

ἐπήλυδες] Prob. Greeks. (Fellows).

ἐκδημέουσαι] It is still a Lycian custom to leave the low lands (πεδῖον, above) during the summer, and go to live in the cooler and more healthy hill-country.

§ 4. ὁ Ἄρπαγος] In the inscription on the obelisk (a cast of which is now in the British Museum) discovered at Xanthus by Fellows (*Lycia*, p. 492) mention is made of a son of Harpagus in both the Greek and Lycian character. This would seem to imply that the government of Lycia remained in the family of Harpagus for several generations. The date of the inscription is variously put at B. C. 466 (Rawlinson) and 376 (Bähr). A Harpagus (a *Persian*) is mentioned as one of the generals of Darius Hystaspes (B. C. 494) in Mysia, VI. 28. 4.

CH. 177. § 1. ἀνάστατα ἐπ.] This strictly only applies to those towns which offered resistance.

καὶ οὐδὲν παριείς. τὰ μὲν νυν αὐτῶν πλέω παρήσομεν· τὰ δὲ οἱ παρέσχε πόνον τε πλείστον καὶ ἀξιαπηγητότατά ἐστι, τούτων ἐπιμνήσομαι.

- 178 Κῦρος ἐπεὶ τε τὰ πάντα τῆς ἡπείρου ὑποχείρια ἐποιή-  
σατο, Ἀσσυρίοισι ἐπετίθετο. Τῆς δὲ Ἀσσυρίας ἐστὶ τὰ  
μὲν κου καὶ ἄλλα πολίσματα μεγάλα πολλὰ, τὸ δὲ οὐνο-  
μαστίτατον καὶ ἰσχυρότατον, καὶ ἔνθα σφι, Νίνου ἀναστά-  
του γενομένης, τὰ βασιλῆϊα κατεστήκει, ἣν Βαβυλὼν, ἐοῦσα  
τοιαύτη δὴ τις πόλις. κείται ἐν πεδίῳ μεγάλῳ, μέγαθος  
ἐοῦσα μέτωπον ἑκάστον εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν σταδίων, εὔσης  
τετραγώνου· οὗτοι στάδιοι τῆς περιόδου τῆς πόλιος γίνονται  
συνάπαντες ὀγδῶκοντα καὶ τετρακόσιοι. τὸ μὲν νυν μέ-  
γαθος τοσοῦτόν ἐστι τοῦ ἄστεος τοῦ Βαβυλωνίου. ἐκεκόσ-  
μητο δὲ ὡς οὐδὲν ἄλλο πόλισμα τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν. τάφρος

§ 2. τὰ μὲν νυν...παρήσομεν] i. e. the Bactrians and the Sacae (153. 7).

ἀξιαπηγητότατα] On account of their ἔργα θουμαστά (see note at the beginning of the book).

CH. 178. § 2. τὰ μὲν] is answered by τὸ δέ, but τὰ becomes pleonastic, owing to the insertion of καὶ ἄλλα (cf. 92. 2).

σφι] = τοῖσι Ἀσσυρίοισι. Hdt. regards the Babylonians and the Ninevites as forming one nation, and evidently has no idea of the former having joined Cyaxares in the siege of Nineveh (106. 3, n.). His Ἀσσύριοι λόγοι were intended to include the history of both (184. 1).

ἣν Βαβυλὼν] The past tense implies an extremely altered condition, acc. to Blakesley, who compares ἐκεκόσμητο (§ 4); τετείχιστο (180. 1); ὅτι μὲν Μυκῆναι μικρόν ἦν, Thuc. I. 10. 1. This argument may perhaps be rebutted by appealing to the presents, γίνονται (§ 3), περιθέει (§ 5: 181. 1), etc. See however 179. 5, n. On the general question of the credibility of Hdt. as regards his account of Babylon, see Grote *H. G.* II. 472 (III. 395), n.

τοιαύτη] For τοίηδε (101, n.). Schw. reads τ. δὴ τις. πόλις κ. τ. λ.

§ 3. εὔσης] A strong instance

of the irregular use of the gen. abs. (3. 3; II. 134. 1). 'The sentence would be clearer if we had τῆς μέτωπον ἑκάστον μέγαθός ἐστι εἴκ. καὶ ἐκ. σταδίων, and we find this construction before εὔσης τετρ., II. 124. 8.' St. The actual length of wall on the north and south sides would prob. be less, since the breadth of the river (180. 1) would have to be deducted.

οὗτοι] 'These make altogether 480 furlongs of circuit for the city.' περιόδου is the gen. of the thing measured (Kr. compares τέτταρες παρασάγγαι τῆς ὁδοῦ, Xen. *An.* I. 10. 1), and πόλιος is the possessive gen. 480 stadia = about 55 English miles. Hence Aristotle refuses the name of πόλις to Babylon,—ἔχει περιγραφὴν μᾶλλον ἔθνους ἢ πόλεως, *Pol.* III. 3. 5. Marco Polo describes the palace of the Chinese emperor as 'a square enclosed with a wall and deep ditch, each side of the square being eight miles in length;' and close by was a square-shaped city, each side of which was 'neither more nor less than six miles.' He does not say what was the height of the walls. The palace-enclosure contained a large park and camping-ground (*Travels*, p. 176).

· μὲν πρῶτά μιν βαθέα τε καὶ εὐρέα καὶ πλέη ὕδατος περιθέει·  
 μετὰ δὲ, τείχος πεντήκοντα μὲν πηχέων βασιλητῶν ἐὼν τὸ  
 εὖρος, ὕψος δὲ διηκοσίων πηχέων. ὁ δὲ βασιλήϊος πῆχυς 6  
 179 τοῦ μετρίου ἐστὶ πῆχεος μέζων τρισὶ δακτύλοισι. Δεῖ δὴ 1  
 με πρὸς τούτοις ἐπιφράσαι, ἵνα τε ἐκ τῆς τάφρου ἡ γῆ  
 ἀναισιμώθῃ, καὶ τὸ τείχος ὄντινα τρόπον ἔργαστο. ὀρύσ- 2  
 σοντες ἅμα τὴν τάφρον ἐπλίνθενον τὴν γῆν τὴν ἐκ τοῦ  
 ὀρύγματος ἐκφερομένην· ἐλκύσαντες δὲ πλίνθους ἱκανὰς,  
 ὥπτησαν αὐτὰς ἐν καμίνοις. μετὰ δὲ τέλματι χρεώμενοι 3  
 ἀσφάλτῳ θερμῇ, καὶ διὰ τριήκοντα δόμων πλίνθου ταρσοὺς  
 καλάμων διαστοιβάζοντες, ἔδειμαν πρῶτα μὲν τῆς τάφρου  
 τὰ χεῖλεα, δεύτερα δὲ αὐτὸ τὸ τείχος τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον.  
 ἐπάνω δὲ τοῦ τείχεος παρὰ τὰ ἔσχατα, οἰκήματα μουνόκωλα 4  
 ἔδειμαν, τετραμμένα ἐς ἄλληλα· τὸ μέσον δὲ τῶν οἰκημάτων

§ 5. περιθεῖν]. Hom. II. vi. 320, περὶ δὲ χρύσεος θεῖ πάρεχ. Cf. πύργος ἐπιβέβηκε, 181. 3.

διηκοσ. π. β.] Prob. about 340 English feet. This is certainly the most incredible fact which Hdt. mentions about Babylon. But 'with thirty pyramids in Egypt and the wall of China still existing, who can set bounds to what might be accomplished?'

§ 6. τοῦ μετρίου] 'The medium,' (II. 32. 8), i. e. the common Greek cubit (60. 5). The royal cubit was so called because it was in use in Persia. It is uncertain whether to δακτύλοισι is to be supplied μετριοῖσι or βασιλητοῖσι (i. e. whether the ratio of the two cubits is that of 24 : 27, or 21 : 24). The analogy of 192. 3 is in favour of the former view (St.), but Böckh pronounces for the latter. Cf. II. 168. 2, n.

CH. 179. § 1. ἵνα] = ὅκει or ἐς τί. Cf. II. 150. 3; III. 6. 2.

§ 2. ὀρύσσ. ἅμα] 'As fast as they dug.'

ὥπτησαν] Kiln-baked bricks (πλ. ὀπταί, *lateres cocti*) are to be distinguished from bricks merely dried in the sun (πλ. ὠμαί, *lateres crudi*). Hence Ovid has the sanction of

Hdt. for his '*coctilibus muris*,' Met. IV. 28.

§ 3. τέλματι] 'As mortar.'

διὰ τρ. δόμων] 'Every thirtieth course' (II. 127. 4, n).

πλίνθου] The collective singular. Cf. ἵππος, κάμηλος, 80. 2. 3; κέραμος, III. 6. 1; ἐσθής, IV. 203. 6; ἀμπελος, Thuc. IV. 90. 2. Layers of reeds are found in the remains of buildings in Babylonia. They were prob. inserted in order to collect and carry off the moisture (St.).

§ 4. παρὰ τὰ ἔσχ. κ.τ.λ.] Being built along each edge of the wall, the chambers opened on to the central passage, so that their fronts faced each other.

μουνόκωλα] This is gen. translated 'one-storied,' but κῶλον in Hdt. always = the side or façade of a building, and here prob. the meaning is 'with but a single face.' Each οἶκημα would have its sides hidden by its neighbours, and the back would be inaccessible and almost invisible owing to its being at the top of the enormous wall. The προμαχεῶνες and πύργοι, mentioned III. 151. 2; 156. 1, must have risen above these οἰκήματα. Compare Thuc. III. 21. 2—4.

ἔλιπον τεθρίππῳ περιέλασιν. πύλαι δὲ ἐνεστᾶσι πέριξ 5  
 τοῦ τείχεος ἑκατὸν, χάλκεαι πᾶσαι, καὶ σταθμοὶ τε καὶ  
 ὑπέρθυρα ὡσαύτως. ἔστι δὲ ἄλλη πόλις ἀπέχουσα ὀκτὼ 6  
 ἡμερέων ὁδὸν ἀπὸ Βαβυλῶνος. Ἴς οὖνομα αὐτῇ. ἔνθα ἔστι  
 ποταμὸς οὐ μέγας. Ἴς καὶ τῷ ποταμῷ τὸ οὖνομα. ἐσβάλλει  
 δὲ οὗτος ἐς τὸν Εὐφρήτην ποταμὸν τὸ ῥέεθρον. οὗτος ὢν 7  
 ὁ Ἴς ποταμὸς, ἅμα τῷ ὕδατι θρόμβους ἀσφάλτου ἀναδιδοῖ  
 πολλούς. ἔνθεν ἢ ἀσφαλτος ἐς τὸ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι τείχος  
 180 ἐκομίσθη. Τετείχιστο μὲν νυν ἡ Βαβυλὼν τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. 1  
 ἔστι δὲ δύο φάρσεια τῆς πόλιος· τὸ γὰρ μέσον αὐτῆς ποτα-  
 μὸς διέργει, τῷ οὖνομά ἐστι Εὐφρήτης. ῥέει δὲ ἐξ Ἀρμε- 2  
 νίων, ἐὼν μέγας καὶ βαθὺς καὶ ταχύς· ἐξίει δὲ οὗτος ἐς τὴν  
 Ἐρυθρὴν θάλασσαν. τὸ ὢν δὴ τείχος ἑκάτερον τοὺς ἀγκῶ- 3  
 νας ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἐλήλαται. τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου, αἱ ἐπι-  
 καμπαὶ παρὰ χεῖλος ἑκάτερον τοῦ ποταμοῦ, αἵμασι ἢ πλίν-  
 θων ὀπτέων παρατείνει. τὸ δὲ ἄστυ αὐτὸ, ἐὼν πλήρες 4

περιέλασιν] 'Room to drive round the walls.' St. compares ἀνάβασις, 181. 4; καταβάσις, 186. 5; διάβασιν, 205. 3. Aristoph. has parodied this passage: *Av.* 1126. The walls of 'Clouduckootown' were so wide that two chariots could pass drawn by steeds as big as the Trojan horse.

§ 5. ἐνεστᾶσι] The present can hardly be accurate here, since Darius τὰς πύλας πᾶσας ἀνέσπασε, III. 159. 1. Hence it is doubtful how far the force of the present can be pressed in other cases.

πᾶσαι] = 'entirely' (ch. 52), not 'all.'

ὡσαύτως] i. e. of brass. Of this enormous outer wall 'it is agreed by almost all travellers that not a vestige remains.' Rawlinson.

§ 6. Ἴς] The modern *Hit* or *Ait*. 'There are still bituminous springs.' *Dict. Geogr.*

§ 7. ἀναδιδοῖ] 'Throws up:' so πῦρ ἀναδιδούσα (of a volcano), Thuc. III. 18. 4. Cf. διδοῖ, 107. 4, n.

CH. 180. § 1. τὸ γὰρ μέσον] Acc. to Hdt. the palace and the temple of Belus were on opposite

sides of the river (181. 2). But the ruins seem to be almost entirely on the east side, with the exception of two large mounds, one to the N.W., the other (*Birs-i-Nimrud*) eight miles to the S.W.

§ 2. ἐξίει] Cf. 6. 1.

τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν θ.] Here the Persian Gulf (1. 2).

§ 3. τὸ ὢν δὴ τείχος] 'Now the wall on either side has its arms bent and so is carried down to the river.' τείχος ἑκάτερον is the city-wall on the east and west sides. Those parts of it which come down to the river are called 'elbows' (ἐπ' ἀγκῶνος βῆ τείχεος, Hom. *Il.* XVI. 702), because they stood at right-angles to the two unbroken sides of the square, which ran parallel with the river.

τοὺς ἀγκ...ἐλήλαται] = τοὺς ἀγκ. ἐληλαμένους ἔχει.

τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τ.] 'From this point the walls make a return which extends along the brink of the river on either side, forming a dike of baked brick.' ἀπὸ τούτου = inwards, towards the city, from the point where the wall reaches the river. τὸ ἀπὸ τ.

οἰκίῶν τριωρόφων τε καὶ τετρωρόφων, κατατέτμήται τὰς  
 ὁδοὺς ἰθείας, τὰς τε ἄλλας καὶ τὰς ἐπικαρσίας τὰς ἐπὶ τὸν  
 ποταμὸν ἐχούσας. κατὰ δὴ ὧν ἐκάστην ὁδὸν ἐν τῇ αἵμασιῇ 5  
 τῇ παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν πυλίδες ἐπῆσαν, ὅσαι περ αἱ λαῦραι,  
 τοσαῦται ἀριθμόν. ἦσαν δὲ καὶ αὗται χάλκεαι, φέρονται  
 181 καὶ αὗται ἐς αὐτὸν τὸν ποταμὸν. Τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τὸ τεῖχος 1  
 θώρηξ ἐστὶ· ἕτερον δὲ ἔσωθεν τεῖχος περιθέει, οὐ πολλῶ  
 τέφ ἀσθενέστερον τοῦ ἐτέρου τείχεος, στεινότερον δέ. Ἐν 2  
 δὲ φάρσει ἐκατέρω τῆς πόλιος τετείχιστο ἐν μέσῳ, ἐν τῷ τὰ  
 βασιλῆα μὲν περιβόλῳ μεγάλῳ τε καὶ ἰσχυρῷ, ἐν δὲ τῷ  
 ἐτέρῳ Διὸς Βήλου ἱρὸν χαλκόπυλον, καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ τοῦτο ἔτι  
 ἐὼν, δύο σταδίων πάντη, ἐὼν τετράγωνον. ἐν μέσῳ δὲ τοῦ 3

is adverbial (the accus. of reference), and ἐπικαμπαί is the subject of the verb, which however takes the construction of the nearer predicate, αἵμασιῇ ('extend along as a dike'). See 163. 4, n., and cf. τὸ μεταξὺ τοῦτο οἱ ἐκκαίδεκα πόδες τοῖς φύλαξιν οἰκήματα διανενημένα ὑποδόμητο, Thuc. III. 21. 3, where the construction is exactly parallel.

§ 4. τριωρόφων] 'Three stories high,' three roofs or ceilings implying three floors.

ἰθείας] The addition of a predicate in agreement with the accus. in this construction is unusual. We should have expected 'an adverbial expression (e.g. κατ' ἰθέαν, in straight lines), like οὐρεα ἐς ὅξυ τὰς κορυφὰς ἀπηγμένα, II. 28. 2' (St.). Marco Polo describes the streets in the great Chinese city as 'so straight that when a person ascends the wall over one of the gates he can see the gate opposite to him on the other side of the city.' *Travels*, p. 183.

τὰς τε ἄλλας] Those parallel to the river.

ἐχούσας] = φερούσας (II. 121. 5, n.).

§ 5. καὶ αὗται] As well as the main gates (179. 5). καὶ αὗται, as well as the λαῦραι (ἐπικάρσιαι ὁδοί).

ἐς αὐτὸν τὸν π.] 'Leading right down to the river' (by flights of steps: 186. 5).

CH. 181. § 1. τοῦτο τὸ τ.] The αἵμασιῇ on each side of the river is called a cuirass, 'breast-work,' because it guarded the most vital part (cf. 191. 8). Within this came the inner wall (περίβολος) in each quarter, like a κιθών worn under the θώρηξ. Cf. τειχέων κιθῶνες, 'covering walls,' VII. 139. 3.

στεινότερον] This is usually rendered 'of smaller circuit.' But it clearly = 'of less thickness.' The top of the city wall being used for traffic (179. 4), the same epithet is applied to a smaller wall which would be applied to a smaller road. So στεινότερη ἐσβολή (of Thermopylae), VII. 175. 2; στείνος ὁδοῦ κάλης, Hom. *Il.* XXIII. 419.

§ 2. ἐν τῷ... μὲν] μὲν is a correction for ἦεν (one MS. εἰεν), a form of the imperf. which nowhere else occurs in Hdt., though the MSS. read ἦε at 196. 5, and ἦεν occurs several times in Hom. (e.g. *Il.* III. 41).

Διὸς Βήλου] Hdt. identifies the Babylonian *Bel* (like the Libyan *Ammon*, II. 55. 4) with Zeus. See II. 50. 1, n.

ἱρὸν] This denotes the whole of the sacred precinct (183. 1).

ἐς ἐμὲ] i.e. down to the time of Hdt.'s visit (cf. 183. 5).

τετράγωνον] Unnecessary after πάντη (II. 138. 3).

ἱροῦ πύργος στερεὸς οἰκοδόμηται, σταδίου καὶ τὸ μῆκος καὶ τὸ εὖρος· καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῷ πύργῳ ἄλλος πύργος ἐπιβέβηκε, καὶ ἕτερος μάλα ἐπὶ τούτῳ, μέχρι οὗ ὀκτὼ πύργων. ἀνά- 4  
 βασις δὲ ἐς αὐτοὺς ἔξωθεν κύκλῳ περὶ πάντας τοὺς πύργους ἔχουσα πεποιήται. μεσοῦντι δέ κου τῆς ἀναβάσιος ἔστι 5  
 καταγωγὴ τε καὶ θῶκοι ἀμπαυστήριοι, ἐν τοῖσι κατίζοντες ἀμπαύονται οἱ ἀναβαίνοντες. ἐν δὲ τῷ τελευταίῳ πύργῳ 6  
 νηὸς ἔπεστι μέγας· ἐν δὲ τῷ νηῷ κλίνη μεγάλη κέεται εὖ ἐστρωμένη, καὶ οἱ τράπεζα παρακέεται χρυσέη. ἄγαλμα 7  
 δὲ οὐκ ἔνι οὐδὲν αὐτόθι ἐνιδρυμένον· οὐδὲ νύκτα οὐδεὶς ἐναυ-  
 λίζεται ἀνθρώπων, ὅτι μὴ γυνὴ μούνη τῶν ἐπιχωρίων, τὴν αὖ ὁ θεὸς ἔληται ἐκ πασέων, ὡς λέγουσι οἱ Χαλδαῖοι, ἔόντες  
 182 ἱρέες τούτου τοῦ θεοῦ. Φασὶ δὲ οἱ αὐτοὶ οὗτοι, ἔμοι μὲν οὐ  
 πιστὰ λέγοντες, τὸν θεὸν αὐτὸν φοιτᾶν τε ἐς τὸν νηὸν, καὶ  
 ἀναπαύεσθαι ἐπὶ τῆς κλίνης, κατάπερ ἐν Θήβησι τῇσι Αἰ-  
 γυπτίησι κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον, ὡς λέγουσι οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι·  
 καὶ γὰρ δὴ ἐκεῖθι κοιμᾶται ἐν τῷ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Θηβαιέος  
 γυνή· ἀμφότεραι δὲ αὗται λέγονται ἀνδρῶν οὐδαμῶν ἐς ὅμι- 2  
 λίην φοιτᾶν· καὶ κατάπερ ἐν Πατάροισι τῆς Λυκίης ἡ πρό-  
 μαντις τοῦ θεοῦ, ἐπεὰν γένηται· οὐ γὰρ ὧν αἰεὶ ἔστι χρηστή-

§ 3. ἐπιβέβηκε] 'Stands upon' ('stands firmly on,' Ab., who compares ἐπὶ γῆς βεβηκότες πολὺ ἰσχυρότερον παῖσομεν, Xen. An. III. 2. 19). Cf. παραβέβηκε δὲ οἱ ἡνίοχος, 'stands near him,' VII. 40. 6 (St.); πυρῆς ἐπιβάντ' ἀλεγεινῆς (of a corpse) Hom. Il. IV. 99.

μάλα] 134. 5, n.

μέχρι οὗ ὁ πύργων] Acc. to Herm. (ad Viger. 251) this is a mixture of the two constructions, μέχρι οὗ ὀκτὼ πύργοι εἰσὶ, and μέχρι ὀκτὼ πύργων. Klotz however (Devarius, 230) thinks that the full phrase is μέχρι τούτου, ὁ ὀκτὼ πύργων (ἐστὶ), usque ad id quod (ad eum numerum qui) octo turrium sit, 'up to the number of (belonging to) eight towers,' Cf. II. 173. 1.

§ 4. ἀνάβασις] 'Stairs to go up by.'

ἔξωθεν] The πύργος was στερεός,

ἔχουσα] With κύκλῳ περὶ, 'running round' (180. 4).

§ 5. μεσοῦντι] Cf. 51. 1.

§ 6. οἱ] = τῇ κλίνῃ. The absence of any ἄγαλμα renders this religious observance different from the Roman lectisternium.

§ 7. οἱ Χαλδαῖοι] See Grote H. G. II. 467 (III. 388).

CH. 182. § 1. κατάπερ...κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον] The relative precedes the demonstrative. Cf. τὰ περ—ἕτερα τοιαῦτα, 191. 4; κατάπερ—καὶ δὴ καί, II. 146. 2; ἐς οὗ—μέχρι τούτου, III. 31. 3.

ἐκεῖθι] The local suffix is more frequent in Hdt. than in Attic prose. Cf. μητρόθεν, 173. 6; ὀλιγαχόθεν, III. 96. 1; ἀρχῇθεν, VII. 104. 1.

Διὸς τοῦ Θηβ.] Cf. II. 41. 1.

γυνή] II. 54. 2, n.

§ 2. τοῦ θεοῦ] Apollo. He was supposed to live at Patara during



ριον αὐτόθι· ἐπεὰν δὲ γένηται, τότε ἂν συγκατακληῖται τὰς  
 183 νύκτας ἔσω ἐν τῷ νηῷ. Ἔστι δὲ τοῦ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι ἱεροῦ καὶ 1  
 ἄλλος κάτω νηός· ἐνθα ἄγαλμα μέγα τοῦ Διὸς ἐνι κατήμενον  
 χρύσειον, καὶ οἱ τράπεζα μεγάλη παρακέεται χρυσέῃ, καὶ τὸ  
 βάθρον οἱ καὶ ὁ θρόνος χρυσεός ἐστι· καὶ ὡς ἔλεγον οἱ Χαλ-  
 δαῖοι, ταλάντων ὀκτακοσίων χρυσίου πεποιήται ταῦτα. ἔσω  
 δὲ τοῦ νηοῦ βωμός ἐστι χρύσεος. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλος βωμός 2  
 μέγας, ὅπου θύεται τὰ τέλεα τῶν προβάτων. ἐπὶ γὰρ τοῦ 3  
 χρυσεοῦ βωμοῦ οὐκ ἔξεστι θύειν, ὅτι μὴ γαλαθηνὰ μοῖνα.  
 ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ μέζονος βωμοῦ καὶ καταγίζουσι λιβανωτοῦ χίλια 4  
 τάλαντα ἔτεος ἑκάστου οἱ Χαλδαῖοι τότε, ἐπεὰν τὴν ὀρτὴν  
 ἄγωσι τῷ θεῷ τούτῳ. Ἦν δὲ ἐν τῷ τεμένει τούτῳ ἔτι τὸν 5  
 χρόνον ἐκείνον καὶ ἀνδρίας δυνώδεκα πηχέων, χρύσεος, στε-  
 ρεός. ἐγὼ μὲν μιν οὐκ εἶδον· τὰ δὲ λέγεται ὑπὸ Χαλδαίων,  
 ταῦτα λέγω. τοῦτῳ τῷ ἀνδριάντι Δαρείος μὲν ὁ Ὑστάσπερος 6  
 ἐπιβουλευσας, οὐκ ἐτόλμησε λαβεῖν, Ξέρξης δὲ ὁ Δαρείου  
 ἔλαβε, καὶ τὸν ἱεὲς ἀπέκτεινε, ἀπαγορεύοντα μὴ κινεῖν τὸν  
 ἀνδριάντα. τὸ μὲν δὴ ἱερὸν τοῦτο οὕτω κεκόςμητο. ἔστι δὲ 7  
 καὶ ἴδια ἀναθήματα πολλά.

the winter months only. 'Qualis ubi hibernam Lyciam Xanthique fluentia Deserit ac Delum maternam invisit Apollo.' Virg. *Aen.* IV. 143. So 'Delius et Patareus Apollo,' Hor. *Od.* III. 4. 64. The subject of γένηται may be (1) ὁ θεός, 'when he has come there,' like ἐπεὰν κατὰ τὴν Κιλικῶν τάξιν διεξιὼν γένωμαι, VII. 77. 1: (2) χρηστήριον, anticipated from the following clause (Kr.): (3) ἡ πρόμαντις (Bähr), 'when she has become priestess (again)'. The last seems best.

ἐπεὰν δὲ γέν.] δέ resumes. Cf. 164. 4.

CH. 183. § 1. ἔστι τοῦ] 'Belongs to.'

τὸ βάθρον] The footstool or step in front of the θρόνος.

ταλάντων] Prob. the genitive of material, not that of price: 'made out of.'

§ 2. τέλεα] Opposed to γαλαθηνά, below.

προβάτων] 133. 2, n.

§ 5. τὸν χρ. ἐκείνον] This would naturally mean 'in the time of Cyrus,' the period which the narration has reached. But in this case ἔτι is rather pointless, since the statue remained till the reign of Xerxes, i.e. long afterwards. Perhaps the phrase simply means 'that great time,' i.e. the time of the Persian war. 'Through the whole of Hdt.'s work the wars for Greek freedom are the great crisis on which his eyes are fastened.' Kr.

ἀνδρίας] is seldom used of the statue of a god (31. 9, n.).

ἐγὼ μὲν μιν] It must have been removed before Hdt.'s visit to Babylon, since Xerxes died B.C. 465.

§ 6. ἐπιβουλευσας] The Persians would naturally be hostile to the religion of the Chaldaeans (Bähr). In the account of the seven conspirators Darius is represented as extremely impetuous in character (III. 71—2).

κινεῖν] 187. 3, n.



- 184 Τῆς δὲ Βαβυλῶνος ταύτης πολλοὶ μὲν κου καὶ ἄλλοι <sup>1</sup>  
ἐγένοντο βασιλέες, τῶν ἐν τοῖσι Ἀσσυρίοισι λόγοισι μνήμην  
ποιήσομαι, οἱ τὰ τείχεά τε ἐπεκόσμησαν καὶ τὰ ἱρά, ἐν δὲ  
δὴ καὶ γυναῖκες δύο. ἡ μὲν πρότερον ἄρξασα, τῆς ὕστερον <sup>2</sup>  
γενεῇσι πέντε πρότερον γενομένη, τῇ οὖνομα ἦν Σεμίραμις·  
αὕτη μὲν ἀπεδέξατο χώματα ἀνὰ τὸ πεδῖον ἐόντα ἀξιοθέητα.  
πρότερον δὲ ἐώθεε ὁ ποταμὸς ἀνὰ τὸ πεδῖον πᾶν πελαγίζειν.
- 185 Ἡ δὲ δὴ δεύτερον γενομένη ταύτης βασιλεία, τῇ οὖνομα ἦν <sup>1</sup>  
Νίτωκρις (αὕτη δὲ συνετωτέρη γενομένη τῆς πρότερον ἀρξά-  
σης), τοῦτο μὲν μνημόσυνα ἐλίπετο τὰ ἐγὼ ἀπηγήσομαι,  
τοῦτο δὲ τὴν Μήδων ὁρώσα ἀρχὴν μεγάλην τε καὶ οὐκ ἀτρε-  
μίζουσαν, ἀλλ' ἄλλα τε ἀραιρημένα ἄσπεα αὐτοῖσι, ἐν δὲ δὴ

CH. 184. § 1. πολλοί] Even while subject to Nineveh, Babylon prob. had a separate dynasty of its own. See Rawlinson, Bk. I. *App.* VIII. But the Ἀσσύριοι λόγοι would have described the Ninevite dynasties as well, and these may be included under the πολλοὶ βασιλεῖς, since Hdt. does not distinguish between the two nations (178. 1, n.). 'Prob. his history of the Assyrian dynasties was as obscure and distorted as that which he gives of the Egyptian dynasties before Psammetichus in Bk. II.' St.

Ἀσσυρίοισι λόγ.] Cf. 75. 1: 106. 3; II. 38. 3; 161. 3. If Hdt. ever composed these λόγοι, they have not been incorporated into his work. Aristotle (*Hist. An.* VIII. 18) refers to a work περὶ τὴν πολιορκίαν τὴν Νίνου, which acc. to one reading of the passage was written by Hdt. The majority of the MSS. read Ἡσιόδος instead of Ἡρόδοτος. Still there are good reasons for thinking that the latter reading is the true one.

ἐπεκόσμησαν] 'Further beautified.'

§ 2. ἡ μὲν...αὕτη μὲν] Answered by ἡ δὲ...αὕτη δέ, next ch. See 113. 2; VII. 39. 3.

γενεῇσι πέντε] i. e. there were four intervening reigns (13. 4, n.).

This would place Semiramis somewhere about the era of Nabonassar (B.C. 747). Inscriptions recently discovered mention about this time a queen of *Nineveh* called *Sammuramat*, whose husband 'seems to have been in an especial way connected with Babylonia.' See Rawlinson, Bk. I. *App.* VII. 19. Hdt. prob. imagines her to be the mythical Semiramis, the wife of Ninus.

CH. 185. § 1. δεύτερον] Used for ὕστερον (91. 3, n.) owing to δύο above. Nitocris is mentioned by no other authority, and 'no trace of her appears in the inscriptions.' The Egyptian name (II. 100. 3) may possibly be explained by supposing her to be 'an Egyptian captive.' Rawlinson, Bk. I. *App.* VIII. 21. Hdt. regards her as the mother of one Labynetos and the wife of another (188. 1, n.).

συνετωτέρη] An allusion to the masculine character and profligacy of the mythical Semiramis (St.).

ἀλλ' ἄλλα τε] ἀλλ' was inserted by Bekker: cf. 190. 3.

αὐτοῖσι] = ὑπ' αὐτῶν, τῶν Μήδων. The motive assigned by Hdt. cannot have been the true one, since the Medes were on friendly terms with the Babylonians (102. 4, n.) Prob. the real object was the improvement of the navigation, and the regulation

καὶ τὴν Νῆον, προεφυλάξατο ὅσα ἐδύνατο μάλιστα. Πρῶτα<sup>2</sup> μὲν τὸν Εὐφρήτην ποταμὸν, ῥέοντα πρότερον ἰθὺν, ὅς σφι διὰ τῆς πόλιος μέσης ῥέει, τοῦτον ἄνωθεν διώρυχας ὀρύξασα οὕτω δὴ τι ἐποίησε σκολιὸν, ὥστε δὴ τρεῖς ἐς τῶν τινὰ κωμέων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσσυρίῃ ἀπικνέεται ῥέων. τῇ δὲ κώμῃ<sup>3</sup> οὐνομά ἐστι, ἐς τὴν ἀπικνέεται ὁ Εὐφρήτης, Ἀρδέρικκα. καὶ νῦν οἱ ἂν κομίζονται ἀπὸ τῆσδε τῆς θαλάσσης ἐς Βαβυλῶνα, καταπλέοντες ἐς τὸν Εὐφρήτην ποταμὸν, τρεῖς τε ἐς τὴν αὐτὴν ταύτην κώμην παραγίνονται καὶ ἐν τρισὶ ἡμέρησι. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τοιοῦτο ἐποίησε. Χῶμα δὲ παρέχωσε παρ'<sup>4</sup> ἐκάτερον τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὸ χεῖλος, ὅξιον θώματος, μέγας καὶ ὕψος ὅσον τί ἐστι. κατύπερθε δὲ πολλῶ Βαβυλῶνος<sup>5</sup> ὥρυσε ἑλυτρον λίμνη, ὀλίγον τι παρατείνουσα ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ, βάθος μὲν ἐς τὸ ὕδωρ αἰὲ ὀρύσσουσα, εὖρος δὲ τὸ περίμετρον αὐτοῦ ποιέυσα εἴκοσί τε καὶ τετρακοσίων σταδίων· τὸν δὲ ὀρυσσόμενον χοῦν ἐκ τούτου τοῦ ὀρύγματος ἀναισίμου παρὰ τὰ χεῖλα τοῦ ποταμοῦ παραχέουσα. ἐπεὶ<sup>6</sup> τε δὲ οἱ ὥρυκτο, λίθους ἀγαγομένη, κρηπίδα κύκλῳ περὶ αὐτὴν ἤλασε. Ἐποίηε δὲ ἀμφοτέρω ταῦτα, τὸν τε ποταμὸν<sup>7</sup>

of the floods. The windings would render the stream less rapid (ταχύς, 180. 2; βραδύτερος, 185. 7).

§ 2. σφι] Prob. the plur. Cf. VIII. 133. 1, where σφι prob. = the Persians, though Mardonius alone has been mentioned. Buttm. (*Lexil.* 206) concludes from the analogy of ἐμίν, that only σφι (not σφί) was used in the singular.

οὕτω δὴ τι] 'So exceedingly.'

§ 3. τῆσδε τῆς θ.] See I. 2, n. ἐς τὸν Εὐφρ.] Since the journey was performed by land till the Euphrates was reached (v. 52. 5), καταπλέοντες (if ἐς is right) must be used in a pregnant sense, κατα- referring to the descent from the mountains to the river-basin: *quando ad Euphratē devenierint eoq̄ue Babylonem vehuntur*, Bähr.

§ 4. ὅσον τί ἐστι] 'Worthy to be marvelled at, how great it is (i. e. that it is so great) in bulk and

height.' Cf. αἶων, 31. 6, n.; ὅσων, II. 171. 1; θεσπέσιον ὡς ἡδύ, III. 113. 1. τι is added on the analogy of τοσοῦτό τι (192. 5), ὅσον being equivalent to ὅτι τοσοῦτο.

§ 5. ἑλυτρον λίμνη] 'A basin for a lake,' i. e. a lake-basin. ἑλυτρον, lit. that which wraps up (ἐλύω), encloses (the water). Below, § 7, this reservoir is called a marsh (ἐλος), because there would naturally be but little water in it except when it drained the river (186. 7).

ὀλίγον τι] refers to the space between the lake and the river.

ἐς τὸ ὕδωρ] 'Till she reached water,' i. e. till the bottom of the reservoir was level with the river-bed, when water from the river would begin to filter through.

αἰ.] *Singulis locis.* St.

χοῦν] ὀρυγμα denotes the hole dug, χοῦς the earth dug out (II. 150. 2).

σκολιὸν καὶ τὸ ὄρυγμα πᾶν ἔλος, ὥς ὃ τε ποταμὸς βραδύτε-  
ρος εἶη, περὶ καμπὰς πολλὰς ἀγνύμενος, καὶ οἱ πλοῖοι ἔωσι  
σκολιοὶ ἐς τὴν Βαβυλῶνα, ἔκ τε τῶν πλόων ἐκδέκεται περί-  
οδος τῆς λίμνης μακρῇ. κατὰ τοῦτο δὲ εἰργάζετο τῆς χώρας 8  
τῇ αἴ τε ἐσβολαὶ ἦσαν καὶ τὰ σύντομα τῆς ἐκ Μήδων ὁδοῦ,  
ἵνα μὴ ἐπιμισγόμενοι οἱ Μῆδοι ἐκμανθάνοιεν αὐτῆς τὰ πρήγ-  
186 ματα. Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἐκ βάθεος περιεβάλετο, τοιήνδε δὲ 1  
ἐξ αὐτῶν παρενθήκην ἐποιήσατο. Τῆς πόλιος εὐούσης δύο 2  
φάρσέων, τοῦ δὲ ποταμοῦ μέσον ἔχοντος, ἐπὶ τῶν πρότερον  
βασιλέων, ὅπως τις ἐθέλοι ἐκ τοῦ ἐτέρου φάρσεος ἐς τοῦτε-  
ρον διαβῆναι, χρῆν πλοίῳ διαβαίνειν. καὶ ἦν, ὥς ἐγὼ δοκέω, 3  
ὀχληρὸν τοῦτο. αὕτη δὲ καὶ τοῦτο προεῖδε· ἐπεὶ τε γὰρ

§ 7. τὸ ὄρ. πᾶν ἔλος] 'Turned the whole place which she had dug into a marsh.'

εἶη...ἔωσι] The usual explanations are (1) that the subjunctive denotes a certain, the optative only a probable (or possible) result: (2) that the subj. represents the realization of the proposed end, while the opt. represents it merely as a supposition in the mind (II. 93. 7, n.): (3) that the subj. expresses a direct, the opt. merely an indirect or ulterior consequence. No single one of these explanations will suit all passages, and it is often difficult to see any difference of meaning.

ἔκ τε τῶν πλ.] 'And that after the voyage was over, men might find awaiting them a long journey by land round the lake.'

ἐκδέκεται] Sc. τοὺς πλέοντας. Hdt. supposes that in case of invasion the plan would be to make the river unnavigable by drawing the water off. But this was not actually done to stop Cyrus (190. 2, n.), and moreover the invaders might still have followed the river-bank. Ordinarily the stream was navigable down to Babylon. (194. 6).

§ 8. τῆς ἐκ Μ. ὁδοῦ] No part of the course of the Euphrates above Babylon would have been on the direct road to Media, which lay to the north-east across the Tigris,

while the Euphrates flowed from Armenia (180. 2), i.e. from the north-west. 'The mistake appears to have arisen from a confusion of B. with Nineveh.' St.

CH. 186. § 1. ἐκ βάθεος] Ab. renders: 'out of the materials obtained from the excavation,' in which case ταῦτα can only refer to the river-embankment (185. 5). But possibly the phrase is an adverbial one (like ἐξ ἔσου): = 'below ground,' as opposed to the quays and bridge described in what follows.

ταῦτα...περιεβάλετο] 'Girt (the city) round with these defences' (163. 3).

ἐξ αὐτῶν] Not 'after they were finished' (a use of ἐξ, which requires a verb either expressing or implying motion), but 'in consequence of them,' 'by means of them': = ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἔργου, below. The λίμνη described above made it possible to add the supplementary works.

§ 2. εὐούσης] Acc. to Krüg., if this reading is right (ἐόντων has been conjectured), the meaning must be ἡ πόλις ἐστὶ δύο φάρσέα. But ἡ πόλις ἐστὶ δύο φάρσέων would be good Greek, the gen. being descriptive. See II. 138. 3, n.

μέσον] The article is omitted owing to the commonness of the phrase (111. 2, n.).

§ 3. προεῖδε] προ- refers to the

ᾠρυσσε τὸ ἔλυτρον τῇ λίμνῃ, μνημόσυνον τόδε ἄλλο ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἔργου ἐλίπετο. ἐτάμνετο λίθους περιμήκεας· ὥς 4 δέ οἱ ἦσαν οἱ λίθοι ἐτοῖμοι, καὶ τὸ χωρίον ὀρώρυκτο, ἐκτρέψασα τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὸ ῥέεθρον πᾶν ἐς τὸ ᾠρυσσε χωρίον, ἐν ᾧ ἐπίμπλατο τοῦτο, ἐν τούτῳ ἀπεξηρασμένου τοῦ 5 ἀρχαίου ῥέεθρου, τοῦτο μὲν τὰ χεῖλεα τοῦ ποταμοῦ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὰς καταβάσις, τὰς ἐκ τῶν πυλίδων ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν φερούσας, ἀνοικοδόμησε πλίνθοισι ὀπτῇσι κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον τῷ τείχεϊ τοῦτο δὲ κατὰ μέσσην κου μάλιστα τὴν πόλιν τοῖσι λίθοισι, τοὺς ὠρύξατο, οἰκοδόμει γέφυραν, δέουσα τοὺς λίθους σιδήρῳ τε καὶ μολίβδῳ. ἐπιτείνεσκε δὲ 6 ἐπ' αὐτὴν, ὅπως μὲν ἡμέρη γένοιτο, ξύλα τετράγωνα, ἐπ' ᾧ τὴν διάβασιν ἐποιεῦντο οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι· τὰς δὲ νύκτας τὰ ξύλα ταῦτα ἀπαίρεσκον τοῦδε εἵνεκα, ἵνα μὴ διαφοιτέοντες τὰς νύκτας κλέπτοιεν παρ' ἀλλήλων. ὥς δὲ τό τε ὀρυχθὲν 7 λίμνη πλήρης ἐγεγόνει ὑπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ, καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν γέφυραν ἐκεκόσμητο, τὸν Εὐφρήτην ποταμὸν ἐς τὰ ἀρχαῖα ῥέεθρα ἐκ τῆς λίμνης ἐξήγαγε· καὶ οὕτω τὸ ὀρυχθὲν, ἔλος γενόμενον, ἐς δέον ἐδόκει γεγονέναι, καὶ τοῖσι πολιῆται 187 γέφυρα ἦν κατεσκευασμένη. Ἡ δ' αὐτὴ αὕτη βασιλεία καὶ 1 ἀπάτην τοιήνδε τινὰ ἐμηχανήσατο. Ὑπὲρ τῶν μάλιστα λεωφόρων πυλέων τοῦ ἄστεος τάφον ἐωυτῇ κατεσκευάσατο μετέωρον ἐπιπολῆς αὐτέων τῶν πυλέων. ἐνεκόλαψε δὲ ἐς 2

future inconvenience which would arise, unless some remedy were devised.

§ 4. τὸ ῥέεθρον] The stream: but below, τοῦ ῥ. = the river-bed.

ᾠρυσσε] 'which she was digging' (as described above): the descriptive imperf. instead of the pluperf. (81. 2, n.).

§ 5. καταβάσις] 'Steps to go down by' (179. 4, n.).

πυλίδων] See 180. 5.

§ 6. ξύλα τετρ.] 'Square planking,'—apparently a sort of draw-bridge, which was raised at night.

§ 7. ἔλος γενόμενον] Stein reads γινόμενον, 'that was afterwards to become a marsh,' comparing ἐγένετο,

187. 5. But γενόμενον is simpler: 'the basin after it had become a marsh (i.e. after the water which made it a λίμνη had been drawn off, and the channel closed) was seen to have answered its object well.'

CH. 187. § 1. ἐπιπολῆς] simply = 'above,' not 'resting upon' (II. 96. 3). The tomb was in the upper part of the gateway, which in the East was often a building of considerable importance, being used for the transaction of public business.

πυλέων] The plural of a single gateway, because each gate had two valves. Cf. 205. 3, n. αὐτέων = just above the gates.

τὸν τάφον γράμματα λέγοντα τάδε· ΤΩΝ ΤΙΣ ΕΜΕΤ  
 'ΥΣΤΕΡΟΝ ΓΙΝΟΜΕΝΩΝ ΒΑΒΤΛΩΝΟΣ ΒΑΣΙ-  
 ΛΕΩΝ, ΗΝ ΣΠΑΝΙΣΗΙ ΧΡΗΜΑΤΩΝ, ΑΝΟΙΞΑΣ  
 ΤΟΝ ΤΑΦΟΝ, ΛΑΒΕΤΩ 'ΟΚΟΣΑ ΒΟΥΛΕΤΑΙ ΧΡΗ-  
 ΜΑΤΑ. ΜΗ ΜΕΝΤΟΙ ΓΕ, ΜΗ ΣΠΑΝΙΣΑΣ ΓΕ,  
 ΑΛΛΩΣ ΑΝΟΙΞΗΙ. ΟΤ ΓΑΡ ΑΜΕΙΝΟΝ. Οὗτος 3  
 ὁ τάφος ἦν ἀκίνητος, μέχρι οὗ ἐς Δαρεῖον περιήλθε ἡ βασι-  
 ληΐη. Δαρείῳ δὲ καὶ δεινὸν ἐδόκεε εἶναι τῇσι πύλῃσι ταύ- 4  
 τῇσι μηδὲν χρέεσθαι καὶ χρημάτων κειμένων, καὶ αὐτῶν  
 τῶν χρημάτων ἐπικαλεσμένων, μὴ οὐ λαβεῖν αὐτά. τῇσι δὲ 5  
 πύλῃσι ταύτῃσι οὐδὲν ἐχρᾶτο τοῦδε εἵνεκα, ὅτι ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς  
 οἱ ἐγίνετο ὁ νεκρὸς διεξελαύνοντι. ἀνοίξας δὲ τὸν τάφον 6  
 εὔρε χρήματα μὲν οὐ, τὸν δὲ νεκρὸν καὶ γράμματα λέγοντα  
 τάδε· Εἰ μὴ ἀπληστός τε εἶας χρημάτων  
 καὶ αἰσχροκερδής, οὔκ ἂν νεκρὸν θήκας  
 ἀνεωλιγέας. Αὕτη μὲν νυν ἡ βασίλεια τοιαύτη τις λέγεται  
 γενέσθαι.

188 Ὁ δὲ δὴ Κῦρος ἐπὶ ταύτης τῆς γυναικὸς τὸν παῖδα 1  
 ἐστρατεύετο, ἔχοντά τε τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ ἐωντοῦ τοῦνομα  
 Λαβυνήτου καὶ τὴν Ἀσσυρίων ἀρχήν. Στρατεύεται δὲ δὴ 2

§ 2. γράμματα] 'Intellige de literis cuneatis,' Bähr.

μὴ σπανίσας γε] = ἦν γε μὴ σπανίσῃ. The former γε belongs to ἀνοίξῃ.

ἄλλως] 'for any other reason,' *temere*.

οὐ γὰρ ἄμεινον] 'It is not better' = it is better not. οὐ, as in οὐ κελεύω, οὐκ ἐῷ. There seems to be an allusion to Hes. *Op.* 750, μὴδ' ἐπ' ἀκινήτοισι καθίξιν, οὐ γὰρ ἄμεινον.

§ 3. ἀκίνητος] i.e. was regarded as something sacred, κινέω being used of sacrilege. Cf. κινήσοντά τι τῶν ἀκινήτων, VI. 134. 4.

περιήλθε] See 7. 1, n.

§ 4. καὶ δεινὸν] δεινὸν ἐδόκεε... καὶ μηδὲν χρέεσθαι... καὶ μὴ οὐ λαβεῖν. μὴ οὐ is used because δεινὸν εἶναι implies a negative notion. Acc. to Hermann *per mē certo, per mē οὐ dubitantius negatur*. 'But in many

places the meaning is rather that of wondering or indignant repudiation of the opposite notion.' *Madv. G. S. App.* 295. Tr. 'it seemed monstrous, when treasure was there, actually asking to be taken, not to take it.'

§ 5. ἐγίνετο] *Futurus erat*. 'By a rhetorical expression the imperf. without *ἄν* is used to denote what would be (or have been) an immediate or easily-foreseen consequence of anything,—the consequence being described as already in the act of taking place.' *Madv.* So the aor. διέβησαν, 75. 6. Hermann calls this 'the rhetorical omission of *ἄν*.'

§ 6. εἶας] So *εἶα*, II. 19. 3. Other forms of the imperf. used by Hdt. are *ἔσκε*, 196. 3; *ἦε*, 196. 5. Doubtful forms are *ἦεν*, 181. 2, n.; *ἔην*, VII. 143. 1.

CH. 188. § 1. Λαβυνήτου] In

Βασιλεὺς ὁ μέγας καὶ σιτίοισι εὖ ἐσκευασμένος ἐξ οἴκου καὶ  
 προβάτοισι καὶ δὴ καὶ ὕδωρ ἀπὸ τοῦ Χοάσπεω ποταμοῦ  
 ἅμα ἄγεται τοῦ παρὰ Σοῦσα ῥέοντος, τοῦ μούνου πίνει βασι-  
 λεὺς καὶ ἄλλου οὐδενὸς ποταμοῦ. τούτου δὲ τοῦ Χοάσπεω 3  
 τοῦ ὕδατος ἀπεψήμενου πολλαὶ κάρτα ἅμαξαι τετράκυκλοι  
 ἡμιόνειαι κομίζουσαι ἐν ἀγγείοισι ἀργυρέοισι ἔπονται, ὅπη  
 189 ἂν ἐλαύνῃ ἐκάστοτε. Ἐπεὶ τε δὲ ὁ Κῦρος πορευόμενος ἐπὶ 1  
 τὴν Βαβυλῶνα ἐγένετο ἐπὶ Γύνδῃ ποταμῷ, τοῦ αἰ μὲν πηγαὶ  
 ἐν Ματιηνοῖσι οὖρεσι, ῥέει δὲ διὰ Δαρδανέων, ἐκδιδοῖ δὲ ἐς  
 ἕτερον ποταμὸν Τίγριν· ὁ δὲ παρὰ Ὠπιν πόλιν ῥέων ἐς τὴν  
 Ἐρυθρὴν θάλασσαν ἐκδιδοῖ· τοῦτον δὴ τὸν Γύνδην ποταμὸν  
 ὡς διαβαίνειν ἐπειράτο ὁ Κῦρος, εὐντα νηυσιπερητὸν, ἐνθαυτὰ  
 οἱ τῶν τις ἱρῶν ἵππων τῶν λευκῶν ὑπὸ ὕβριος ἐσβὰς ἐς τὸν  
 ποταμὸν, διαβαίνειν ἐπειράτο. ὁ δὲ μιν συμψήσας ὑπο-  
 βρύχιον οἰχώκεε φέρων. κάρτα τε δὴ ἐχαλέπαινε τῷ πο- 2

apposition with πατρός. Labynetus I. must have been king (he is prob. meant at 74. 5), since Nitocris was queen. Labynetus II. (cf. 77. 3) is clearly to be identified with the *Nabunahit* (= 'Nebo blesses') of the inscriptions. But there is great uncertainty about Nitocris and her husband. *Nebuchadnezzar* (died B. C. 561) was succeeded by his son *Evil-merodach*, who was murdered and succeeded by his brother-in-law *Neriglissar* (559—556), whose son was put to death by conspirators, one of whom (*Nabunahit*) was elected king (555). Nitocris on one theory was the wife of Nebuchadnezzar, on another of Evil-merodach: but Hdt.'s account cannot be harmonized with other authorities. The river-fortifications attributed by him to Nitocris were the work of Nabunahit. See Rawlinson, Bk. I. *Arp.* VIII. 21.

§ 2. Στρατεύεται δὲ] Hdt. applies to Cyrus the customs of the Persian kings of his own day.

ὁ μέγας] The Behistun inscription (125. 5, n.) begins: 'I am Darius, the great king, the king of kings.' So our ancestors talked

of 'the grand Turk,' 'the grand Seignior.'

ἐσκευασμένος] Prob. right, instead of ἐσκευασμένοις, which however might = 'dressed' (73. 5).

§ 3. ἀπεψήμενου] 'This shews that the water did not serve for drinking,' Stein:—who thinks that it was used for religious rites, comparing σπένδων (of Xerxes, before crossing the Hellespont), VII. 54. 2. The water of the Choaspes is said to have been remarkably pure, so that it would not have been necessary to boil it, in order to render it fit for drinking.

CH. 189. § 1. Γύνδῃ] See *Dict. Geogr.* Cyrus was marching to Babylon from Ecbatana (153. 6). The Matieni mentioned here are quite distinct from those in Asia Minor (72. 2).

ὁ δὲ] i. e. the Tigris.

ἱρῶν ἵππων] They drew the sacred chariot and the chariot of the king (VII. 40. 4—6).

συμψήσας] Swept him off, 'obliterating all trace of him as one rubs out footmarks in sand (Ar, *Nub.* 975).' St.

οἰχώκεε] The pluperf. as at 79. 2.

ταμῶ ὁ Κῦρος τοῦτο ὑβρίσαντι, καὶ οἱ ἐπηπείλησε, οὕτω δὴ  
 μιν ἀσθενέα ποιήσιν, ὥστε τοῦ λοιποῦ καὶ γυναῖκάς μιν  
 εὐπετέως, τὸ γόνυ οὐ βρεχούσας, διαβήσεσθαι. μετὰ δὲ τὴν 3  
 ἀπειλὴν μετεῖς τὴν ἐπὶ Βαβυλῶνα στράτευσιν, διαίρειε τὴν  
 στρατιὴν δίχα, διελὼν δὲ κατέτεινε σχοινοτενέας ὑποδέξας  
 διώρυχας ὀγδῶκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν παρ' ἑκάτερον τὸ χεῖλος  
 τέτραμμένας τοῦ Γύνδεω πάντα τρόπον. διατάξας δὲ τὸν 4  
 στρατὸν ὀρύσσειν ἐκέλευε. οἷα δὲ ὁμίλου πολλοῦ ἐργαζο-  
 μένου, ἦνετο μὲν τὸ ἔργον, ὅμως μέντοι τὴν θερείην πᾶσαν  
 190 αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ διέτριψαν ἐργαζόμενοι. Ὡς δὲ τὸν Γύνδην 1  
 ποταμὸν ἐτίσατο Κῦρος, ἐς τριηκοσίας καὶ ἐξήκοντά μιν  
 διώρυχας διαλαβὼν, καὶ τὸ δεύτερον ἔαρ ὑπέλαμπε, οὕτω  
 δὴ ἤλαυνε ἐπὶ τὴν Βαβυλῶνα. οἱ δὲ Βαβυλώνιοι ἐκστρα- 2  
 τευσάμενοι ἔμενον αὐτόν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐγένετο ἐλαύνων ἀγχοῦ  
 τῆς πόλιος, συνέβαλόν τε οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι, καὶ ἐσωθέντες τῇ 3  
 μάχῃ κατειλήθησαν ἐς τὸ ἄστυ. οἷα δὲ ἐξεπιστάμενοι ἔτι  
 πρότερον τὸν Κῦρον οὐκ ἀτρεμίζοντα, ἀλλ' ὀρέοντες αὐτὸν  
 παντὶ ἔθνει ὁμοίως ἐπιχειρέοντα, προεσάξαντο σιτία ἐτέων  
 κάρτα πολλῶν. Ἐνθαῦτα οὗτοι μὲν λόγον εἶχον τῆς πολι- 4  
 ορκίης οὐδένα· Κῦρος δὲ ἀπορίῃσι ἐνείχετο, ἅτε χρόνου τε  
 ἐγγινομένου συχνοῦ, ἀνωτέρω τε οὐδὲν τῶν πρηγμάτων προ-

§ 3. σχοινοτενέας δ.] must be taken with both verb and part. With the former σχ. has a literal, with the latter a figurative sense. 'He laid out trenches by stretching a rope along, marking them out as straight as a line.'

τρόπον] = Att. τροπήν, 'direction.' Various explanations of the story are given. The object of Cyrus was (1) merely to cross the river (Larch.), (2) to fertilize the country by irrigation (Bähr), (3) to give his army practice in the engineering operations which he had resolved to adopt at Babylon (Rawlinson).

CH. 190. § 1. τριηκ. καὶ ἐξήκ.] The number of days in the year (32. 3), and prob. also the number of the sacred horses. Cf. ἀπὸ δὲ Κιλικῶν ἵπποι λευκοὶ ἐξήκοντα καὶ τριηκόσιοι, ἐκάστης ἡμέρης εἰς γι-

νόμενος, III. 90. 4.

ὑπέλαμπε] Properly of day-break. Spring is regarded as the dawn of the year (St.).

§ 2. ἐκστρατευσάμενοι] No attempt seems to have been made to turn the river defences to account (185. 7, n.). See Grote *H. G.* III. 180 (IV. 282).

§ 3. προεσάξαντο] It has been suggested that the verb here is not προεσάγω but προσάσω (cf. 155. 4, n.): *frumentum ante sibi cumularunt*: cf. σάξαντες ὕδατι, III. 7. 1. But the question seems to be settled by σῖτα καὶ ποτὰ τὸ τεῖχος ἐσάξαντο, V. 34. 1, where the construction of σάσω would be extremely harsh. For the absence of augment, see 19. 1.

§ 4. ἀνωτέρω] simply = ἐς τὸ πρόσω (III. 56. 1): lit. 'further in-



191 κοπτομένων. Εἴτε δὴ ὢν ἄλλος οἱ ἀπορέοντι ὑπεθήκατο, εἴ-  
 τε καὶ αὐτὸς ἔμαθε τὸ ποιητέον οἱ ἦν, ἐποίησε δὴ τοιόνδε.  
 τάξας τὴν στρατιὴν ἅπασαν ἐξ ἐμβολῆς τοῦ ποταμοῦ, τῇ ἐς 2  
 τὴν πόλιν ἐσβάλλει, καὶ ὀπισθε αὐτὶς τῆς πόλιος τάξας  
 ἑτέρους, τῇ ἐξίει ἐκ τῆς πόλιος ὁ ποταμός· προεῖπε τῷ  
 στρατῷ, ὅταν διαβατὸν τὸ ῥέεθρον ἴδωνται γενόμενον, ἐσιέναι  
 ταύτῃ ἐς τὴν πόλιν. οὕτω τε δὴ τάξας, καὶ κατὰ ταῦτα 3  
 παραινέσας, ἀπήλανε αὐτὸς σὺν τῷ ἀχρητῷ τοῦ στρατοῦ.  
 Ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν λίμνην, τὰ περ ἢ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων 4  
 βασιλεία ἐποίησε κατὰ τε τὸν ποταμὸν καὶ κατὰ τὴν λίμνην,  
 ἐποίησε καὶ ὁ Κῦρος ἕτερα τοιαῦτα. τὸν γὰρ ποταμὸν διώρυχι 5  
 ἐσαγαγὼν ἐς τὴν λίμνην ἐοῦσαν ἔλος, τὸ ἀρχαῖον ῥέεθρον  
 διαβατὸν εἶναι ἐποίησε, ὑπονοστήσαντος τοῦ ποταμοῦ. γενο- 6  
 μένου δὲ τούτου τοιούτου, οἱ Πέρσαι, οἵπερ ἐτετάχατο ἐπ’  
 αὐτῷ τούτῳ κατὰ τὸ ῥέεθρον τοῦ Εὐφρήτεω ποταμοῦ ὑπο-  
 νενοστηκότος ἀνδρὶ ὡς ἐς μέσον μηρὸν μάλιστά κη, κατὰ  
 τοῦτο ἐσήεσαν ἐς τὴν Βαβυλῶνα. Εἰ μὲν νυν προεπύθοντο, 7  
 ἢ ἔμαθον οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Κύρου ποιούμενον, οὐδ’ ἂν

land,’ the metaphor being taken from an army, which, as it advances up the country, clears away (προκόπτει) the obstacles in its line of march.

CH. 191. § 2. ἅπασαν] Possibly ἑτέρους may be supplied here with ἐξ ἐμβολῆς from ἑτέρους below (Ab.). But the confusion of thought is rather apparent than real. Cyrus drew off his troops from their stations round the city and collected them in one spot (τάξας τὴν στρ. αἵ.). He then detached a division (ἑτέρους) to cooperate below the city with the main body above, and after giving his orders to the fighting troops (τῷ στρατῷ) thus posted, marched away with the unserviceable portion of his army.

ὀπισθε] The city is regarded as facing up the stream (cf. 75. 4, n.). So ἐμπροσθε τῶν Θερμοπυλέων καὶ ὀπισθε, VII. 176. 3; ὀπισθε τῶν πυλέων καὶ τῆς ἀνόδου, VIII. 53. 2.

§ 4. τὴν λίμνην] The artificial basin (ἐλυτρον) mentioned 185. 5.

ἕτερα τοιαῦτα] = *similia* (120. 9).

§ 5. ἐοῦσαν ἔλος] Krüg. renders ‘into the marsh which thus formed a lake,’ reading τό for τῇ. But the words as they stand may fairly mean: ‘into the lake, being at that time a marsh.’ Hdt. uses the term λίμνη of the basin, because it had once been a lake (185. 7), though it had ceased to be so. So τῆς λίμνης is used of the same spot, 185. 7, although just before it has been described as a marsh.

§ 6. ὡς] With μάλιστά κη.

§ 7. ἔμαθον] ‘Seen for themselves.’ Cf. λέγεται βασιλέα θηγόμενον μαθεῖν τὴν νῆα ἐμβαλοῦσαν, VIII. 88. 2; ἰδόντι καὶ μαθόντι, VII. 37. 3.

οὐδ’ ἂν] ‘They would not have suffered them so much as to enter the city (from the river), and so would have destroyed them utterly.’ The negative belongs to the participle only. οὐδ’ (instead of οὐκ) = not merely would they have repulsed the attack, but also &c. See 141. 3, c.



ἱεροῦ πύργος στερεὸς οἰκοδόμηται, σταδίου καὶ τὸ μῆκος καὶ τὸ εὖρος· καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῷ πύργῳ ἄλλος πύργος ἐπιβέβηκε, καὶ ἕτερος μάλα ἐπὶ τούτῳ, μέχρι οὗ ὀκτὼ πύργων. ἀνά- 4  
 βασις δὲ ἐς αὐτοὺς ἔξωθεν κύκλῳ περὶ πάντας τοὺς πύργους ἔχουσα πεποιήται. μεσοῦντι δέ κου τῆς ἀναβάσιος ἔστι 5  
 καταγωγὴ τε καὶ θῶκοι ἀμπαυστήριοι, ἐν τοῖσι κατίζοντες ἀμπαύονται οἱ ἀναβαίνοντες. ἐν δὲ τῷ τελευταίῳ πύργῳ 6  
 νηὸς ἔπεστι μέγας· ἐν δὲ τῷ νηῷ κλίνη μεγάλη κέεται εὖ ἐστρωμένη, καὶ οἱ τράπεζα παρακέεται χρυσέη. ἄγαλμα 7  
 δὲ οὐκ ἔνι οὐδὲν αὐτόθι ἐνιδρυμένον· οὐδὲ νύκτα οὐδεὶς ἐναυ-  
 λίζεται ἀνθρώπων, ὅτι μὴ γυνὴ μούνη τῶν ἐπιχωρίων, τὴν  
 αὐτὴν ὁ θεὸς ἔληται ἐκ πασέων, ὡς λέγουσι οἱ Χαλδαῖοι, ἔόντες  
 182 ἱρέες τούτου τοῦ θεοῦ. Φασὶ δὲ οἱ αὐτοὶ οὗτοι, ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐ  
 πιστὰ λέγοντες, τὸν θεὸν αὐτὸν φοιτᾶν τε ἐς τὸν νηὸν, καὶ  
 ἀναπαύεσθαι ἐπὶ τῆς κλίνης, κατάπερ ἐν Θήβησι τῇσι Αἰ-  
 γυπτίησι κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον, ὡς λέγουσι οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι·  
 καὶ γὰρ δὴ ἐκεῖθι κοιμᾶται ἐν τῷ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Θηβαιέος  
 γυνή· ἀμφότεραι δὲ αὗται λέγονται ἀνδρῶν οὐδαμῶν ἐς ὁμι- 2  
 λίην φοιτᾶν· καὶ κατάπερ ἐν Πατάροισι τῆς Λυκίης ἡ πρό-  
 μαντις τοῦ θεοῦ, ἐπεὰν γένηται· οὐ γὰρ ὧν αἰεὶ ἔστι χρηστή-

§ 3. ἐπιβέβηκε] 'Stands upon' ('stands firmly on,' Ab., who compares ἐπὶ γῆς βεβηκότες πολὺ ἰσχυρότερον παίσομεν, Xen. An. III. 2. 19). Cf. παραβέβηκε δὲ οἱ ἡνίοχος, 'stands near him,' VII. 40. 6 (St.); πυρῆς ἐπιβάντ' ἀλεγεινῆς (of a corpse) Hom. Il. IV. 99.

μάλα] 134. 5, n.

μέχρι οὗ ὁ πύργων] Acc. to Herm. (*ad Viger.* 251) this is a mixture of the two constructions, μέχρι οὗ ὀκτὼ πύργοι εἰσὶ, and μέχρι ὀκτὼ πύργων. Klotz however (*Devarius*, 230) thinks that the full phrase is μέχρι τούτου, ὃ ὀκτὼ πύργων (ἐστὶ), *usque ad id quod (ad eum numerum qui) octo turrium sit*, 'up to the number of (belonging to) eight towers,' Cf. II. 173. 1.

§ 4. ἀνάβασις] 'Stairs to go up by.'

ἔξωθεν] The πύργος was στερεός.

ἔχουσα] With κύκλῳ περὶ, 'running round' (180. 4).

§ 5. μεσοῦντι] Cf. 51. 1.

§ 6. οἱ] = τῇ κλίνῃ. The absence of any ἄγαλμα renders this religious observance different from the Roman *lectisternium*.

§ 7. οἱ Χαλδαῖοι] See Grote *H. G.* II. 467 (III. 388).

CH. 182. § 1. κατάπερ...κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον] The relative precedes the demonstrative. Cf. τὰ περ—ἕτερα τοιαῦτα, 191. 4; κατάπερ—καὶ δὴ καί, II. 146. 2; ἐς οὗ—μέχρι τούτου, III. 31. 3.

ἐκεῖθι] The local suffix is more frequent in Hdt. than in Attic prose. Cf. μητρόθεν, 173. 6; ὀλιγαχόθεν, III. 96. 1; ἀρχῇθεν, VII. 104. 1.

Διὸς τοῦ Θηβ.] Cf. II. 41. 1.

γυνή] II. 54. 2, n.

§ 2. τοῦ θεοῦ] Apollo. He was supposed to live at Patara during

ριον αὐτόθι· ἐπεὰν δὲ γένηται, τότε ἂν συγκατακληῖται τὰς  
 183 νύκτας ἔσω ἐν τῷ νηῶ. Ἔστι δὲ τοῦ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι ἱεροῦ καὶ ἱ  
 ἄλλος κάτω νηός· ἐνθα ἄγαλμα μέγα τοῦ Διὸς ἐνι κατήμενον  
 χρύσεον, καὶ οἱ τράπεζα μεγάλη παρακέεται χρυσέῃ, καὶ τὸ  
 βάθρον οἱ καὶ ὁ θρόνος χρυσεός ἐστι· καὶ ὡς ἔλεγον οἱ Χαλ-  
 δαῖοι, ταλάντων ὀκτακοσίων χρυσίου πεποιήται ταῦτα. ἔξω  
 δὲ τοῦ νηοῦ βωμός ἐστι χρύσεος. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλος βωμός 2  
 μέγας, ὅπου θύεται τὰ τέλεα τῶν προβάτων. ἐπὶ γὰρ τοῦ 3  
 χρυσεοῦ βωμοῦ οὐκ ἔξεστι θύειν, ὅτι μὴ γαλαθηνὰ μοῖνα.  
 ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ μέζονος βωμοῦ καὶ καταγίζουσι λιβανωτοῦ χίλια 4  
 τάλαντα ἕτερος ἐκάστου οἱ Χαλδαῖοι τότε, ἐπεὰν τὴν ὀρτὴν  
 ἄγωσι τῷ θεῷ τούτῳ. Ἦν δὲ ἐν τῷ τεμένει τούτῳ ἔτι τὸν 5  
 χρόνον ἐκείνον καὶ ἀνδριάς δυνώδεκα πηχέων, χρύσεος, στε-  
 ρεός. ἐγὼ μὲν μιν οὐκ εἶδον· τὰ δὲ λέγεται ὑπὸ Χαλδαίων,  
 ταῦτα λέγω. τοῦτῳ τῷ ἀνδριάντι Δαρείος μὲν ὁ Ὑστάσπεος 6  
 ἐπιβουλευσας, οὐκ ἐτόλμησε λαβεῖν, Ξέρξης δὲ ὁ Δαρείου  
 ἔλαβε, καὶ τὸν ἱεὲς ἀπέκτεινε, ἀπαγορεύοντα μὴ κινεῖν τὸν  
 ἀνδριάντα. τὸ μὲν δὴ ἱερὸν τοῦτο οὕτω κεκίσμητο. ἔστι δὲ 7  
 καὶ ἴδια ἀναθήματα πολλά.

the winter months only. 'Qualis  
 ubi *hibernam* Lyciam Xanthique  
 fluenta Deserit ac Delum maternam  
 invisit Apollo.' Virg. *Aen.* IV. 143.  
 So 'Delius et Patareus Apollo,'  
 Hor. *Od.* III. 4. 64. The subject  
 of γένηται may be (1) ὁ θεός, 'when  
 he has come there,' like ἐπεὰν κατὰ  
 τὴν Κιλικῶν τάξιν διεξιὼν γένωμαι,  
 VII. 77. 1: (2) χρηστήριον, antici-  
 pated from the following clause  
 (Kr.): (3) ἡ πρόμαντις (Bähr), 'when  
 she has become priestess (again)'.  
 The last seems best.

ἐπεὰν δὲ γέν.] δέ resumes. Cf.  
 164. 4.

CH. 183. § 1. ἔστι τοῦ] 'Be-  
 longs to.'

τὸ βάθρον] The footstool or step  
 in front of the θρόνος.

ταλάντων] Prob. the genitive of  
 material, not that of price: 'made  
 out of.'

§ 2. τέλεα] Opposed to γαλα-  
 θηνά, below.

προβάτων] 133. 2, n.

§ 5. τὸν χρ. ἐκείνον] This would  
 naturally mean 'in the time of Cy-  
 rus,' the period which the narration  
 has reached. But in this case ἔτι is  
 rather pointless, since the statue  
 remained till the reign of Xerxes,  
 i.e. long afterwards. Perhaps the  
 phrase simply means 'that great  
 time,' i.e. the time of the Persian  
 war. 'Through the whole of Hdt.'s  
 work the wars for Greek freedom are  
 the great crisis on which his eyes are  
 fastened.' Kr.

ἀνδριάς] is seldom used of the  
 statue of a god (31. 9, n.).

ἐγὼ μὲν μιν] It must have been re-  
 moved before Hdt.'s visit to Baby-  
 lon, since Xerxes died B.C. 465.

§ 6. ἐπιβουλευσας] The Per-  
 sians would naturally be hostile to  
 the religion of the Chaldaeans (Bähr).  
 In the account of the seven conspi-  
 rators Darius is represented as ex-  
 tremely impetuous in character (III.  
 71—2).

κινεῖν] 187. 3, n.

- 184 Τῆς δὲ Βαβυλῶνος ταύτης πολλοὶ μὲν κου καὶ ἄλλοι <sup>1</sup>  
ἐγένοντο βασιλῆες, τῶν ἐν τοῖσι Ἀσσυρίοισι λόγοισι μνήμην  
ποιήσομαι, οἱ τὰ τείχεά τε ἐπεκόσμησαν καὶ τὰ ἱρά, ἐν δὲ  
δὴ καὶ γυναῖκες δύο. ἡ μὲν πρότερον ἄρξασα, τῆς ὕστερον <sup>2</sup>  
γενεῇσι πέντε πρότερον γενομένη, τῇ οὖνομα ἦν Σεμίραμις·  
αἴτη μὲν ἀπεδέξατο χῶματα ἀνὰ τὸ πεδίου ἐόντα ἀξιοθέητα.  
πρότερον δὲ ἐώθεε ὁ ποταμὸς ἀνὰ τὸ πεδίου πᾶν πελαγίζειν.
- 185 Ἡ δὲ δὴ δεύτερον γενομένη ταύτης βασιλεία, τῇ οὖνομα ἦν <sup>1</sup>  
Νίτωκρις (αὕτη δὲ συνετωτέρη γενομένη τῆς πρότερον ἀρξά-  
σης), τοῦτο μὲν μνημόσυνα ἐλίπετο τὰ ἐγὼ ἀπηγῆσομαι,  
τοῦτο δὲ τὴν Μήδων ὁρῶσα ἀρχὴν μεγάλην τε καὶ οὐκ ἀτρε-  
μίζουσαν, ἀλλ' ἄλλα τε ἀραιρημένα ἄσπερα αὐτοῖσι, ἐν δὲ δὴ

CH. 184. § 1. πολλοί] Even while subject to Nineveh, Babylon prob. had a separate dynasty of its own. See Rawlinson, Bk. I. *Arr.* VIII. But the Ἀσσύριοι λόγοι would have described the Ninevite dynasties as well, and these may be included under the πολλοὶ βασιλῆες, since Hdt. does not distinguish between the two nations (178. 1, n.). 'Prob. his history of the Assyrian dynasties was as obscure and distorted as that which he gives of the Egyptian dynasties before Psammetichus in Bk. II.' St.

Ἀσσυρίοισι λόγ.] Cf. 75. 1: 106. 3; II. 38. 3; 161. 3. If Hdt. ever composed these λόγοι, they have not been incorporated into his work. Aristotle (*Hist. An.* VIII. 18) refers to a work περὶ τὴν πολιορκίαν τὴν Νίνου, which acc. to one reading of the passage was written by Hdt. The majority of the MSS. read Ἡσίοδος instead of Ἡρόδοτος. Still there are good reasons for thinking that the latter reading is the true one.

ἐπεκόσμησαν] 'Further beautified.'

§ 2. ἡ μὲν... αὕτη μὲν] Answered by ἡ δὲ... αὕτη δέ, next eh. See 113. 2; VII. 39. 3.

γενεῇσι πέντε] i.e. there were four intervening reigns (13. 4, n.).

This would place Semiramis somewhere about the era of Nabonassar (B.C. 747). Inscriptions recently discovered mention about this time a queen of *Nineveh* called *Sammuramit*, whose husband 'seems to have been in an especial way connected with Babylonia.' See Rawlinson, Bk. I. *Arr.* VII. 19. Hdt. prob. imagines her to be the mythical Semiramis, the wife of Ninus.

CH. 185. § 1. δεύτερον] Used for ὕστερον (91. 3, n.) owing to δύο above. Nitocris is mentioned by no other authority, and 'no trace of her appears in the inscriptions.' The Egyptian name (II. 100. 3) may possibly be explained by supposing her to be 'an Egyptian captive.' Rawlinson, Bk. I. *Arr.* VIII. 21. Hdt. regards her as the mother of one Labynetus and the wife of another (188. 1, n.).

συνετωτέρη] An allusion to the masculine character and profligacy of the mythical Semiramis (St.).

ἀλλ' ἄλλα τε] ἀλλ' was inserted by Bekker: cf. 190. 3.

αὐτοῖσι] = ὑπ' αὐτῶν, τῶν Μήδων. The motive assigned by Hdt. cannot have been the true one, since the Medes were on friendly terms with the Babylonians (102. 4, n.) Prob. the real object was the improvement of the navigation, and the regulation

καὶ τὴν Νῆον, προεφυλάξατο ὅσα ἐδύνατο μάλιστα. Πρῶτα, 2  
 μὲν τὸν Εὐφρήτην ποταμὸν, ῥέοντα πρότερον ἰθὺν, ὅς σφι  
 διὰ τῆς πόλιος μέσης ῥέει, τοῦτον ἄνωθεν διώρυχας ὀρύξασα  
 οὕτω δὴ τι ἐποίησε σκολιὸν, ὥστε δὴ τρεῖς ἐς τῶν τινὰ κω-  
 μέων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσσυρίῃ ἀπικνέεται ῥέων. τῇ δὲ κώμῃ 3  
 οὐνομά ἐστι, ἐς τὴν ἀπικνέεται ὁ Εὐφρήτης, Ἀρδέρικκα.  
 καὶ νῦν οἱ ἂν κομίζονται ἀπὸ τῆσδε τῆς θαλάσσης ἐς Βαβυ-  
 λῶνα, καταπλέοντες ἐς τὸν Εὐφρήτην ποταμὸν, τρεῖς τε ἐς  
 τὴν αὐτὴν ταύτην κώμην παραγίνονται καὶ ἐν τρισὶ ἡμέρησι.  
 τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τοιοῦτο ἐποίησε. Χῶμα δὲ παρέχωσε παρ' 4  
 ἑκάτερον τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὸ χεῖλος, ἄξιον θάυματος, μέγαθος  
 καὶ ὕψος ὅσον τί ἐστι. κατύπερθε δὲ πολλῷ Βαβυλῶνος 5  
 ὥρυσε ἑλυτρον λίμνη, ὀλίγον τι παρατείνουσα ἀπὸ τοῦ  
 ποταμοῦ, βάθος μὲν ἐς τὸ ὕδωρ αἰὲ ὀρύσσουσα, εὖρος δὲ τὸ  
 περίμετρον αὐτοῦ ποιέουσα εἴκοσί τε καὶ τετρακοσίων στα-  
 δίων· τὸν δὲ ὀρυσσόμενον χοῦν ἐκ τούτου τοῦ ὀρύγματος  
 ἀναισίμου παρὰ τὰ χεῖλα τοῦ ποταμοῦ παραχέουσα. ἐπεὶ 6  
 τε δὲ οἱ ὥρυκτο, λίθους ἀγαγομένη, κρηπίδα κύκλῳ περὶ  
 αὐτὴν ἤλασε. Ἐποίεε δὲ ἀμφοτέρα ταῦτα, τὸν τε ποταμὸν 7

of the floods. The windings would render the stream less rapid (ταχύς, 180. 2; βραδύτερος, 185. 7).

§ 2. σφι] Prob. the plur. Cf. VIII. 133. 1, where σφι prob. = the Persians, though Mardonius alone has been mentioned. Buttm. (*Lexil. nōe*) concludes from the analogy of ἐμίν, that only σφω (not σφι) was used in the singular.

οὕτω δὴ τι] 'So exceedingly.'

§ 3. τῆσδε τῆς θ.] See I. 2, n. ἐς τὸν Εὐφρ.] Since the journey was performed by land till the Euphrates was reached (v. 52. 5), καταπλέοντες (if ἐς is right) must be used in a pregnant sense, κατα- referring to the descent from the mountains to the river-basin: *quando ad Euphratē devenerint eoq̄ue Babylonem vehuntur*, Bähr.

§ 4. ὅσον τί ἐστι] 'Worthy to be marvelled at, how great it is (i. e. that it is so great) in bulk and

height.' Cf. ὅων, 31. 6, n.; ὅων, II. 171. 1; θεσπέσιον ὡς ἡδύ, III. 113. 1. τι is added on the analogy of τοσοῦτό τι (192. 5), ὅσον being equivalent to ὅτι τοσοῦτο.

§ 5. ἑλυτρον λίμνη] 'A basin for a lake,' i. e. a lake-basin. ἑλυτρον, lit. that which wraps up (ἐλύω), encloses (the water). Below, § 7, this reservoir is called a marsh (ἐλος), because there would naturally be but little water in it except when it drained the river (186. 7).

ὀλίγον τι] refers to the space between the lake and the river.

ἐς τὸ ὕδωρ] 'Till she reached water,' i. e. till the bottom of the reservoir was level with the river-bed, when water from the river would begin to filter through.

αἰ] *Singulis locis*. St.

χοῦν] ὀρυγμα denotes the hole dug, χοῦς the earth dug out (II. 150. 2).

σκολιὸν καὶ τὸ ὄρυγμα πᾶν ἔλος, ὥς ὃ τε ποταμὸς βραδύτε-  
ρος εἶη, περὶ καμπὰς πολλὰς ἀγνύμενος, καὶ οἱ πλοῖοι ἔωσι  
σκολιοὶ ἐς τὴν Βαβυλῶνα, ἔκ τε τῶν πλόων ἐκδέκεται περί-  
οδος τῆς λίμνης μακρή. κατὰ τοῦτο δὲ εἰργάζετο τῆς χώρας 8  
τῇ αἵ τε ἐσβολαὶ ἦσαν καὶ τὰ σύντομα τῆς ἐκ Μήδων ὁδοῦ,  
ἵνα μὴ ἐπιμισγόμενοι οἱ Μῆδοι ἐκμανθάνοιεν αὐτῆς τὰ πρήγ-  
186 ματα. Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἐκ βάθεος περιεβάλετο, τοιήνδε δὲ 1  
ἐξ αὐτῶν παρενθήκην ἐποιήσατο. Τῆς πέλιος εὐούσης δύο 2  
φάρσέων, τοῦ δὲ ποταμοῦ μέσον ἔχοντος, ἐπὶ τῶν πρότερον  
βασιλέων, ὅπως τις ἐθέλοι ἐκ τοῦ ἐτέρου φάρσεος ἐς τοῦτε-  
ρον διαβῆναι, χρῆν πλοίῳ διαβαίνειν. καὶ ἦν, ὥς ἐγὼ δοκέω, 3  
ὀχληρὸν τοῦτο. αὕτη δὲ καὶ τοῦτο προεῖδε· ἐπεὶ τε γὰρ

§ 7. τὸ ὄρ. πᾶν ἔλος] 'Turned the whole place which she had dug into a marsh.'

ἐη...ἔωσι.] The usual explanations are (1) that the subjunctive denotes a certain, the optative only a probable (or possible) result: (2) that the subj. represents the realization of the proposed end, while the opt. represents it merely as a supposition in the mind (II. 93. 7, n.): (3) that the subj. expresses a direct, the opt. merely an indirect or ulterior consequence. No single one of these explanations will suit all passages, and it is often difficult to see any difference of meaning.

ἐκ τε τῶν πλ.] 'And that after the voyage was over, men might find awaiting them a long journey by land round the lake.'

ἐκδέκεται.] Sc. τοὺς πλέοντας. Hdt. supposes that in case of invasion the plan would be to make the river unnavigable by drawing the water off. But this was not actually done to stop Cyrus (190. 2, n.), and moreover the invaders might still have followed the river-bank. Ordinarily the stream was navigable down to Babylon. (194. 6).

§ 8. τῆς ἐκ Μ. ὁδοῦ] No part of the course of the Euphrates above Babylon would have been on the direct road to Media, which lay to the north-east across the Tigris,

while the Euphrates flowed from Armenia (180. 2), i.e. from the north-west. 'The mistake appears to have arisen from a confusion of B. with Nineveh.' St.

CH. 186. § 1. ἐκ βάθεος] Ab. renders: 'out of the materials obtained from the excavation,' in which case ταῦτα can only refer to the river-embankment (185. 5). But possibly the phrase is an adverbial one (like ἐξ ἔσου):='below ground,' as opposed to the quays and bridge described in what follows.

ταῦτα...περιεβάλετο] 'Girt (the city) round with these defences' (163. 3).

ἐξ αὐτῶν] Not 'after they were finished' (a use of ἐξ, which requires a verb either expressing or implying motion), but 'in consequence of them,' 'by means of them':=ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἔργου, below. The λίμνη described above made it possible to add the supplementary works.

§ 2. εὐούσης] Acc. to Krüg., if this reading is right (ἐόντων has been conjectured), the meaning must be ἡ πόλις ἐστὶ δύο φάρσέα. But ἡ πόλις ἐστὶ δύο φάρσέων would be good Greek, the gen. being descriptive. See II. 138. 3, n.

μέσον] The article is omitted owing to the commonness of the phrase (111. 2, n.).

§ 3. προεῖδε] προ- refers to the

ᾠρυσσε τὸ ἔλυτρον τῇ λίμνῃ, μνημόσυνον τόδε ἄλλο ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἔργου ἐλίπετο. ἐτάμνετο λίθους περιμήκεας· ὥς 4  
 δέ οἱ ἦσαν οἱ λίθοι ἐτοῖμοι, καὶ τὸ χωρίον ὀρώρυκτο, ἐκτρέψασα τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὸ ῥέεθρον πᾶν ἐς τὸ ᾠρυσσε χωρίον, ἐν ᾧ ἐπίμπλατο τοῦτο, ἐν τούτῳ ἀπεξηρασμένου τοῦ 5  
 ἀρχαίου ῥέεθρου, τοῦτο μὲν τὰ χεῖλεα τοῦ ποταμοῦ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὰς καταβάσις, τὰς ἐκ τῶν πυλίδων ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν φερούσας, ἀνοικοδόμησε πλίνθοισι ὀπτῆσι κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον τῷ τείχεϊ τοῦτο δὲ κατὰ μέσσην κου μάλιστα τὴν πόλιν τοῖσι λίθοισι, τοὺς ὠρύξατο, οἰκοδόμει γέφυραν, δέουσα τοὺς λίθους σιδήρῳ τε καὶ μολίβδῳ. ἐπιτείνεσκε δὲ 6  
 ἐπ' αὐτὴν, ὅπως μὲν ἡμέρη γένοιτο, ξύλα τετράγωνα, ἐπ' ὧν τὴν διάβασιν ἐποιεῦντο οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι· τὰς δὲ νύκτας τὰ ξύλα ταῦτα ἀπαίρεσκον τοῦδε εἵνεκα, ἵνα μὴ διαφοιτέοντες τὰς νύκτας κλέπτοιεν παρ' ἀλλήλων. ὥς δὲ τό τε ὀρυχθὲν 7  
 λίμνη πλήρης ἐγεγόνει ὑπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ, καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν γέφυραν ἐκεκόσμητο, τότε Εὐφρήτην ποταμὸν ἐς τὰ ἀρχαῖα ῥέεθρα ἐκ τῆς λίμνης ἐξήγαγε· καὶ οὕτω τὸ ὀρυχθὲν, ἔλος γενόμενον, ἐς δέον ἐδόκει γεγονέναι, καὶ τοῖσι πολιῆται 187  
 γέφυρα ἦν κατεσκευασμένη. Ἡ δ' αὐτὴ αὕτη βασιλεία καὶ ἀπάτην τοιήνδε τινὰ ἐμηχανήσατο. Ὑπὲρ τῶν μάλιστα λεωφόρων πυλέων τοῦ ἄστεος τάφον ἐωυτῇ κατεσκευάσατο μετέωρον ἐπιπολῆς αὐτέων τῶν πυλέων. ἐνεκόλαψε δὲ ἐς 2

future inconvenience which would arise, unless some remedy were devised.

§ 4. τὸ ῥέεθρον] The stream: but below, τοῦ ῥ. = the river-bed.

ᾠρυσσε] 'which she was digging' (as described above): the descriptive imperf. instead of the pluperf. (81. 2, n.).

§ 5. καταβάσις] 'Steps to go down by' (179. 4, n.).

πυλίδων] See 180. 5.

§ 6. ξύλα τετρ.] 'Square planking,'—apparently a sort of draw-bridge, which was raised at night.

§ 7. ἔλος γενόμενον] Stein reads γινόμενον, 'that was afterwards to become a marsh,' comparing ἐγένετο,

187. 5. But γενόμενον is simpler: 'the basin after it had become a marsh (i.e. after the water which made it a λίμνη had been drawn off, and the channel closed) was seen to have answered its object well.'

CH. 187. § 1. ἐπιπολῆς] simply = 'above,' not 'resting upon' (II. 96. 3). The tomb was in the upper part of the gateway, which in the East was often a building of considerable importance, being used for the transaction of public business.

πυλέων] The plural of a single gateway, because each gate had two valves. Cf. 205. 3, n. αὐτέων = just above the gates.

τὸν τάφον γράμματα λέγοντα τάδε· ΤΩΝ ΤΙΣ ΕΜΕΤ  
 ‘ΤΣΤΕΡΟΝ ΓΙΝΟΜΕΝΩΝ ΒΑΒΥΛΩΝΟΣ ΒΑΣΙ-  
 ΛΕΩΝ, ΗΝ ΣΠΑΝΙΣΗΙ ΧΡΗΜΑΤΩΝ, ΑΝΟΙΞΑΣ  
 ΤΟΝ ΤΑΦΟΝ, ΛΑΒΕΤΩ ‘ΟΚΟΣΑ ΒΟΥΛΕΤΑΙ ΧΡΗ-  
 ΜΑΤΑ. ΜΗ ΜΕΝΤΟΙ ΓΕ, ΜΗ ΣΠΑΝΙΣΑΣ ΓΕ,  
 ΑΛΛΩΣ ΑΝΟΙΞΗΙ. ΟΥΤ ΓΑΡ ΑΜΕΙΝΟΝ. Οὗτος <sup>3</sup>  
 ὁ τάφος ἦν ἀκίνητος, μέχρι οὗ ἐς Δαρείον περιήλθε ἡ βασι-  
 λητή. Δαρείῳ δὲ καὶ δεινὸν ἐδόκεε εἶναι τῇσι πύλῃσι ταύ- <sup>4</sup>  
 τῇσι μηδὲν χρέεσθαι· καὶ χρημάτων κειμένων, καὶ αὐτῶν  
 τῶν χρημάτων ἐπικαλεσμένων, μὴ οὐ λαβεῖν αὐτά. τῇσι δὲ <sup>5</sup>  
 πύλῃσι ταύτῃσι οὐδὲν ἐχρᾶτο τοῦδε εἵνεκα, ὅτι ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς  
 οἱ ἐγίνετο ὁ νεκρὸς διεξελαύνοντι. ἀνοίξας δὲ τὸν τάφον <sup>6</sup>  
 εὔρε χρήματα μὲν οὐ, τὸν δὲ νεκρὸν καὶ γράμματα λέγοντα  
 τάδε· Εἰ μὴ ἀπληστός τε εἶας χρημάτων  
 καὶ αἰσχροκερδής, οὔκ ἂν νεκρὸν θήκας  
 ἀνεωλιγέας. Αὕτη μὲν νυν ἡ βασιλεία τοιαύτη τις λέγεται  
 γενέσθαι.

188 Ὁ δὲ δὴ Κῦρος ἐπὶ ταύτης τῆς γυναικὸς τὸν παῖδα <sup>1</sup>  
 ἐστρατεύετο, ἔχοντά τε τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ ἐωυτοῦ τοῦνομα  
 Λαβυνήτου καὶ τὴν Ἀσσυρίων ἀρχήν. Στρατεύεται δὲ δὴ <sup>2</sup>

§ 2. γράμματα] ‘Intellige de literis cuneatis,’ Bähr.

μὴ σπανίσας γε] = ἦν γε μὴ σπανίση. The former γε belongs to ἀνοίξη.

ἄλλως] ‘for any other reason,’ *temere*.

οὐ γὰρ ἄμεινον] ‘It is not better’ = it is better not. οὐ, as in οὐ κελεύω, οὐκ ἐῷ. There seems to be an allusion to Hes. *Op.* 750, μηδ’ ἐπ’ ἀκινήτοις καθίζειν, οὐ γὰρ ἄμεινον.

§ 3. ἀκίνητος] i.e. was regarded as something sacred, κινέω being used of sacrilege. Cf. κινήσοντά τι τῶν ἀκινήτων, VI. 134. 4.

περιήλθε] See 7. 1, n.

§ 4. καὶ δεινὸν] δεινὸν ἐδόκεε... καὶ μηδὲν χρέεσθαι... καὶ μὴ οὐ λαβεῖν. μὴ οὐ is used because δεινὸν εἶναι implies a negative notion. Acc. to Hermann *per* μὴ *certo*, *per* μὴ οὐ *du-bitantius negatur*. ‘But in many

places the meaning is rather that of wondering or indignant repudiation of the opposite notion.’ *Madv. G. S. App.* 295. Tr. ‘it seemed monstrous, when treasure was there, actually asking to be taken, not to take it.’

§ 5. ἐγίνετο] *Futurus erat*. ‘By a rhetorical expression the imperf. without *ἄν* is used to denote what would be (or have been) an immediate or easily-foreseen consequence of anything,—the consequence being described as already in the act of taking place.’ *Madv.* So the aor. διέβησαν, 75. 6. Hermann calls this ‘the rhetorical omission of *ἄν*.’

§ 6. εἶας] So εἶα, II. 19. 3. Other forms of the imperf. used by Hdt. are ἔσκε, 196. 3; ἦε, 196. 5. Doubtful forms are ἦεν, 181. 2, n.; ἔην, VII. 143. 1.

CH. 188. § 1. Λαβυνήτου] In



βασιλεὺς ὁ μέγας καὶ σιτίοισι εὖ ἐσκευασμένος ἐξ οἴκου καὶ  
 προβάτοισι· καὶ δὴ καὶ ὕδωρ ἀπὸ τοῦ Χοάσπεω ποταμοῦ  
 ἅμα ἄγεται τοῦ παρὰ Σοῦσα ῥέοντος, τοῦ μούνου πίνει βασι-  
 λεὺς καὶ ἄλλον οὐδενὸς ποταμοῦ. τούτου δὲ τοῦ Χοάσπεω 3  
 τοῦ ὕδατος ἀπεψήμενου πολλὰ καὶ κάρτα ἅμαξαι τετράκυκλοι  
 ἡμίονοι κομίζουσαι ἐν ἀγγείοισι ἀργυρέοισι ἔπονται, ὅπη  
 189 ἂν ἐλαύνη ἐκάστοτε. Ἐπεὶ τε δὲ ὁ Κῦρος πορευόμενος ἐπὶ 1  
 τὴν Βαβυλῶνα ἐγένετο ἐπὶ Γύνδῃ ποταμῷ, τοῦ αἰ μὲν πηγαὶ  
 ἐν Ματιηνοῖσι οὖρεσι, ῥέει δὲ διὰ Δαρδανέων, ἐκδιδοὶ δὲ ἐς  
 ἕτερον ποταμὸν Τύγριν· ὁ δὲ παρὰ Ὠπιν πόλιν ῥέων ἐς τὴν  
 Ἐρυθρὴν θάλασσαν ἐκδιδοί· τούτον δὲ τὸν Γύνδην ποταμὸν  
 ὡς διαβαίνειν ἐπειράτο ὁ Κῦρος, ἔοντα νησιπερητὸν, ἐνθαυτὰ  
 οἱ τῶν τις ἱρῶν ἵππων τῶν λευκῶν ὑπὸ ὕβριος ἐσβὰς ἐς τὸν  
 ποταμὸν, διαβαίνειν ἐπειράτο. ὁ δὲ μιν συμψήσας ὑπο-  
 βρύχιον οἰχώκεε φέρων. κάρτα τε δὴ ἐχαλέπαινε τῷ πο- 2

apposition with πατρός. Labynetus I. must have been king (he is prob. meant at 74. 5), since Nitocris was queen. Labynetus II. (cf. 77. 3) is clearly to be identified with the *Nabu-nahit* (= 'Nebo blesses') of the inscriptions. But there is great uncertainty about Nitocris and her husband. *Nebuchadnezzar* (died B.C. 561) was succeeded by his son *Evil-merodach*, who was murdered and succeeded by his brother-in-law *Neriglissar* (559—556), whose son was put to death by conspirators, one of whom (*Nabunahit*) was elected king (555). Nitocris on one theory was the wife of Nebuchadnezzar, on another of Evil-merodach: but Hdt.'s account cannot be harmonized with other authorities. The river-fortifications attributed by him to Nitocris were the work of Nabunahit. See Rawlinson, Bk. I. *App.* VIII. 21.

§ 2. Στρατεύεται δὲ] Hdt. applies to Cyrus the customs of the Persian kings of his own day.

ὁ μέγας] The Behistun inscription (125. 5, n.) begins: 'I am Darius, the great king, the king of kings.' So our ancestors talked

of 'the grand Turk,' 'the grand Seigneur.'

ἐσκευασμένος] Prob. right, instead of ἐσκευασμένοις, which however might = 'dressed' (73. 5).

§ 3. ἀπεψήμενου] 'This shews that the water did not serve for drinking,' Stein:—who thinks that it was used for religious rites, comparing σπένδων (of Xerxes, before crossing the Hellespont), VII. 54. 2. The water of the Choaspes is said to have been remarkably pure, so that it would not have been necessary to boil it, in order to render it fit for drinking.

CH. 189. § 1. Γύνδῃ] See *Dict. Geogr.* Cyrus was marching to Babylon from Ecbatana (153. 6). The Matieni mentioned here are quite distinct from those in Asia Minor (72. 2).

ὁ δὲ] i. e. the Tigris.

ἱρῶν ἵππων] They drew the sacred chariot and the chariot of the king (VII. 40. 4—6).

συμψήσας] Swept him off, 'obliterating all trace of him as one rubs out footmarks in sand (Ar. *Nub.* 975).' St.

οἰχώκεε] The pluperf. as at 79. 2.



ταμῶ ὁ Κῦρος τοῦτο ὑβρίσαντι, καὶ οἱ ἐπηπείλησε, οὕτω δὴ μιν ἀσθενέα ποιήσιν, ὥστε τοῦ λοιποῦ καὶ γυναῖκάς μιν εὐπετέως, τὸ γόνυ οὐ βρεχούσας, διαβήσεσθαι. μετὰ δὲ τὴν 3 ἀπειλὴν μετεῖς τὴν ἐπὶ Βαβυλῶνα στρατεύσιν, διαίρειε τὴν στρατιὴν δίχα, διελὼν δὲ κατέτεινε σχοινοτενέας ὑποδέξας διώρυχας ὀγδῶκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν παρ' ἑκάτερον τὸ χεῖλος 4 τέτραμμένας τοῦ Γύνδεω πάντα τρόπον. διατάξας δὲ τὸν 4 στρατὸν ὀρύσσειν ἐκέλευε. οἷα δὲ ὁμίλου πολλοῦ ἐργαζομένου, ἦνετο μὲν τὸ ἔργον, ὅμως μέντοι τὴν θερείην πᾶσαν 190 αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ διέτριψαν ἐργαζόμενοι. Ὡς δὲ τὸν Γύνδην 1 ποταμὸν ἐτίσατο Κῦρος, ἐς τριηκοσίας καὶ ἐξήκοντά μιν διώρυχας διαλαβὼν, καὶ τὸ δεύτερον ἔαρ ὑπέλαμπε, οὕτω δὴ ἤλαυνε ἐπὶ τὴν Βαβυλῶνα. οἱ δὲ Βαβυλώνιοι ἐκστρα- 2 τευσάμενοι ἔμενον αὐτόν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐγένετο ἐλαύνων ἀγχου τῆς πόλιος, συνέβαλόν τε οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι, καὶ ἐσσωθέντες τῇ 3 μάχῃ κατειλήθησαν ἐς τὸ ἄστυ. οἷα δὲ ἐξεπιστάμενοι ἔτι πρότερον τὸν Κῦρον οὐκ ἀτρεμίζοντα, ἀλλ' ὀρέοντες αὐτόν παντὶ ἔθνει ὁμοίως ἐπιχειρέοντα, προεσάξαντο σιτία ἐτέων 4 κάρτα πολλῶν. Ἐνθαῦτα οὗτοι μὲν λόγον εἶχον τῆς πολι- 4 ορκίης οὐδένα· Κῦρος δὲ ἀπορίῃσι ἐνείχετο, ἅτε χρόνου τε ἐγγινομένου συχνοῦ, ἀνωτέρω τε οὐδὲν τῶν πρηγμάτων προ-

§ 3. σχοινοτενέας δ.] must be taken with both verb and part. With the former σχ. has a literal, with the latter a figurative sense. 'He laid out trenches by stretching a rope along, marking them out as straight as a line.'

τρόπον] = Att. τροπήν, 'direction.' Various explanations of the story are given. The object of Cyrus was (1) merely to cross the river (Larch.), (2) to fertilize the country by irrigation (Bähr), (3) to give his army practice in the engineering operations which he had resolved to adopt at Babylon (Rawlinson).

CH. 190. § 1. τριηκ. καὶ ἐξήκ.] The number of days in the year (32. 3), and prob. also the number of the sacred horses. Cf. ἀπὸ δὲ Κιλικῶν ἵπποι λευκοὶ ἐξήκοντα καὶ τριηκόσιοι, ἐκάστης ἡμέρης εἰς γι-

νόμενος, III. 90. 4.

ὑπέλαμπε] Properly of day-break. Spring is regarded as the dawn of the year (St.).

§ 2. ἐκστρατευσάμενοι] No attempt seems to have been made to turn the river defences to account (185. 7, n.). See Grote *H. G.* III. 180 (IV. 282).

§ 3. προεσάξαντο] It has been suggested that the verb here is not προεσάγω but προσάσω (cf. 155. 4, n.): *frumentum ante sibi cumularent*: cf. σάξαντες ὕδατι, III. 7. 1. But the question seems to be settled by σῖτα καὶ ποτὰ τὸ τεῖχος ἐσάξαντο, V. 34. 1, where the construction of σάσω would be extremely harsh. For the absence of augment, see 19. 1.

§ 4. ἀνωτέρω] simply = ἐς τὸ πρόσω (III. 56. 1): lit. 'further in-

191 κοπτομένων. Εἴτε δὴ ὢν ἄλλος οἱ ἀπορέοντι ὑπεθήκατο, εἴ-  
 τε καὶ αὐτὸς ἔμαθε τὸ ποιητέον οἱ ἦν, ἐποίησε δὴ τοιόνδε.  
 τάξας τὴν στρατιὴν ἅπασαν ἐξ ἐμβολῆς τοῦ ποταμοῦ, τῇ ἐς 1  
 τὴν πόλιν ἐσβάλλει, καὶ ὀπισθε αὐτὶς τῆς πόλιος τάξας  
 ἑτέρους, τῇ ἐξίει ἐκ τῆς πόλιος ὁ ποταμός· προεῖπε τῷ  
 στρατῷ, ὅταν διαβατὸν τὸ ῥέεθρον ἴδωνται γενόμενον, ἐσιέναι  
 ταύτῃ ἐς τὴν πόλιν. οὕτω τε δὴ τάξας, καὶ κατὰ ταῦτα 3  
 παραινέσας, ἀπήλαυνε αὐτὸς σὺν τῷ ἀχρητῷ τοῦ στρατοῦ.  
 Ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν λίμνην, τὰ περ ἢ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων 4  
 βασιλεία ἐποίησε κατὰ τε τὸν ποταμὸν καὶ κατὰ τὴν λίμνην,  
 ἐποίησε καὶ ὁ Κῦρος ἕτερα τοιαῦτα. τὸν γὰρ ποταμὸν διώρυχι 5  
 ἐσαγαγὼν ἐς τὴν λίμνην ἐοῦσαν ἔλος, τὸ ἀρχαῖον ῥέεθρον  
 διαβατὸν εἶναι ἐποίησε, ὑπονοστήσαντος τοῦ ποταμοῦ. γενο- 6  
 μένου δὲ τούτου τοιούτου, οἱ Πέρσαι, οἵπερ ἐτετάχατο ἐπ’  
 αὐτῷ τούτῳ κατὰ τὸ ῥέεθρον τοῦ Εὐφρήτεω ποταμοῦ ὑπο-  
 νενοστηκότος ἀνδρὶ ὡς ἐς μέσον μηρὸν μάλιστά κη, κατὰ  
 τοῦτο ἐσήεσαν ἐς τὴν Βαβυλῶνα. Εἰ μὲν νυν προεπύθοντο, 7  
 ἢ ἔμαθον οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Κύρου ποιούμενον, οὐδ’ ἂν

land,’ the metaphor being taken from an army, which, as it advances up the country, clears away (προκόπτει) the obstacles in its line of march.

CH. 191. § 2. ἅπασαν] Possibly ἑτέρους may be supplied here with ἐξ ἐμβολῆς from ἑτέρους below (Ab.). But the confusion of thought is rather apparent than real. Cyrus drew off his troops from their stations round the city and collected them in one spot (τάξας τὴν στρ. ἅπ.). He then detached a division (ἑτέρους) to cooperate below the city with the main body above, and after giving his orders to the fighting troops (τῷ στρατῷ) thus posted, marched away with the unserviceable portion of his army.

ὀπισθε] The city is regarded as facing up the stream (cf. 75. 4, n.). So ἐμπροσθε τῶν θερμοπυλέων καὶ ὀπισθε, VII. 176. 3; ὀπισθε τῶν πυλέων καὶ τῆς ἀνόδου, VIII. 53. 2.

§ 4. τὴν λίμνην] The artificial basin (ἐλντρον) mentioned 185. 5.

ἕτερα τοιαῦτα] = *similia* (120. 9).

§ 5. ἐοῦσαν ἔλος] Krüg. renders ‘into the marsh which thus formed a lake,’ reading τό for τὴν. But the words as they stand may fairly mean: ‘into the lake, being at that time a marsh.’ Hdt. uses the term λίμνη of the basin, because it had once been a lake (185. 7), though it had ceased to be so. So τῆς λίμνης is used of the same spot, 185. 7, although just before it has been described as a marsh.

§ 6. ὡς] With μάλιστά κη.

§ 7. ἔμαθον] ‘Seen for themselves.’ Cf. λέγεται βασιλέα θνεύμενον μαθεῖν τὴν νῆα ἐμβαλοῦσαν, VIII. 88. 2; ἰδόντι καὶ μαθόντι, VII. 37. 3.

οὐδ’ ἂν] ‘They would not have suffered them so much as to enter the city (from the river), and so would have destroyed them utterly.’ The negative belongs to the participle only. οὐδ’ (instead of οὐκ) = not merely would they have repulsed the attack, but also &c. See 141. 3, n.

περιϊδόντες τοὺς Πέρσας ἐσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, διέφθειραν  
 κάκιστα. κατακληΐσαντες γὰρ ἂν πάσας τὰς εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν 8  
 πυλίδας ἐχούσας, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπὶ τὰς αἵμασιās ἀναβάντες τὰς  
 παρὰ τὰ χεῖλεα τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐληλαμένους, ἔλαβον ἂν σφεας  
 ὡς ἐν κύρτῃ. νῦν δὲ ἐξ ἀπροσδοκίῃ σφι παρέστησαν οἱ 9  
 Πέρσαι. ὑπὸ δὲ μεγάθεος τῆς πόλιος, ὡς λέγεται ὑπὸ τῶν  
 ταύτῃ οἰκημένων, τῶν περὶ τὰ ἔσχατα τῆς πόλιος ἐαλωκότων,  
 τοὺς τὸ μέσον οἰκέοντας τῶν Βαβυλωνίων οὐ μανθάνειν  
 ἐαλωκότας, ἀλλὰ (τυχεῖν γὰρ σφι ἐοῦσαν ὀρτὴν) χορεύειν τε  
 τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον, καὶ ἐν εὐπαθείῃσι εἶναι, ἐς ὃ δὴ καὶ τὸ  
 κάρτα ἐπύθοντο, καὶ Βαβυλὼν μὲν οὕτω τότε πρῶτον ἀραί-  
 ρητο.

192 Τὴν δὲ δύναμιν τῶν Βαβυλωνίων πολλοῖσι μὲν καὶ 1  
 ἄλλοισι δηλώσω, ὅση τίς ἐστι, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ τῷδε. Βασιλεῖ  
 τῷ μεγάλῳ εἰς τροφήν αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τῆς στρατιῆς διαραί-  
 ρηται, παρέξ τοῦ φόρου, γῆ πᾶσα, ὅσης ἄρχει. δυνάδεκα ὧν 2  
 μηνῶν ἐόντων εἰς τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν, τοὺς τέσσερας μῆνας τρέφει  
 μιν ἡ Βαβυλωνίη χώρα, τοὺς δὲ ὀκτὼ τῶν μηνῶν, ἡ λοιπὴ  
 πᾶσα Ἀσίη. οὕτω τριτημορίη ἡ Ἀσσυρίη χώρα τῇ δυνάμει 3  
 τῆς ἄλλης Ἀσίης· καὶ ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς χώρας ταύτης, τὴν οἱ

But the correction οἱ δ' (for οὗδ') is very plausible: they would have let them get into the city (i. e. into the river within the city walls), for thus they would have caught them in a trap. For οἱ δ' on this view, see notes, 107. 4; 112. 3.

§ 8. ἂν] is repeated, either on account of the length of the sentence, or to mark that the condition applies to the part. as well as to the main verb.

πυλίδας] 180. 3, 5.

κύρτῃ] Cf. βόλος, δίκτυον, 62. 5.

§ 9. παρέστησαν] 'Came upon them.' St. compares τῷ δ' (Thersites) ὥκα παρίστατο δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς, Hom. II. 11. 243; and the phrases παρίσταται τινι θῶμα (23. 2), θάνατος, συμφορά etc.

οὐ μανθάνειν] For the inf. see 65. 6, n. Aristotle mentions a story that it was three days before parts

of the city knew what had happened.

Ρολ. III. 3. 5.

ὀρτὴν] 'Belshazzar's feast.'

καὶ τὸ κάρτα] Ironical: cf. 66.

4. For καί, see 117. 1.

πρῶτον] It was taken a second time by Darius (III. 159), B. C. 519.

CH. 192. § 1. τοῦ φόρου] The regular tribute, which amounted to a thousand talents of silver (III. 92. 1).

§ 2. εἰς τὸν ἐν.] 'To make up the year.'

τοὺς] See 18. 2, n.

§ 3. Ἀσσυρίη] i. e. Babylonia (178. 2, n).

τῆς ἄλλης] We should have expected the regular partitive genitive, τῆς πόλεως. The gen. here may be regarded as the case of reference: 'a third part as compared with the rest of Asia' (which forms the other two thirds). So μόνον τῶν ἄλλων

Πέρσαι σατραπητήν καλέουσι, ἐστὶ ἀπασέων τῶν ἀρχέων  
πολλόν τι κρατίστη, ὅκου Τριτανταίχμη τῷ Ἀρταβάζου ἐκ  
βασιλέως ἔχοντι τὸν νομὸν τοῦτον, ἀργυρίου μὲν προσήϊε  
ἐκάστης ἡμέρης ἀρτάβη μεστή· ἡ δὲ ἀρτάβη, μέτρον ἐὼν  
Περσικόν, χωρέει μεδίμνου Ἀττικῆς πλεῖον χοῖνιξι τρισὶ  
Ἀττικῇσι. ἵπποι δὲ οἱ αὐτοῦ ἦσαν ἰδίῃ, πάρεξ τῶν πολε- 4  
μιστηρίων, οἱ μὲν ἀναβαίνοντες τὰς θηλέας ὀκτακόσιοι, αἱ δὲ  
βαινόμεναι ἑξακισχίλια καὶ μύρια. ἀνέβαινε γὰρ ἕκαστος  
τῶν ἐρσένων τούτων εἴκοσι ἵππους. κυνῶν δὲ Ἰνδικῶν 5  
τοσοῦτο δὴ τι πλῆθος ἐτρέφετο, ὥστε τέσσερες τῶν ἐν τῷ  
πεδίῳ κῶμαι μεγάλαι, τῶν ἄλλων ἐοῦσαι ἀτελέες, τοῖσι κυσὶ  
προσετετάχατο σιτία παρέχειν. τοιαῦτα μὲν τῷ ἀρχοντι  
193 τῆς Βαβυλῶνος ὑπῆρχε εὐόντα. Ἡ δὲ γῆ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων 1  
ὑέται μὲν ὀλίγῳ, καὶ τὸ ἐκτρέφον τὴν ρίζαν τοῦ σίτου ἐστὶ  
τοῦτο. ἀρδόμενον μέντοι ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀδρύνεται· τε τὸ  
λήϊον, καὶ παραγίνεται ὁ σῖτος οὐ κατὰπερ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ,  
αὐτοῦ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀναβαίνοντος ἐς τὰς ἀρούρας, ἀλλὰ χερσὶ  
τε καὶ κηλωνητοῖσι ἀρδόμενος. ἡ γὰρ Βαβυλωνίη χώρα 2

Ἑλλήνων (which virtually = *μόνοι πάντων*) Aeschin. 2. 37 (cf. II. 156. 7); ἡ *μόνοι* ἢ *κάλλιστα* τῶν ἄλλων, Plat. *Rep.* I. 353. Or else the gen. is partitive. Assyria, while really distinct from the rest of Asia, is by the mode of expression represented as forming part of it. Compare notes on *τά γὰρ δὴ ἄλλα* and *ἐωυτῆς*, 193. 4. On either view the phrase is analogous to *εὐδαιμονέστατος τῶν πρότερον βασιλέων*, II. 161. 2.

σατραπητήν] The Persian word which occurs in the Behistun inscription (Rawlinson) was *Khsa-trapá*, or *Khskatrapá*.

ὅκου] Cf. 68. 2.

προσήϊε] *Redibat* (*πρόσοδοι* = *reditus*), i. e. at the time when Hdt. was at Babylon. Cf. *ὑπῆρχε*, below; *ἦν* 146. 6. There were 48 *χοῖνικες* in the Attic *μέδιμνος*, which = about 12 gallons (English) or one bushel and a half.

§ 4. αὐτοῦ] 'There,' i. e. in Babylonia. 'Possibly a gloss on *ol.*' Kr. Or possibly the true reading

is αὐτῷ, which would strengthen *ιδίῃ*.

§ 5. κῶμαι—προσετετάχατο] = *κῶμαις προσετέτακτο*. See 7. 5, n. These Indian hounds (a very large breed) were kept for hunting.

ὑπῆρχε εὐόντα] 'Belonged of right.' *ὑπάρχω*, because he could (and no doubt did) claim further privileges. Inversely, *ὑπαρχον εἶναι*, V. 124. 2.

CH. 193. § 1. ὀλίγῳ] Sc. *ὑδατι*, the instrumental dative. Cf. *ὑσαι ὑδατι*, 87. 2; *ὑσθησαν ψακάδι*, III. 10. 4.

τοῦτο] = *τὸ ὀλίγον* acc. to Stein. But it rather = *ὑεσθαι*, *ὑέται* being the emphatic word, as is shown by the position of *μέν*. The rain, little as it is, is sufficient for the first stage of the crop: but everything afterwards has to be done by irrigation.

παραγίνεται] 'Comes on.'

σῖτος] is 'the full corn in the ear,' *λήϊον*, 'the blade.'

οὐ—ἀναβαίνοντος, ἀλλὰ—ἀρδόμενος] Cf. 62. 1, n.

ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ] See II. 14. 3.

πᾶσα, κατάπερ ἡ Αἰγυπτία, κατατέτμηται ἐς διώρυχας· καὶ ἡ μεγίστη τῶν διωρύχων ἐστὶ νηυσιπέρητος, πρὸς ἥλιον τετραμμένη τὸν χειμερινόν· ἐσέχει δὲ ἐς ἄλλον ποταμὸν ἐκ τοῦ Εὐφρήτεω, ἐς τὸν Τίγριν, παρ' ὃν Νῖνος πόλις οἴκητο. ἔστι δὲ χωρέων αὕτη ἀπασέων μακρῶ ἀρίστη, τῶν ἡμεῖς 3 ἴδμεν, Δήμητρος καρπὸν ἐκφέρειν. τὰ γὰρ δὴ ἄλλα δένδρεα 4 οὐδὲ πειράται ἀρχὴν φέρειν οὔτε συκέν οὔτε ἄμπελον οὔτε ἐλαίην, τὸν δὲ τῆς Δήμητρος καρπὸν ὧδε ἀγαθὴ ἐκφέρειν ἐστὶ, ἄστε ἐπὶ διηκόσια μὲν τὸ παράπαν ἀποδιδόει, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἄριστα αὐτὴ ἐωυτῆς ἐνείκη, ἐπὶ τριηκόσια ἐκφέρει. τὰ δὲ 5 φύλλα αὐτόθι τῷ τε πυρῶν καὶ τῶν κριθέων τὸ πλάτος γίνεται τεσσέρων εὐπετέως δακτύλων. ἐκ δὲ κέγχρου καὶ 6 σησάμου ὅσον τι δένδρον μέγαθος γίνεται, ἐξεπιστάμενος

§ 2. πρὸς ἥλιον τ. τὸν χ.] i. e. 'south-east,' since ἥλιος = ὁ τόπος ἐξ οὗ ὁ ἥλιος ἀνατέλλει, Hesych. (quoted by Stein). Cf. οἱ ἀπ' ἡλίου Αἰθίοπες (= οἱ ἀπὸ ἡλίου ἀνατολέων in the preceding sect.) VII. 70. 2; and the Homeric πρὸς ἧν τ' ἡέλιόν τε.

παρ' ὃν] Not quite like ἐς τῶν (14. 6, n.), since οἴκητο does not so definitely imply previous movement as προκατίζων. Prob. the use of the accus. here is due to the fact that the city would not touch the river merely at a single point, but would extend along it to some distance. So κῶμαι πολλαὶ ἦσαν παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν ('as one walked along'), Xen. An. III. 5. 1. The clause παρ' ὃν κ.τ.λ. is added merely as a description of the Tigris, which however has been mentioned before (189. 1). Cf. 170. 3, n.

§ 3. Δ. καρπὸν] Poetical: cf. Δημήτερος ἀκτὴν, Hom. Il. XIII. 322.

§ 4. τὰ γὰρ δὴ ἄλλα] To our idiom ἄλλα appears redundant, since corn cannot be included under the class δένδρεα (δένδρον below, used of millet, has a special force). So Περσέων τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων, V. 32. 2. More frequently ἄλλος is used without the article in this way. Cf. ἄλλα, 216. 3; ἄλλην

τε ἐκατόμβην καὶ δὴ καὶ τρίποδα, IV. 179. 1; οὐ γὰρ ἦν χόρτος οὐδὲ ἄλλο δένδρον οὐδέν, Xen. An. I. 5. 5. In these passages either we have another instance of the tendency of Greek idiom to represent objects as included in a class to which they do not belong (192. 3, n.), or else ἄλλος stands in apposition with the subst., = those other things, namely fruit trees. The Homeric use of ἄλλος (e.g. θυμὸς δέ μοι ἔσσεται ἦδη | ἢδ' ἄλλων ἐτάρων, Od. X. 485), is rather in favour of the latter explanation.

πειράται] Sc. ἡ χώρα.

οὐδὲ—ἀρχήν] Ne omnino quidem, 'does not even begin to try' (9. 3. n.), 'makes no pretence of bearing.'

ἐωυτῆς] 'As compared with itself' (at other times). This idiom has been called *comparatio reflexiva*. The gen. is one of reference, and is equivalent in meaning to πρὸς with the accus. So τοῦ πολέμου καλῶς ἐδόκει ἡ πόλις καθίστασθαι, 'favourably situated as regards the war,' Thuc. III. 92. 5. The Greeks could not merely say (as we say) 'best of all,' but also 'best of others' (192. 3, n.) and 'best of oneself.'

§ 6. δένδρον] is emphatic. They may be called *trees*.

μνήμην οὐ ποιήσομαι, εὖ εἰδὼς ὅτι τοῖσι μὴ ἀπιγμένοισι ἐς  
 τὴν Βαβυλωνίην χώραν καὶ τὰ εἰρημένα καρπῶν ἐχόμενα ἐς  
 ἀπιστίην πολλὴν ἀπῖκται. χρέονται δὲ οὐδὲν ἐλαίῳ, ἀλλ' ἐκ 7  
 τῶν σησάμων ποιεῦντες. εἰσὶ δὲ σφί φοίνικες πεφυκότες  
 ἀνὰ πᾶν τὸ πεδίον, οἱ πλεῦνες αὐτῶν καρποφόροι, ἐκ τῶν καὶ  
 σιτία καὶ οἶνον καὶ μέλι ποιεῦνται· τοὺς συκέων τρόπον 8  
 θεραπεύουσι τὰ τε ἄλλα, καὶ φοινίκων, τοὺς ἔρσενας Ἑλληνες  
 καλέουσι, τούτων τὸν καρπὸν περιδέουσι τῇσι βαλανηφό-  
 ροισι τῶν φοινίκων, ἵνα πεπαίνῃ τέ σφί ὁ ψῆν τὴν βάλανον  
 ἐσδύνων, καὶ μὴ ἀπορρέῃ ὁ καρπὸς ὁ τοῦ φοίνικος. ψῆνας 9  
 γὰρ δὴ φορέουσι ἐν τῷ καρπῷ οἱ ἔρσενες, κατὰπερ δὴ οἱ  
 ὀλυνθοι.

194 Τὸ δὲ ἀπάντων θῶμα μέγιστόν μοι ἐστὶ τῶν ταύτη, 1  
 μετὰ γε αὐτὴν τὴν πόλιν, ἔρχομαι φράσων. τὰ πλοῖα 2  
 αὐτοῖσι ἐστὶ τὰ κατὰ τὸν ποταμὸν πορευόμενα ἐς τὴν Βαβυ-  
 λῶνα, ἔοντα κυκλοτερέα, πάντα σκύτινα. ἐπεὰν γὰρ ἐν τοῖσι 3  
 Ἀρμενίοισι, τοῖσι κατύπερθε Ἀσσυρίων οἰκημένοισι, νομέας  
 ἰτέης ταμόμενοι ποιήσωνται, περιτείνουσι τούτοις διφθέρας  
 στεγαστρίδας ἔξωθεν, ἐδάφους τρόπον, οὔτε πρύμνην ἀπο-

καρπῶν ἐχ.] 'Even the aforesaid yield of fruit,' lit. 'that which appertains to' (120. 4), hence 'the productive qualities' of the καρποί mentioned above.

ἀπῖκται.] 'Have met with.' So ἐς πᾶσαν βόσανον ἀπικνεομένοισι, 'though they underwent all sorts of torture,' VIII. 110. 3. Hdt. refers to the incredulity of people with whom he had conversed on the subject.

§ 7. ποιεῦντες.] One MS. ποιεῦνται, which is prob. the result of ποιεῦνται below. The passage is an instance of the coordination of participle and finite verb (8. 2). By supplying ἐλαίῳ τι χρέονται the sentence becomes grammatically correct.

ἐκ τῶν κ.τ.λ.] The palm here mentioned is the date-palm, the sap of which by fermentation produces palm-wine, and if not allowed to ferment yields a 'saccharine syrup'.

(μέλι). By σιτία Hdt. means either pressed cakes of dates, or more prob. the soft pith at the top of the palm-stem, which is called palm-cabbage.

§ 8. τοὺς ἔρσ.] τοὺς is the relative. ἔρσενας. So called because they bear no dates.

ἵνα πεπ. κ.τ.λ.] This statement about the gall-fly is a mistake. It is necessary however to secure fructification that the pollen from the blossoms of the male palm should come in contact with the fruit of the date-tree. Hence the practice, which is still observed.

ὁ καρπὸς ὁ τοῦ φ.] = βάλανος above.

CH. 194. § 2. πάντα.] With σκύτινα (179. 5), referring to the outward appearance merely (ἔξωθεν, § 3).

§ 3. ἐπειὶν...ποιήσωνται.] 'They make...and then' (17. 4, n.).

ἐδάφους τρ.] This if right seems

κρίνοντας, οὔτε πρῶραν συνάγοντες, ἀλλ' ἀσπίδος τρόπον  
κυκλοτέρεα ποιήσαντες. καὶ καλάμης πλήσαντες πᾶν τὸ 4  
πλοῖον τοῦτο ἀπιεῖσι κατὰ τὸν ποταμὸν φέρεσθαι, φορτίων  
πλήσαντες· μάλιστα δὲ βίκους φοινικητοὺς κατάγουσι οἴνου  
πλέους. ἰθύνεται δὲ ὑπὸ τε δύο πλήκτρων, καὶ δύο ἀνδρῶν  
ὀρθῶν ἐστεώτων· καὶ ὁ μὲν ἔσω ἔλκει τὸ πλήκτρον, ὁ δὲ ἔξω  
ὠθέει. ποιέεται δὲ καὶ κάρτα μεγάλα ταῦτα τὰ πλοῖα καὶ 5  
ἐλάσσω, τὰ δὲ μέγιστα αὐτῶν καὶ πεντακισχιλίων ταλάντων  
γόμενον ἔχει. ἐν ἐκάστῳ δὲ πλοίῳ ὄνος ζωὸς ἔνεστι, ἐν δὲ  
τοῖσι μέζοσι πλεῦνες. ἐπεὰν ὦν ἀπίκωνται πλέοντες ἐς τὴν 6  
Βαβυλῶνα, καὶ διαθέωνται τὸν φόρτον, νομέας μὲν τοῦ  
πλοίου καὶ τὴν καλάμην πᾶσαν ἀπ' ὧν ἐκήρυξαν, τὰς δὲ 7  
διφθέρας ἐπισάξαντες ἐπὶ τοὺς ὄνους, ἀπελαύνουσι ἐς τοὺς

to mean 'by way of bottom,' or 'hull.' The *ἑδαφος νηός* (Hom. *Od.* v. 249) is the skeleton or ground-plan of the ship, before the details are filled in. But the use of *τρόπον* is strange on this explanation, since properly it ought to introduce a comparison. If we could omit it (on the supposition that it had got into the text here owing to *ἀσπίδος τρόπον* below), we might construct *ἐδάφεος* with *ἔξωθεν*, — 'they strain a sheathing of skins round these, outside the framework.'

οὔτε πρῶμην] 'They neither keep the sides apart for the stern, nor draw them in for the stem.' Cf. *ἀπεκρίθη*, 60. 4; *συνῆγον αἰεὶ τὴν διώρυχα*, 'kept narrowing it in,' VII. 23. 3. Tacitus describes boats of a somewhat similar construction, — 'pari utrimque prora et mutabili remigio,' *Hist.* III. 47.

§ 4. καλάμης] For packing the cargo.

φέρεσθαι] Cf. *καλεσθαι*, 176. 1.

φοινικ.] 'Of palm wood.' The correction *φοινικητοῦ* is both without MS. authority and inconsistent with 193. 7.

ὁ μὲν ἔσω] St. translates: 'while the one draws the oar-handle inwards, the other pushes it outwards.' But he admits that this is not clear.

More prob. *ἔσω*, *ἔξω* go with *ὁ μὲν*, *ὁ δέ*. As the oars would be required merely for steering, only one would be used at a time. At this the man who had the outside place, at the extremity of the handle of the oar (*ὁ ἔξω*), stood with his face to the bows (in order to steer better) and pushed, while between him and the side of the boat (*ἔσω*), at the same oar, the other stood with his face to the stern and pulled in the ordinary way.

§ 5. καὶ πεντακισχ.] Cf 117. 1, n. If the talents meant are Euboic this would be about 180 tons; if Babylonian, considerably over 200.

§ 6. ἀπ' ὧν ἐκήρυξαν] This form of tmesis (apparently a provincialism, as it does not occur in Homer) is always as here used with the aorist and (with the exception of II. 172. 4) in descriptions of a customary process. It is esp. common in Book II. Cf. 39. 3; 40. 2; 47. 1; 70. 3. The usual explanation is that it = 'straightway, without more ado.' But this is prob. too definite. Perhaps ὦν simply expresses the correspondence of the apodosis with the protasis, like *τε* in *ἐπεὶ τε, ὅς τε* (14. 8, n.). Cf. 132. 4, where ὦν is put with the verb, although there is no tmesis: also 144. 1; II. 20. 8.



- Ἀρμενίους. ἀνὰ τὸν ποταμὸν γὰρ δὴ οὐκ οἶά τέ ἐστι πλέειν οὐδενὶ τρόπῳ ὑπὸ τάχεος τοῦ ποταμοῦ· διὰ γὰρ ταῦτα καὶ οὐκ ἐκ ξύλων ποιεῦνται τὰ πλοῖα, ἀλλ' ἐκ διφθερέων. ἐπεὰν 8 δὲ τοὺς ὄνους ἐλαύνοντες ἀπίκωνται ὀπίσω ἐς τοὺς Ἀρμενίους, ἄλλα τρόπῳ τῷ αὐτῷ ποιεῦνται πλοῖα. τὰ μὲν δὴ πλοῖα 195 αὐτοῖσί ἐστι τοιαῦτα. Ἐσθῆτι δὲ τοιῇδε χρέωνται, κιθῶνι 1 ποδηνεκέϊ λινέῳ, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἄλλον εἰρίνεον κιθῶνα ἐπενδύνει, καὶ χλανίδιον λευκὸν περιβαλλόμενος, ὑποδήματα ἔχων ἐπιχώρια, παραπλήσια τῇσι Βοιωτίῃσι ἐμβάσι. κομῶντες 2 δὲ τὰς κεφαλὰς μίτρῃσι ἀναδέονται, μεμυρισμένοι πᾶν τὸ σῶμα. σφρηγίδα δὲ ἕκαστος ἔχει καὶ σκῆπτρον, χειρο- 3 ποίητον, ἐπ' ἐκάστῳ δὲ σκῆπτρῳ ἔπεστι πεποιημένον ἢ μῆλον ἢ ρόδον ἢ κρίνον ἢ αἰετὸς ἢ ἄλλο τι. ἄνευ γὰρ ἐπισή- 4 μου οὐ σφί νόμος ἐστὶ ἔχειν σκῆπτρον. αὕτη μὲν δὴ σφί ἄρτισις περὶ τὸ σῶμά ἐστι.
- 196 Νόμοι δὲ αὐτοῖσι ὧδε κατεστέασι. ὁ μὲν σοφώτατος 1 ὅδε, κατὰ γνώμην τὴν ἡμετέραν, τῷ καὶ Ἰλλυριῶν Ἐνετοῖς πυνθάνομαι χρᾶσθαι. κατὰ κώμας ἐκάστας ἅπαξ τοῦ ἔτεος 2 ἐκάστου ἐποιέετο τάδε. ὥς ἂν αἱ παρθέναι γινοῖατο γάμων ὥραιαι, ταύτας ὅπως συναγάγοιεν, πάσας ἐς ἓν χωρίον ἐσά- γεσκον ἀλέας· περίξ δὲ αὐτὰς ἴστατο ὄμιλος ἀνδρῶν. ἀνιστὰς 3

CH. 195. § 1. τοιῇδε] refers not merely to κιθῶνι, but also to καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ—ἐμβάσι.

χρέωνται—ἐπενδύνει] A change from the plural to the collective singular (ὁ Βοβυλώνιος): cf. 132. 2; 197. 2, 4; II. 38. 2. See also 97. 1; 179. 3, notes. ἐπενδύνει governs both κιθῶνα and χλανίδιον, but περιβαλλόμενος belongs only to the latter.

§ 2. μίτρῃσι] 'Turbans.'

§ 3. σφρηγίδα] Engraved gems and 'cylinders' (i. e. pierced stones of a cylindrical shape which were rolled along the surface of the clay in order to make impressions) have been found in great numbers among the ruins (Layard's *Ninev. and Bab.* 538). There is a large collection of them in the British Museum.

CH. 196. § 1. ἡμετέραν] Less dogmatic than ἐμῇ, 'as I (and those

who think with me) believe.' Cf. 37. 2.

Ἰλλ. Ἐνετοῖς] Hdt.'s *Venetia* seems to include part of the eastern coast of the Adriatic.

§ 2. ἐποιέετο] 'Used to be done' (§ 8).

ὥς] = ὅπως, 'as often as' (68. 7). Here the addition of *ἄν* (extremely rare) either implies that the action is dependent on some condition (= 'in case there were any'), or else is a continuation of the Epic use, e. g. ἐπὶ κρητῆρι μίγῃ, Hom. *Od.* IV. 222; ἀλλ' ὅτ' ἄν ἡβήσειε, Hes. *Op.* 131. The emendations suggested, ὧν ἄν αἱ π., ὅσαι αἱ π., are extremely forced.

πάσας] prob. goes with what follows, not with συναγάγοιεν. Krüg. compares ἀθρόοι γενόμεναι πᾶσαι, Xen. *Hell.* I. 3. 17.



δὲ κατὰ μίαν ἐκάστην κῆρυξ πωλέσκε, πρῶτα μὲν τὴν εὐει-  
 δεστάτην ἐκ πασέων· μετὰ δὲ, ὅπως αὕτη εὐρούσα πολλὰ  
 χρυσίου πρηθείη, ἄλλην ἀνεκήρυσσε, ἥ μετ' ἐκείνην ἔσκε  
 εὐειδεστάτη. ἐπωλέοντο δὲ ἐπὶ συνοικήσει. ὅσοι μὲν δὲ 4  
 ἔσκον εὐδαίμονες τῶν Βαβυλωνίων ἐπίγαμοι, ὑπερβάλλοντες  
 ἀλλήλους ἐξωνέοντο τὰς καλλιστευούσας· ὅσοι δὲ τοῦ δήμου  
 ἔσκον ἐπίγαμοι, οὗτοι δὲ εἶδος μὲν οὐδὲν ἐδέοντο χρηστοῦ,  
 οἱ δ' ἂν χρήματά τε καὶ αἰσχίονας παρθένους ἐλάμβανον.  
 ὥς γὰρ διεξέλθοι ὁ κῆρυξ πωλέων τὰς εὐειδεστάτας τῶν 5  
 παρθένων, ἀνίστη ἂν τὴν ἀμορφεστάτην, ἥ εἴ τις αὐτέων  
 ἔμπηρος ἦε, καὶ ταύτην ἀνεκήρυσσε, ὅστις θέλοι, ἐλάχιστον  
 χρυσίου λαβὼν, συνοικέειν αὐτῇ, ἐς ὃ τῷ τὸ ἐλάχιστον ὑπι-  
 σταμένῳ προσεκέετο. τὸ δὲ ἂν χρυσίου ἐγίνετο ἀπὸ τῶν 6  
 εὐειδέων παρθένων· καὶ οὕτω αἱ εὐμορφοὶ τὰς ἀμόρφους καὶ  
 ἔμπηρους ἐξεδίδον. ἐκδοῦναι δὲ τὴν ἑωυτοῦ θυγατέρα, 7  
 ὅτεω βούλοιτο ἕκαστος, οὐκ ἐξῆν, οὐδὲ ἄνευ ἐγγυητέω ἀπαγα-  
 γέσθαι τὴν παρθένον πριάμενον, ἀλλ' ἐγγυητὰς χρῆν κατα-  
 στήσαντα, ἥ μὲν συνοικήσειν αὐτῇ, οὕτω ἀπάγεσθαι· εἰ δὲ  
 μὴ συμφεροίατο, ἀποφέρειν τὸ χρυσίου ἐκέετο νόμος. ἐξῆν 8  
 δὲ καὶ ἐξ ἄλλης ἐλθόντα κώμης τὸν βουλόμενον ὠνέεσθαι.  
 ὁ μὲν νυν κάλλιστος νόμος οὗτός σφι ἦν, οὐ μέντοι νῦν γε

§ 3. εὐρούσα] As we talk of any-  
 thing 'fetching' a large sum.

ἔσκε] Always used by Hdt. in a  
 frequentative sense (IV. 129. 3; 200.  
 4; VI. 133. 4).

ἐπὶ συνοικ.] i. e. not as slaves.

§ 4. ἐπίγαμοι] is predicate.

οὗτοι δὲ] See 113. 2, n. Here  
 οὗτοι μὲν is omitted before ὑπερβάλ-  
 λοντες.

οἱ δ'] 107. 4, n.

ἂν] Below, § 6.

§ 5. διεξέλθοι] With πωλέων,—  
 'had come to an end of selling.'

ἦε] 187. 6, n.

προσεκέετο] sc. ἡ πάρθενος, 'was  
 assigned to.'

§ 6. τὸ δὲ ἂν χρ.] For the se-  
 paration of article and subst., see  
 I. 4. Hermann (*Opusc.* IV. 20) well  
 explains the use of ἂν with the im-  
 perf. indic. in a frequentative sense

(cf. ἂν ἐλάμβανον, ἀνίστη ἂν, above)  
 as implying that out of several facts  
 mentioned any single one may be  
 referred to, and thus involving an  
 element of chance. This explana-  
 tion will perfectly well cover ἂν  
 ἐγίνετο here: 'the gold (in any par-  
 ticular case that you chanced to  
 take) would come,' i. e. 'the gold  
 (in all cases) used to come.' Hence  
 it is strange that Herm. here (after  
 suggesting αὖ as the possible reading)  
 should limit the force of ἂν to χρυ-  
 σίου, by translating 'quantum id  
 forte auri erat.'

ἐξεδίδον] 'Provided dowries for'  
 (93. 4).

§ 7. ἥ μὲν] See II. 118. 3, n.

ἀποφέρειν] To pay back (into  
 the common fund). ἀπο- as in ἀπορ-  
 ράψας, 123. 5. Cf. 2, 4; 14. 2, n.

διετέλεσε εὖν. ἄλλο δέ τι ἐξευρήκασι νεωστὶ γενέσθαι, ἵνα 9  
 μὴ ἀδικοῖεν αὐτάς, μήδ' ἐς ἑτέραν πόλιν ἄγωνται· ἐπεὶ τε γὰρ  
 ἁλόντες ἐκακώθησαν καὶ οἰκοφθορήθησαν, πᾶς τις τοῦ δήμου,  
 197 βίου σπανίζων, καταπορνεύει τὰ θήλεα τέκνα. Δεύτερος δὲ 1  
 σοφίῃ ὅδε ἄλλος σφι νόμος κατεστήκεε. τοὺς κάμνοντας ἐς  
 τὴν ἀγορὴν ἐκφορέουσι· οὐ γὰρ δὴ χρέωνται ἱητροῖσι. προσι- 2  
 όντες ὦν πρὸς τὸν κάμνοντα, συμβουλεύουσι περὶ τῆς νοῦσου,  
 εἴ τις καὶ αὐτὸς τοιοῦτο ἔπαθε, ὁκοῖον ἔχει ὁ κάμνων, ἢ ἄλλον  
 εἶδε παθόντα, ταῦτα προσιόντες συμβουλεύουσι, καὶ παραι- 3  
 νέουσι ἄσσα αὐτὸς ποιήσας ἐξέφυγε ὁμοίην νοῦσον, ἢ ἄλλον  
 εἶδε ἐκφυγόντα. σιγῇ δὲ παρεξελθεῖν τὸν κάμνοντα οὐ σφι 4  
 198 ἔξεστι, πρὶν ἂν ἐπείρηται ἥντινα νοῦσον ἔχει. Ταφαὶ δέ 1  
 σφι ἐν μέλιτι, θρήνοι δὲ παραπλήσιοι τοῖσι ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ.  
 ὁσάκις δ' ἂν μιχθῇ γυναικὶ τῇ ἐωυτοῦ ἀνὴρ Βαβυλώνιος, 2  
 περὶ θυμὸν καταγιζόμενον ἵζει, ἑτέρωθι δὲ ἡ γυνὴ τῶντὸ  
 τοῦτο ποιεῖ. ὀρθρου δὲ γενομένου, λούνται καὶ ἀμφότεροι· 3  
 ἄγγεος γὰρ οὐδενὸς ἄψονται πρὶν ἂν λούσωνται. ταῦτα δὲ  
 ταῦτα καὶ Ἀράβιοι ποιεῦσι.

199 Ὁ δὲ δὴ αἰσχιστος τῶν νόμων ἔστι τοῖσι Βαβυλωνίοισι 1  
 ὁδε. δεῖ πᾶσαν γυναῖκα ἐπιχωρίην ἰζομένην ἐς ἱρὸν Ἀφρο-  
 δίτης, ἅπαξ ἐν τῇ ζόῃ μιχθῆναι ἀνδρὶ ξείνῳ. πολλαὶ δὲ καὶ 2  
 οὐκ ἀξιεύμεναι ἀναμίσγεσθαι τῇσι ἄλλῃσι, οἷα πλούτῳ ὑπερ-

§ 9. γενέσθαι] The epexegetical infinitive is not without parallel (see notes on τελευτῆσαι, 32. 8; εἶναι, 153. 6). But the whole passage has the appearance of having been tampered with by the copyists. Stein conjectures that the words γενέσθαι—ἀγωνται originally stood in the MSS. before ὁ μὲν νυν κάλλιστος (§ 8), and that a line has been lost between ὠνέεσθαι and γενέσθαι. He suggests as the lost words: χρῆν δὲ καὶ τούτων (τῶν ἀπ' ἄλλης κώμης) ὥσπερ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἐγγυητάς τῶνδε εἵνεκεν (γενέσθαι κ.τ.λ.). This certainly gets rid of the difficulties,

ἀδικοῖεν] By making them slaves (§ 3). The subject to ἀδικοῖεν is οἱ βουλόμενοι ὠνέεσθαι (§ 8), and ἀγωνται is middle, not passive (34. 5; 146. 4). For ἀδικοῖεν—ἀγωνται, see

185. 7, n.

ἁλόντες] By the Persians.

CH. 197. § 2. τὸν κάμνοντα] Above τοὺς κάμνοντας (195. 1).

καὶ αὐτὸς] As well as the sick man.

§ 4. σφι] Prob. plural (185. 2, n.). Hence here we have another instance of the change from plur. to sing. (ἐπείρηται).

CH. 198. § 1. ἐν μέλιτι] Strabo adds κηρῷ περιπλάσαντες (Bähr): cf. 140. 2.

τοῖσι ἐν Αἰγ.] See II. 85.

§ 3. καὶ ἀμφότεροι] See 117. 1, n.

ἄψονται] 173. 6, n.

CH. 199. § 1. ἱς] Cf. 14. 6.

ἱρὸν] = τέμενος (§ 3). Cf. 181. 2.

§ 2. οὐκ ἀξιεύμεναι] 'Not thinking it worthy of themselves,' i.e.

φρονέουσai, ἐπὶ ζευγέων ἐν καμάρῃσι ἐλάσασαι πρὸς τὸ ἱρὸν  
 ἐστᾶσι· θεραπῆτῃ δέ σφι ὀπισθε ἔπεται πολλή. αἱ δὲ 3  
 πλεῦνες ποιεῦσι ὥδε. ἐν τεμένει Ἀφροδίτης κατέαται, στέ-  
 φανον περὶ τῇσι κεφαλῇσι ἔχουσαι θώμιγγος, πολλαὶ γυ-  
 ναῖκες· αἱ μὲν γὰρ προσέρχονται, αἱ δὲ ἀπέρχονται. σχοινο- 4  
 τενέες δὲ διέξοδοι πάντα τρόπον ὁδῶν ἔχουσι διὰ τῶν  
 γυναικῶν, δι' ὧν οἱ ξεῖνοι διεξιόντες ἐκλέγονται. ἔνθα ἐπεὰν 5  
 ἴζηται γυνή, οὐ πρότερον ἀπαλλάσσεται ἐς τὰ οἰκία, ἢ τίς οἱ  
 ξείνων ἀργύριον ἐμβαλὼν ἐς τὰ γούνατα μιχθῇ ἔξω τοῦ ἱροῦ.  
 ἐμβαλόντα δὲ δεῖ εἰπεῖν τοσόνδε· “Ἐπικαλέω τοι τὴν θεὸν 6  
 Μύλιττα.” Μύλιττα δὲ καλέουσι τὴν Ἀφροδίτην Ἀσσύριοι. 7  
 τὸ δὲ ἀργύριον μέγαθός ἐστι ἴσον ὧν· οὐ γὰρ μὴ ἀπώσεται·  
 οὐ γὰρ οἱ θέμις ἐστί· γίνεται γὰρ ἱρὸν τοῦτο τὸ ἀργύριον.  
 τῷ δὲ πρώτῳ ἐμβαλόντι ἔπεται, οὐδὲ ἀποδοκιμᾷ οὐδένα. 8  
 ἐπεὰν δὲ μιχθῇ ἀποσιωσαμένη τῇ θεῷ, ἀπαλλάσσεται ἐς τὰ  
 οἰκία· καὶ τῷπὸ τούτου οὐκ οὕτω μέγα τί οἱ δώσεις, ὥς μιν  
 λάμψαι. ὅσαι μὲν νυν εἰδεός τε ἐπαμμέναι εἰσὶ καὶ μεγά. 9

thinking it unworthy of themselves, 'not deigning.' Thus οὐκ is used as in οὐ φημί.

§ 3. **θώμιγγος**] In token of servitude to the goddess. This same practice is referred to in the book of Baruch (6. 43).

§ 4. **σχοινοτενέες**] may have either a literal or a figurative sense (189. 3, n.).

**πάντα τρόπον**] is prob. adverbial, and ἔχουσι intrans. as at 180. 4. (Compare 189. 3 with II. 108. 3). On this view ὁδῶν follows **τρόπον** almost pleonastically; 'running in all directions in which paths can run.' Others take ὁδῶν with **διέξοδοι**, but the order is against this. **ὁδόν**, the reading of some MSS. (which Abicht supposes to have arisen owing to a repetition of **οπον** from the preceding word), might be retained if **ὁδόν** ἔχουσι could = *præbent iter*. But see note, 126. 5. Bekker's conjecture **δι' ὧν** ἔχουσι is opposed to Hdt.'s invariable practice of using the aorist with this form of tmesis (194. 6).

§ 6. **τοσόνδε**] 'No more than this' (128. 2).

**ἐπικαλέω τοι**] 'I call to witness against thee.' Bähr explains **τοι** by 'tuam in gratiam, ut tibi propitia adsit dea:'—'the spirit of the goddess be upon thee.' But the phrase is more probably a sort of threat: = the goddess will punish disobedience. So Cambyses lays a charge upon the Persians, **θεοὺς τοὺς βασιληῶν ἐπικαλέων ὑμῖν**, III. 65. 10.

**Μύλιττα**] Cf. 131. 3.

§ 7. **ὅσον ὧν**] 'As small as you please.' **ὅσον ὧν** = *quantulumcunque* (II. 22. 7), while **ὅσον δὴ** = *quantumcunque* (157. 3; 160. 2).

**οὐ γὰρ μὴ**] (the amount makes no difference) for.

§ 8. **ἀποδοκιμᾷ**] Prob. the future (97. 3, n.). See however L. and S. *Lex*.

**ὥς μιν**] Krüger reads **ὥ μιν** (cf. 87. 4, n.). But **ὥς** will stand very well in the sense of **ὥστε**. Cf. **προσφιλέες οὕτω δὴ τι ἐγένοντο, ὥς... ἐκέλευσε**, 163. 3. So also with the infin., e.g. **ἐξικέσθαι**, II. 135. 2, n.

**λάμψαι**] = **λήψαι**.

§ 9. **ἐπαμμέναι**] 'As many as have attained unto comeliness and

θεος, ταχὺ ἀπαλλάσσονται· ὅσαι δὲ ἄμορφοι αὐτέων εἰσὶ, χρόνον πολλὸν προσμένουσι, οὐ δυνάμεναι τὸν νόμον ἐκπλήσαι· καὶ γὰρ τριέτεα καὶ τετραέτεα μετεξέτεραι χρόνον μένουσι. Ἐνιαχῇ δὲ καὶ τῆς Κύπρου ἐστὶ παραπλήσιος 10  
200 τούτῳ νόμος. Νέμοι μὲν δὴ τοῖσι Βαβυλωνίοισι οὗτοι κατε- 1  
στέασι. Εἰσὶ δὲ αὐτῶν πατριαὶ τρεῖς, αἱ οὐδὲν ἄλλο σιτέ- 2  
ονται εἰ μὴ ἰχθῦς μούνον· τοὺς ἐπεὶ τε ἂν θηρεύσαντες  
αὐήνωσι πρὸς ἥλιον, ποιεῦσι τάδε. ἐσβάλλουσι ἐς ὄλμον 3  
καὶ λεήναντες ὑπέροισι σῶσι διὰ συνδόνας· καὶ ὅς μὲν ἂν  
βούληται αὐτῶν, ἅτε μάζαν μαζάμενος ἔχει· ὁ δὲ ἄρτου  
τρόπον ὀπτήσας.

201 Ὡς δὲ τῷ Κύρῳ καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἔθνος κατέργαστο, ἐπε- 1  
θύμησε Μασσαγέτας ὑπ' ἐωυτῷ ποιήσασθαι. τὸ δὲ ἔθνος  
τούτο καὶ μέγα λέγεται εἶναι καὶ ἄλκιμον, οἰκημένον δὲ πρὸς  
ῥῶ τε καὶ ἡλίου ἀνατολὰς, πέρην τοῦ Ἀράξεω ποταμοῦ,  
ἀντίον δὲ Ἰσσηδόνων ἀνδρῶν. εἰσὶ δὲ οἳ τινες καὶ Σκυθικὸν 2

stature.' Cf. ἐπὴν χεῖρεσσιν ἐφάψαι ἡπείροιο (shalt reach by swimming), Hom. Od. v. 348. Bähr explains: *quae speciem sibi aptam et quasi connexam habent*, 'as many as have beauty fastened on to them (by way of ornament).' This meaning of the verb might perhaps be justified by the Homeric use of the passive (e.g. ἀθανάτοισιν ἔρις καὶ νείκος ἐφῆπται, Il. XXI. 513), but if Bähr's rendering were the right one, the construction here would require the accus. instead of the gen. (cf. τοὺς ἀγκῶνας, 180. 3).

μεγάθεος] Part of the Greek conception of beauty. Cf. 60. 5.

§ 10. ἐνιαχῇ καὶ τῆς Κ.] At Paphos and Amathus.

CH. 200. § 2. πατριαὶ] = φρῆτραι or γένεα (125. 4, n.). These 'clans' would prob. be the inhabitants of the marshy districts at the mouth of the Euphrates and Tigris (St.).

§ 3. αὐτῶν] The partitive genitive after ὅς. It can hardly = ἰχθύων.

ἔχει] = 'has them for food,' since it cannot well be taken with μαζάμενος, like δουλώσας ἔχεις, 27. 4.

ὁ δὲ] 'the other' implied in the previous μέν. Supply ἔχει. The μάζα was a soft doughcake, prob. something like the Australian 'damper.'

CH. 201. § 1. κατέργαστο] See 207. 8, n. πρὸς ῥῶ τε καὶ ἡλ. ἀν. Cf. 193. 2, n. Similar pleonasms occur II. 8. 1; 31. 2.

ἀντίον] Acc. to St. this = 'in the same longitude, but further south.' But prob. nothing so definite is meant. The word merely implies that the two nations in some way or other occupied corresponding positions (balanced one another) 'on Hdt.'s map (see notes on II. 11. 3; 34. 3), and we have no means of determining accurately what their relative positions were. κατά (lit. 'over against') is used in a similarly indefinite way (I. 76. 1; II. 75. 1).

ἀνδρῶν] is poetical. 'Prob. the phrase occurred in the *Arimaspea* of Aristeas (IV. 13. 1; 14. 6), whose account of the Issedones Hdt. borrowed.' St.

§ 2. οἳ τινες καὶ] καὶ is put with the relative instead of with the demonstrative clause (2. 3, n.). οἳ

202 λέγουσι τοῦτο τὸ ἔθνος εἶναι. Ὁ δὲ Ἀράξης λέγεται καὶ 1  
 μέζων καὶ ἐλάσσων εἶναι τοῦ Ἰστρου· νήσους δ' ἐν αὐτῷ,  
 Λέσβῳ μεγάθεα παραπλησίας, συχνὰς φασὶ εἶναι. ἐν δὲ 2  
 αὐτῇσι ἀνθρώπους, οἳ σιτέονται μὲν ῥίζας τὸ θέρος ὑρύσσον-  
 τες παντοίας, καρποὺς δὲ ἀπὸ δενδρέων ἐξευρημένους σφι ἐς  
 φορβὴν κατατίθεσθαι ὠραίους, καὶ τούτους σιτέεσθαι τὴν  
 χειμερινήν. ἄλλα δὲ σφι ἐξευρῆσθαι δένδρεα καρποὺς τοι- 3  
 οῦσδε τινὰς φέροντα, τοὺς, ἐπεὶ τε ἂν ἐς τὸντο συνέλθωσι  
 κατὰ εἶλας καὶ πῦρ ἀνακαύσωνται, κύκλῳ περιῦζομένους ἐπι-  
 βάλλειν ἐπὶ τὸ πῦρ· ὁσφραινομένους δὲ καταγιζομένου τοῦ  
 καρποῦ τοῦ ἐπιβαλλομένου μεθύσκεσθαι τῇ ὁσμῇ, κατὰπερ  
 Ἕλληνας τῷ οἴνῳ. πλεῦνος δὲ ἐπιβαλλομένου τοῦ καρποῦ 4  
 μᾶλλον μεθύσκεσθαι, ἐς ὃ ἐς ὄρχησίν τε ἀνίστασθαι καὶ ἐς  
 αἰοιδὴν ἀπικνέεσθαι. τούτων μὲν αὕτη λέγεται δίαίτα εἶναι.  
 Ὁ δὲ Ἀράξης ποταμὸς ῥέει μὲν ἐκ Ματιηνῶν, ὅθεν περ ὁ 5  
 Γύνδης, τὸν ἐς τὰς διώρυχας τὰς ἐξήκοντά τε καὶ τριηκοσίας

τινες prob. refers to Hecataeus: Steph. Byz. Ἰσσηδόνες, ἔθνος Σκυθικόν· Ἐκ. Ἀσ. (Müll. *Fr. Hec.* 168).

CH. 202. § 1. Ἀράξης] It is impossible to reconcile Hdt.'s different statements, though he nowhere implies that there was more than one river of the name. His Araxes rises near the sources of the Gyndes (§ 5), and flows eastwards (IV. 40. 1) into the Caspian. This would correspond to the course of the historical Araxes (mod. *Aras*), which flows in a north-easterly direction into the south-west corner of the Caspian. But the Massagetae lived to the east of the Caspian (I. 204. 1), so that Hdt. seems to have confused with the Aras the Oxus or the Jaxartes, which flow westwards into the Sea of Aral (possibly at that time a part of the Caspian). Again at IV. 11. 2, the Araxes seems to be meant for the mod. *Volga*, which flows southwards into the Caspian.

καὶ μέζων καὶ ἐλ.] i.e. according to different accounts: IV. 81. 1, διαφόρους λόγους περὶ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ ἡκουν· καὶ γὰρ κάρτα πολλοὺς εἶναι σφεας

καὶ ὀλίγους.

μεγάθεα] Cf. II. 10. 4. So εἶδεα, 'beauty' (of a number of persons), VIII. 113. 3. By 'islands' of this size Hdt. means that the river separates into branches, which unite lower down, thus inclosing a large tract of ground. A similar island is described in the Asopus (νήσος δὲ οὕτω ἂν εἴη ἐν ἠπείρῳ), IX. 51. 2.

§ 2. σιτέονται μὲν ... κατατίθεσθαι] The construction is changed owing to φασί above.

φορβήν] here might be thought to imply contempt, as if their food were so primitive that it only deserved the name of *fodder*. But elsewhere (211. 2; VII. 50. 8) it is simply used for σῖτος.

§ 3. τοὺς] The relative explains τοιοῦσδε τινὰς (87. 4; 203. 3), and is the accus. after ἐπιβάλλειν (24. 11, n.).

μεθύσκεσθαι] 'Cogitandum hic de planta quadam narcotica, quae per fumum inebriandi vim habet similem fere in modum atque herba Nicotiana.' Bähr.

§ 5. τὰς διώρ.] i.e. those described at 189. 3.

διέλαβε ὁ Κῦρος· στόμασι δὲ ἐξερύγεται τεσσαράκοντα, τῶν  
τὰ πάντα πλὴν ἐνὸς ἐς ἑλεά τε καὶ τενάγεια ἐκδιδοῖ. ἐν τοῖσι 6  
ἄνθρώπους κατοικῆσθαι λέγουσι ἰχθῦς ὤμους σιτεομένους,  
ἐσθῆτι δὲ νομίζοντας χρᾶσθαι φωκέων δέρμασι. τὸ δὲ ἐν 7  
τῶν στομάτων τοῦ Ἀράξεω ῥέει διὰ καθαροῦ ἐς τὴν Κασπίνην  
θάλασσαν. ἡ δὲ Κασπίνη θάλασσά ἐστι ἐπ' ἐωυτῆς, οὐ 8  
συμμίσγουσα τῇ ἐτέρῃ θαλάσσῃ. τὴν μὲν γὰρ Ἕλληνες  
ναυτίλλονται πᾶσαν, καὶ ἡ ἔξω στηλέων θάλασσα ἡ Ἀτλαν-  
203 τὶς καλεομένη, καὶ ἡ Ἐρυθρὴ, μία τυγχάνει ἐοῦσα. Ἡ δὲ 1  
Κασπίνη ἔστι ἐτέρῃ ἐπ' ἐωυτῆς, ἐοῦσα μῆκος μὲν πλόου  
εἰρεσίῃ χρεωμένῳ πεντεκαίδεκα ἡμερέων, εὖρος δὲ, τῇ εὐρυ-

στόμασι] = 'branches' rather than 'mouths' in the ordinary sense: cf. II. 17. 4—6.

τεσσαράκοντα] It seems prob. that 40 was the conventional number used by Eastern nations to express a considerable quantity of anything. Bähr. There can be little doubt that the marshes and shallows mentioned here really denote the Sea of Aral, of which Hdt. gives no separate account.

§ 7. διὰ καθαροῦ] 'Through the open,' opposed to διὰ τεναγέων, by which the course of the other streams was encumbered (211. 2, n.). Bähr prefers the rendering, *per minime turbidum et limosum labi*, comparing ῥέει καθαρὸς παρὰ θολεροῖσι, IV. 53. 2.

§ 8. ἐπ' ἐωυτῆς] Hdt. contrasts favourably on this point with authorities much later than himself. Even Strabo (about 20 B.C.) thought that the Caspian was connected with the Northern Ocean.

συμμίσγουσα] Cf. ἐξίει, 6. 1.

γὰρ] gives the reason for the use of the sing. above (τῇ ἐτέρῃ θ.).

πᾶσαν] i.e. including the Black Sea and the Palus Maeotis.

στηλέων] Elsewhere (II. 33. 5) we have Ἡρακλήων added. The omission of the article shews that the name was a well-known one (111. 2, n.), while the insertion of καλεομένη implies the reverse with

regard to Ἀτλαντίς. Ἀτλ. simply = 'the sea of Atlas,' i.e. of the mountain so called at the western extremity of the earth (IV. 184. 5; 185. 2). Notice the absence of any ὠκεανός (II. 21, 23).

For Ἐρυθρὴ, see I. 1, n.

μία] This fact would have been learnt from the circumnavigation of Africa, described at IV. 42, 43.

CH. 203. § 1. εἰρεσίῃ χρ.] This prob. = in addition to sailing, i.e. when there is no wind for sailing, the use of mere row-boats on this sea being neither customary nor generally possible (St.). In any case we cannot apply to this passage the calculation which Hdt. gives (IV. 86. 1) as to the average daily distance run by a sailing-vessel. It seems not unlikely that Hdt. measures the length of the Caspian from east to west and its breadth from north to south, the sea of Aral at that time forming part of it (Bredow). The proportion however of Hdt.'s measurements (15 : 8) is exactly that of the actual measurements of the present sea, 750 : 400, the *greatest* breadth (τῇ εὐρυτάτῃ) of the Caspian being about 400 miles, though its *average* breadth is not much over 200 (Rawlinson). Hdt. has clearly under-estimated its size.

For the dat. χρεωμένῳ, see 14. 4; for the genitives πλόου, ἡμερέων, II. 8. 4; 11. 2, n.

τάτῃ ἐστὶ αὐτῇ ἐωυτῆς, ὀκτὼ ἡμερέων. Καὶ τὰ μὲν πρὸς 2  
 τὴν ἐσπέρην φέροντα τῆς θαλάσσης ταύτης ὁ Καύκασος  
 παρατείνει, ἐὼν οὐρέων καὶ πλήθει μέγιστον καὶ μεγάθει  
 ὑψηλότατον. ἔθνεα δὲ ἀνθρώπων πολλὰ καὶ παντοῖα ἐν  
 ἐωυτῷ ἔχει ὁ Καύκασος, τὰ πολλὰ πάντα ἀπ' ὕλης ἀγρίας  
 ζῶντα. ἐν τοῖσι καὶ δένδρεα φύλλα τοιῆσδε ιδέης παρε- 3  
 χόμενα εἶναι λέγεται, τὰ τρίβοντάς τε καὶ παραμίσγοντας  
 ὕδωρ, ζῶα ἐωυτοῖσι ἐς τὴν ἐσθῆτα ἐγγράφειν· τὰ δὲ ζῶα οὐκ  
 ἐκπλύνεσθαι, ἀλλὰ συγκαταγερᾶσκειν τῷ ἄλλῳ εἰρίῳ, κατὰ-  
 περ ἐνυφανθέντα ἀρχήν. μίξιν δὲ τούτων τῶν ἀνθρώπων 4  
 204 εἶναι ἐμφανέα, κατὰπερ τοῖσι προβάτοισι. Τὰ μὲν δὲ πρὸς 1  
 ἐσπέρην τῆς θαλάσσης ταύτης τῆς Κασπίης καλεομένης ὁ  
 Καύκασος ἀπέργει, τὰ δὲ πρὸς ἡῷ τε καὶ ἥλιον ἀνατέλλοντα  
 πεδίου ἐκδέκεται, πλῆθος ἄπειρον ἐς ἄποψιν· τοῦ ὧν δὴ  
 πεδίου τοῦ μεγάλου οὐκ ἐλαχίστην μοῖρην μετέχουσιν οἱ  
 Μασσαγέται, ἐπ' οὓς ὁ Κῦρος ἔσχε προθυμίην στρατεύσασθαι.  
 πολλὰ τε γάρ μιν καὶ μεγάλα τὰ ἐπαείροντα καὶ ἐποτρύ- 2

ἐωυτῆς] Above, 193..4.

§ 2. τὰ μὲν...φέροντα] To be taken absolutely (II. 8. 3).

πλήθει] simply denotes extent (cf. 204. 1), a multitude of parts implying a large area. So χώρος πολλός, IV. 39. 3.

μέγιστον] Sc. οὖρος.

ὑψηλότατον] The highest summit, *Elbruz*, is 18500 feet high. Hdt. knows nothing about the Himalayas (IV. 40. 2).

τα πολλὰ πάντα] Krüg. refers τὰ πολλὰ to ἔθνεα and takes πάντα with ζῶντα,—‘the most of them living entirely on.’ So at II. 35. 2, πάντα might be taken separately with ἐμπαλιν,—‘in most respects altogether contrary.’ But this explanation will not serve for V. 67. 2, Ἀργεῖοι τὰ πολλὰ πάντα ὑμνέται, where πάντα merely strengthens τὰ πολλὰ,—‘altogether for the most part’=‘almost altogether.’ τῶν πάντων πολλῶν (see 76. 5, n.) is different.

ὕλης ἀγρίας]=the wild fruits of the forest.

§ 3. παρεχόμενα] agrees with

δένδρεα. For τοιῆσδε—τὰ τρίβοντα—ἐγγράφειν, see 202. 3, n.

ζῶα] See 70. 1.

CH. 204. § 1. πεδίον] The Steppe region.

ἐκδέκεται] sc. τὴν Κασπίην.

οὐκ ἐλαχίστην]=μεγίστην. So οὐ μάλα (II. 37. 9), οὐκ ἥκιστα (IV. 170. 2). Cf. I. 199. 2, n.

μοῖρην] The gen. after verbs of sharing &c. denotes the whole object divided (here πεδίου), the partitive gen. being used because each person obtains only one portion: the accus. on the other hand denotes one (or more) of the parts into which the object is divided, there being no further need of the gen. because each person obtains the whole of his share. So πάντων τῶν ἀνδραπόδων τὰ ἡμίσεα μεταλαβεῖν, to take half as his share, VI. 23. 5.

§ 2. πολλὰ τε γὰρ κ.τ.λ.] Cyrus is another example of the action of Nemesis (cf. 30. 2). Pride in his birth and past successes, in spite of all warnings (207. 4), leads him to his destruction.



νοντα ἦν. πρῶτον μὲν ἡ γένεσις, τὸ δοκέειν πλέον τι εἶναι ἀνθρώπου, δεύτερα δὲ ἡ εὐτυχία ἡ κατὰ τοὺς πολέμους γενομένη· ὅκη γὰρ ἰθύσειε στρατεύεσθαι Κῦρος, ἀμήχανον ἦν ἐκεῖνο τὸ ἔθνος διαφυγέειν.

- 205 Ἦν δὲ, τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀποθανόντος, γυνὴ τῶν Μασσαγετέων<sup>1</sup> βασιλεια· Τόμυρις οἱ ἦν οὖνομα. ταύτην πέμπων ὁ Κῦρος ἐμνᾶτο τῷ λόγῳ, θέλων γυναῖκα ἦν ἔχειν. ἡ δὲ Τόμυρις,<sup>2</sup> συνιῖσα οὐκ αὐτὴν μιν μνῶμενον, ἀλλὰ τὴν Μασσαγετέων βασιληίην, ἀπείπατο τὴν πρόσοδον. Κῦρος δὲ μετὰ τοῦτο,<sup>3</sup> ὥς οἱ δόλῳ οὐ προεχώρει, ἐλάσας ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀράξεα ἐποιέετο ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανέος ἐπὶ τοὺς Μασσαγέτας στρατηίην, γεφύρας τε ζευγνύων ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ, διάβασιν τῷ στρατῷ, καὶ πύργους ἐπὶ πλοίων τῶν διαπορθμευόντων τὸν ποταμὸν οἰκο-  
206 δομεόμενος. Ἐχοντι δὲ οἱ τοῦτον τὸν πόνον, πέμψασα ἡ<sup>1</sup> Τόμυρις κήρυκα ἔλεγε ταδε· “ὦ βασιλεῦ Μήδων, παῦσαι σπεύδων τὰ σπεύδεις· οὐ γὰρ ἂν εἰδείης εἴ τοι ἐς καιρὸν ἔσται ταῦτα τελεύμενα· παυσάμενος δὲ βασίλευε τῶν σεω- τοῦ, καὶ ἡμέας ἀνέχου ὁρέων ἄρχοντας τῶν περ ἄρχομεν. Οὐκ ὦν ἐβελήσεις ὑποθήκησι τησίδε χρέεσθαι, ἀλλὰ πάντα<sup>2</sup>

ἡ γένεσις] See 122. 3; 126. 7.

τὸ δοκέειν] Put in apposition, by way of explanation. So ἡ σωφροσύνη, τὸ μὴ ξυγκινδυνεύειν, Thuc. I. 32. 4; τέρψις ἥδε σοι τὸ δρᾶν, Soph. Aj. 114.

δεύτερα] Cf. δῆλα, 4. 3.

στρατεύεσθαι] expresses the purpose (163. 3). Translate ‘whithersoever he turned his arms.’ Hom. Od. XI. 591, ὅπου ἰθύσει ὁ γέρων ἐπὶ χειρὶ μάσασθαι.

CH. 205. § 1. Τόμυρις οἱ] A common form of asyndeton (71. 2).

τῷ λόγῳ] i. e. not τῷ ἔργῳ (δόλῳ, § 3). Cf. 59. 5; II. 100. 5. Tr. ‘sent and pretended to woo her, saying that he wished to have her to wife.’

ἦν] = *suam*, the only instance of this possessive pronoun in Hdt.

§ 3. διάβασιν] ‘That his army might go over’ (179. 4, n.).

τῶν διαπορθ.] ‘That were to carry them across the river,’ i. e. the

boats which formed the bridge. The plur. γεφύρας prob. does not imply more than one bridge (the sing. is rare in Hom.), the whole bridge being regarded as a succession of smaller bridges from one pontoon to the next. Cf. 75. 4; 187. 1, n. The mention of πύργοι implies that the bridge was being thrown across in the presence of the enemy (ἀναχωρησάντων, 206. 3).

CH. 206. § 1. Μήδων] See notes, 157. 1; 163. 3. So of the Persian king in Hdt.’s own time, IV. 197. 1.

σπεύδων τὰ σπ.] See 39. 2, n.

ὁρέων] Wess. strangely proposes to read οὐρέων (‘mountains’), which would be both pointless and inconsistent with 204. 1.

§ 2. οὐκ ὦν...σὺ δὲ] = ἐπεὶ οὐκ—σὺ δὲ (ὦν), an instance of paratactic construction (173. 3, n.). For the force of ὦν, see II. 134. 2, n.



μᾶλλον ἢ δι' ἡσυχίης εἶναι. σὺ δὲ εἰ μέγας προθυμέσαι 3  
 Μασσαγετέων πειρηθῆναι, φέρε, μόχθον μὲν, τὸν ἔχεις  
 ζευγὺς τὸν ποταμὸν, ἄφες· σὺ δὲ, ἡμέων ἀναχωρησάντων  
 ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τριῶν ἡμερέων ὁδὸν, διάβαινε ἐς τὴν ἡμε- 4  
 τέρην. εἰ δ' ἡμέας βούλει ἐσδέξασθαι μᾶλλον ἐς τὴν ὑμε- 4  
 τέρην, σὺ τῶντὸ τοῦτο ποίει." Ταῦτα δὲ ἀκοίσας ὁ Κῦρος 5  
 συνεκάλεσε Περσέων τοὺς πρωτοὺς· συναγείρας δὲ τούτους  
 ἐς μέσον σφί προετίθεε τὸ πρῆγμα, συμβουλευόμενος ὁκότερα  
 ποίει. τῶν δὲ κατὰ τῶντὸ αἰ γνῶμαι συνεξέπιπτον, κελευ- 6  
 ὦντων ἐσδέκεσθαι Τόμυρην τε καὶ τὸν στρατὸν αὐτῆς ἐς τὴν  
 207 χάρην. Παρεὼν δὲ καὶ μεμφόμενος τὴν γνώμην ταύτην 1  
 Κροῖσος ὁ Λυδὸς ἀπεδείκνυτο ἐναντίην τῇ προκειμένῃ γνώμῃ,  
 λέγων τάδε· "ὦ βασιλεῦ, εἶπον μὲν καὶ πρότερόν τοι, ὅτι,  
 ἐπεὶ με Ζεὺς ἔδωκέ τοι, τὸ ἂν ὁρῶ σφάλμα ἐὼν οἴκῳ τῷ σῷ,

δι' ἡσυχ. εἶναι] = ἡσυχάζειν, 'to be at peace,' the notion of *in* or *at* being involved in that of *through*. So διὰ φόβου εἰσὶ = φοβοῦνται, Thuc. VI. 34. 2.

§ 3. εἰ προθυμέσαι] Bähr follows two MSS. (the rest reading ἦν). So at II. 13. 4, the majority of MSS. have ἦν ἐπιδιδοῖ. Conversely at II. 13. 3 all the MSS. but two read εἰ ἀναβῆ. Notwithstanding Bähr's authority the probabilities are clearly in favour of the less regular construction being the true reading. εἰ with the subj. and ἦν with the indic. may fairly express intermediate shades of meaning between εἰ with the indic. and ἦν with the subj. Acc. to Hermann (*Opusc.* IV. 46) ἦν with the indic. implies the speaker's belief that something is true, coupled with an admission that possibly it may be false: so that ἦν προθυμέσαι would = 'if, as I firmly believe (indic.), though possibly it may not be the case (ἦν), thou art desirous.' Acc. to Klotz (*Devar.* 472), while ἦν with the subj. implies a real connection of cause and effect, = *quum* with the subj., 'since thou art desirous, therefore,' — ἦν with the indic. simply denotes an external condition, = *quum* with

the indic., 'while (it chancing to be the case that) thou art desirous.'

σὺ δὲ ἡμέων] For ἡμέων δέ (107. 4, n.).

§ 5. ποίει] Deliberative subj. (53. 1; 159. 2).

§ 6. συνεξέπ.] properly applies to the voting-pebbles (ψῆφοι) which were taken out of the urn (ἐκ) when the votes had been collected. Here it is used of the opinions represented by the ψῆφοι, and at VIII. 123. 2 of the voters who put in the ψῆφοι.

CH. 207. § 1. ἐναντίην] Sc. γνώμην. See note on ἕτερον, 98. 5. πρότερον] See 89. 2.

ὅτι...ἀποτρέψειν] Cf. ὡς — τὴν γυναῖκα περιτῖλαι, III. 32. 4. Both passages prove that this use of ὅτι (ὡς) cannot be explained by supposing that it introduces the exact words of the speech (II. 115. 4, n.), and is therefore not taken into account in the construction. Nor is it satisfactory to say that the infin. is due to forgetfulness of the previous ὅτι. More prob. the writer intends all through the sentence to use the infin., but finds it necessary to insert ὅτι (ὡς) to mark exactly where the statement begins. Thus here 'without the particle it would be doubtful

κατὰ δύναμιν ἀποτρέψειν. τὰ δέ μοι παθήματα, ἔοντα 2  
 ἀχάρита, μαθήματα γέγονε. Εἰ μὲν ἀθάνατος δοκέεις εἶναι, 3  
 καὶ στρατιῆς τοιαύτης ἄρχειν, οὐδὲν ἂν εἴη πρήγμα γνώμας  
 ἐμέ σοι ἀποφαίνεσθαι. εἰ δὲ ἔγνωκας ὅτι ἄνθρωπος καὶ σὺ 4  
 εἷς, καὶ ἐτέρων τοιῶνδε ἄρχεις, ἐκείνο πρῶτον μάθε, ὥς  
 κύκλος τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐστὶ πρηγμάτων· περιφερόμενος δὲ  
 οὐκ ἐᾷ αἰεὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς εὐτυχεῖν. ἤδη ὦν ἐγὼ γνώμην ἔχω 5  
 περὶ τοῦ προκειμένου πρήγματος τὰ ἔμπαλιν ἢ οὗτοι. εἰ 6  
 γὰρ ἐβελήσομεν ἐσδέξασθαι τοὺς πολεμίους ἐς τὴν χώραν,  
 ὅδε τοι ἐν αὐτῷ κίνδυνος ἐνι· ἐσσωθεῖς μὲν προσαπολλύεις  
 πᾶσαν τὴν ἀρχήν· δῆλα γὰρ δὴ, ὅτι νικῶντες Μασσαγέται,  
 οὐ τὸ ἐπίσω φεύξονται, ἀλλ' ἐπ' ἀρχὰς τὰς σὰς ἐλῶσι.  
 νικῶν δὲ οὐ νικᾷς τοσοῦτον, ὅσον εἰ διαβὰς ἐς τὴν ἐκείνων, 7  
 νικῶν Μασσαγέτας, ἔποιο φεύγουσι· τῷτὸ γὰρ ἀντιθήσω  
 ἐκείνῳ, ὅτι νικήσας τοὺς ἀντιουμένους ἐλᾷς ἰθὺ τῆς ἀρχῆς

whether ἐπεὶ με Ζεὺς ἔδωκέ τοι did not depend on εἶπον instead of on ἀποτρέψειν.' St.

§ 2. τὰ δέ μοι π.] 'My sufferings, all grievous as they are, have served me for a lesson.' Some take ἀχάρита with μαθήματα, 'bitter lessons:' but συμφορῇ ἀχάρι (41. 1) and οὐδὲν ἀχάρι παθεῖν (VIII. 143. 4) are against this. Stein reads τὰ before ἔοντα, 'those which I have to bear.' The proverb may be well rendered in Latin: *quae nocent docent*, 'we live and learn.' Compare πάθει μάθος, Aesch. Ag. 170, and the almost convertible phrases τί μαθών; τί παθών; in Attic prose. For the ὁμοιοτελευτία, cf. χρήματα καὶ κτήματα, Plat. Legg. v. 728, ὦρα καὶ χώρα, Hipparch. 225, where the context implies that this jingle of terminations was a common rhetorical trick in the law-courts.

§ 3. τοιαύτης] = ἀθανάτου.

πρήγμα] See 17. 5, n.

§ 4. ἐτέρων τοιῶνδε] Instead of ἐτ. τοιούτων (191. 4). See note, ch. 101.

κύκλος] 'There is a wheel in the affairs of men.' So Tac. Ann.

III. 55, 'rebus cunctis inest quidam velut orbis.'

§ 5. ἤδη ὦν] 'Without more ado then.' ἤδη introduces the application of these remarks to the present case. Its use implies that the opinion of Croesus which follows is the immediate consequence (117. 1, n.) of the views stated above. Cf. 209. 6; II. 144. 1. The argument is:—since good fortune cannot be permanent, it is best to choose the course which offers least risk.

§ 6. δῆλα] 4. 3, n.

ἀρχαίς] Prob. in its technical sense of 'satrapies' (192. 3; III. 89. 1), and so an anachronism.

§ 7. νικῶν Μασσαγ.] Not the same as νικήσας below, but a repetition of νικῶν, above, rather awkwardly inserted in the clause which introduces the thing compared: = 'in the case, I mean, of thy victory over the M.'

τῷτὸ γάρ] Lit. 'for against that other supposition (i.e. ὅτι νικῶντες κ.τ.λ.) I will set the like alternative (i.e. ὅτι νικήσας κ.τ.λ.).' Translate: 'for I will balance the advantage equally, thine against theirs.'

τῆς Τομύριος. Χωρίς τε τοῦ ἀπηγημένου αἰσχροῦ καὶ οὐκ 8  
 ἀνασχετὸν, Κῦρόν γε τὸν Καμβύσεω γυναικὶ εἵξαντα ὑπο-  
 χωρῆσαι τῆς χώρας. Νῦν ὦν μοι δοκεί διαβάντας προελθεῖν 9  
 ὅσον ἂν ἐκεῖνοι διεξιῶσι, ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ τάδε ποιεῦντας πει-  
 ρᾶσθαι ἐκείνων περιγενέσθαι. ὥς γὰρ ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι,  
 Μασσαγέται εἰσὶ ἀγαθῶν τε Περσικῶν ἄπειροι καὶ καλῶν  
 μεγάλων ἀπαθείες. τούτοισι ὦν τοῖσι ἀνδράσι, τῶν προ- 10  
 βάτων ἀφειδέως πολλὰ κατακόψαντας καὶ σκευάσαντας,  
 προθεῖναι ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τῷ ἡμετέρῳ δαῖτα· πρὸς δὲ καὶ  
 κρητῆρας ἀφειδέως οἴνου ἀκρήτου καὶ σιτία παντοῖα. ποιή- 11  
 σαντας δὲ ταῦτα, ὑπολειπομένους τῆς στρατιῆς τὸ φλαυρό-  
 τατον, τοὺς λοιποὺς αὐτὶς ἐξαναχωρέειν ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμόν.  
 ἦν γὰρ ἐγὼ γνώμης μὴ ἀμάρτω, κεῖνοι ἰδόμενοι ἀγαθὰ πολλὰ, 12  
 τρέψονται τε πρὸς αὐτὰ, καὶ ἡμῖν τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν λείπεται ἀπό-  
 δεξις ἔργων μεγάλων.”

208 Γινώμαι μὲν αὐταὶ συνέστασαν. Κῦρος δὲ μετεῖς τὴν 1  
 προτέρην γνώμην, τὴν Κροίσου δὲ ἐλόμενος, προηγόρευε  
 Τομύρι· ἐξαναχωρέειν, ὥς αὐτοῦ διαβησομένου ἐπ’ ἐκείνην.  
 ἥ μὲν δὴ ἐξαναχώρεε, κατὰ ὑπέσχετο πρῶτα. Κῦρος δὲ, 2  
 Κροῖσον ἐς τὰς χεῖρας ἐσθὲς τῷ ἐωυτοῦ παιδὶ Καμβύσῃ,  
 τῷ περ τὴν βασιλητὴν ἐδίδου, καὶ πολλὰ ἐντειλάμενός οἱ

§ 8. ἀπηγημένου] Other passive deponents used by Hdt. are κατερ-  
 γασμένου, II. 3; μεμιμημένον, II.  
 78; μεμηχανημένα, II. 95. 1 (we find  
 the active form μηχανῶντας in  
 Homer: *Od.* XVIII. 143).

Κῦρόν γε τὸν Κ.] Not neces-  
 sarily inconsistent with 91. 6; 107.  
 4, since the allusion prob. is to the  
 personal exploits of Cyrus, not to  
 the dignity of his descent. Had the  
 latter been the meaning, we should  
 have had τὸν γε Καμβύσεω.

§ 9. διεξιῶσι] ‘That we should  
 cross the river and advance over all  
 the country that they pass through  
 (in their retreat).’

τάδε] = what follows (§ 10). For  
 γὰρ followed by ὦν in the next  
 sentence, cf. 8. 2; 30. 4.

ἀγαθῶν τε...ἀπαθείες] Notice the  
 elaborately balanced period. The

rhetorical character of the speech  
 throughout is very striking. Cf.  
 especially §§ 2 and 7.

§ 10. προθεῖναι] Supply δοκεί.  
 ἀκρήτου] Croesus speaks like a  
 Greek, who ordinarily mixed water  
 with his wine.

§ 12. τε] This ought properly to  
 follow κεῖνοι. Cf. 105. 5.

CH. 208. § 1. συνέστασαν] ‘Such were the conflicting opinions.’  
 So συνεστήκεε δὲ ταύτῃ τῇ γνώμῃ ἡ  
 Γωβρύεω, IV. 132. 2.

αὐτοῦ] See 178. 3, n.

κατὰ] = καθ’ ἃ.

§ 2. ἐδίδου] Was giving, i.e.  
 purposed to give. The Persian  
 king in later times was obliged by  
 law to nominate his successor before  
 entering on a campaign (VII. 2. 1).  
 For the subsequent treatment of  
 Croesus by Cambyses, see III. 36.

τιμᾶν τε αὐτὸν καὶ εὖ ποιεῖν, ἣν ἡ διάβασις ἡ ἐπὶ Μασσα-  
 γέτας μὴ ὀρθωθῇ· ταῦτα ἐντειλάμενος καὶ ἀποστείλας τού-  
 τους ἐς Πέρσας, αὐτὸς διέβαινε τὸν ποταμὸν, καὶ ὁ στρατὸς  
 209 αὐτοῦ. Ἐπεὶ τε δὲ ἐπεραιώθη τὸν Ἀράξεα, νυκτὸς ἐπελ- 1  
 θούσης, εἶδε ὄψιν, εὔδων ἐν τῶν Μασσαγετέων τῇ χώρῃ,  
 τοιήνδε. ἐδόκεε ὁ Κῦρος ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ ὁρᾶν τῶν Ἰστιάσπεος 2  
 παίδων τὸν πρεσβύτατον ἔχοντα ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων πτέρυγας·  
 καὶ τουτέων τῇ μὲν τὴν Ἀσίην, τῇ δὲ τὴν Εὐρώπην ἐπι-  
 σκιάζειν. Ἰστιάσπεϊ δὲ τῷ Ἀρσάμεος, ἔοντι ἀνδρὶ Ἀχαι- 3  
 μενίδῃ, ἣν τῶν παίδων Δαρείος πρεσβύτατος, ἐὼν τότε ἡλι-  
 κίην ἐς εἴκοσίν κου μάλιστα ἔτεα. καὶ οὗτος καταλέλειπτο  
 ἐν Πέρσῃσι· οὐ γὰρ εἶχε κω ἡλικίην στρατεύεσθαι. ἐπεὶ ὦν 4  
 δὴ ἐξηγέρθη ὁ Κῦρος, ἐδίδου λόγον ἑωυτῷ περὶ τῆς ὄψιος.  
 ὥς δὲ οἱ ἐδόκεε μεγάλη εἶναι ἡ ὄψις, καλέσας Ἰστιάσπεα  
 καὶ ἀπολαβὼν μῦνον εἶπε· “Ἰστιάσπεες, παῖς σὸς ἐπιβου- 5  
 λεύων ἐμοί τε καὶ τῇ ἐμῇ ἀρχῇ ἐάλωκε· ὥς δὲ ταῦτα ἀτρεκέως  
 οἶδα, ἐγὼ σημανέω. ἐμεῦ θεοὶ κήδονται, καὶ μοι πάντα προ- 6  
 δεικνύουσι τὰ ἐπιφερόμενα· ἥδη ὦν ἐν τῇ παροιχομένῃ νυκτὶ  
 εὔδων εἶδον τῶν σῶν παίδων τὸν πρεσβύτατον ἔχοντα ἐπὶ  
 τῶν ὤμων πτέρυγας· καὶ τουτέων τῇ μὲν τὴν Ἀσίην, τῇ δὲ  
 τὴν Εὐρώπην ἐπισκιάζειν. οὐκὼν ἐστὶ μηχανὴ ἀπὸ τῆς 7  
 ὄψιος ταύτης οὐδεμία, τὸ μὴ κεῖνον ἐπιβουλεύειν ἐμοί. σὺ  
 τοίνυν τὴν ταχίστην πορεύεο ὀπίσω ἐς Πέρσας, καὶ ποίεε  
 ὅκως, ἐπεὰν ἐγὼ τάδε καταστρεψάμενος ἔλθω ἐκεῖ, ὥς μοι  
 210 καταστήσης τὸν παῖδα ἐς ἔλεγχον.” Κῦρος μὲν δοκέων 1  
 Δαρείον οἱ ἐπιβουλεύειν, ἔλεγε τάδε· τῷ δὲ ὁ δαίμων προέ-

CH. 209. § 2. ὁ Κῦρος] The subject is repeated to increase the solemnity of the story (v. 56. 1; vi. 107. 2).

§ 3. Ἀχαιμενίδῃ] And therefore of the royal house (125. 5). Hystaspes belonged to the younger branch. For his descent from Achaemenes, see vii. 11. 3.

§ 6. ἥδη] = ‘without more words.’ Since the gods warn me of all coming dangers, it follows *at once* that they sent this dream to tell me of the plot (207. 5).

§ 7. τὸ μὴ] More usually μὴ οὐ in this context (ii. 181. 4). But just as verbs of hindering &c. may be followed either by the simple infinitive or by the infin. with μή (ii. 91. 1, n.), so negative notions of this kind may be followed either simply by μή (ὅκως οὐ, ii. 160. 5), or by μὴ οὐ.

ὥς] repeats ὅκως. So ὅτι—ὥς, iii. 71. 7; ix. 6. 2 (St.). Bähr renders by *ita* (sc. *ut volo jubeoque*); cf. οὕτω, ii. 3.

CH. 210. § 1. ὁ δαίμων] Not

φαίνε, ὡς αὐτὸς μὲν τελευτήσῃ αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ μέλλοι, ἡ δὲ βασιληΐῃ αὐτοῦ περιχωρέοι ἐς Δαρείον. Ἀμείβεται δὲ ὦν 2 ὁ Ὑστάσπης τοῖσδε· “ὦ βασιλεῦ, μὴ εἴῃ ἄνῃρ Πέρσης γεγυνώς, ὅστις τοι ἐπιβουλεύσει· εἰ δ' ἔστι, ἀπόλοιτο ὡς τάχιστα· ὅς ἀντὶ μὲν δούλων ἐποίησας ἐλευθέρους Πέρσας εἶναι· ἀντὶ δὲ ἄρχεσθαι ὑπ' ἄλλων, ἄρχειν ἀπάντων. εἰ δέ 3 τίς τοι ὄψις ἀπαγγέλλει παῖδα τὸν ἐμὸν νεώτερα βουλεύειν περὶ σέο, ἐγὼ τοι παραδίδωμι χρᾶσθαι αὐτῷ τοῦτο ὅ τι σὺ βούλει.” Ὑστάσπης μὲν τούτοις ἀμειψάμενος καὶ διαβάς τὸν Ἀράξεα ἦϊε ἐς Πέρσας, φυλάξων Κύρῳ τὸν παῖδα Δαρεῖον.

211 Κῦρος δὲ προελθὼν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀράξεω ἡμέρης ὁδὸν ἐποίησε 1 τὰς Κροίσου ὑποθήκας. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, Κύρου τε καὶ Περ- 2 σέων τοῦ καθαροῦ στρατοῦ ἀπελάσαντος ὀπίσω ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀράξεα, λειφθέντος δὲ τοῦ ἀχρητοῦ, ἐπελθοῦσα τῶν Μασσα-

with reference to any particular god, like ὁ θεός, II. 24. 3; IV. 79. 2; but a personification of what is elsewhere called τὸ θεῖον (compare 32. 2 with 32. 17). So ὁ θεός, II. 64. 6; VII. 46. 6; τοῦ θεοῦ ἡ προνοία, III. 108. 2; and δαίμων without the article, I. 111. 2.

προέφαινε] See 34. 2, n.

περιχωρέοι] 7. 1, n.

§ 2. ἐπιβουλεύσει] Krüg. reads ἐπιβουλεύσειε, which would certainly be more in accordance with the Homeric usage, e.g. μὴ θάνοι ὅστις ἐμοιγε | ἐνθάδε ναιετάων φίλος εἴη καὶ φίλα ἔρδοι, *Od.* xv. 359. But the fut. indic. here may fairly be used to express greater definiteness ('that man who is about to plot'), just as εἰ is sometimes used with the fut. indic. where we should have expected the opt.

ἀντὶ δὲ ἀρχεσθαι] A strong instance of the use of the infinitive instead of the gen. of the verbal subst. or of the part. (τοῦ ἀρχεσθαι or ἀρχομένων). So ἀντὶ εἶναι, VI. 32. 2; VII. 170. 4. The phrase may be partially illustrated by the choice of construction allowed after certain verbs and substs. which would na-

turally take the gen., e.g. φόβος ἐστὶ στρατεύειν and τοῦ στρατεύειν (φόβῳ εἰσορᾶν, 'from fear of seeing,' *Eur. Iph. T.* 1342), ἡμέλησεν ἐρωτᾶν τὸν θεόν and ἡμέλησα τοῦ ὀργίζεσθαι σοι (*Madv. G. S.* 156). So αἰτίους πληθύειν, II. 20. 2; τοῦ μὴ φαλακροῦσθαι αἰτίον...αἰτίον ἰσχυρὰς φορέειν τὰς κεφαλὰς, III. 12. 4, 5. Hdt. has a somewhat similar use at VI. 132. 2, τῆς ἀξιώσιος τῆς ἐξ ἐμεῦ γῆμαι, where ἐξ ἐμεῦ γ. stands as if it were an indeclinable subst., though prob. in reality τοῦ has been changed into τῆς owing to the attraction of ἀξιώσιος.

§ 3. νεώτερα β.] = νεωτερίζειν, a common euphemism to denote revolution.

CH. 211. § 2. καθαροῦ] 'The picked Persian troops.' Lit. 'clear from the hindrance of the unserviceable part of the army.' Cf. ὡς σφι τὸ ἐμποδὼν ἐγεγόνεε καθαρὸν, VII. 183. 2. Or perhaps καθαρὸς here = *integer*, 'able-bodied,' as at *Thuc.* v. 8. 2, τῶν Ἀθηναίων περ' ἐστράτεψε, καθαρὸν ἐξῆλθε. Compare with this the common English provincialism 'doing purely,' which = having good health.

γετέων τριτημορίς τοῦ στρατοῦ, τοὺς τε λειφθέντας τῆς  
Κύρου στρατιῆς ἐφόνευσεν ἀλεξομένους, καὶ τὴν προκειμένην  
ιδόντες δαῖτα, ὡς ἐχειρώσαντο τοὺς ἐναντίους, κλιθέντες  
ἐδαίνυντο· πληρωθέντες δὲ φορβῆς καὶ οἴνου εὖδον. οἱ δὲ 3  
Πέρσαι ἐπελθόντες πολλοὺς μὲν σφῆων ἐφόνευσαν, πολλῶ  
δ' ἔτι πλεῦνας ἐζώγρησαν, καὶ ἄλλους καὶ τὸν τῆς βασιλείης  
Τομύριος παῖδα, στρατηγέοντα Μασσαγετέων, τῷ οὖνομα ἦν  
212 Σπαργαπίσης. Ἡ δὲ πυθομένη τά τε περὶ τὴν στρατιὴν 1  
γεγονότα καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν παῖδα, πέμπουσα κήρυκα παρὰ  
Κῦρον, ἔλεγε τάδε· “Ἀπληστε αἵματος Κῦρε, μηδὲν ἐπαρθῆς 2  
τῷ γεγονότι τῷδε πρήγματι, εἰ ἀμπελίνῳ καρπῷ, τῷ περ  
αὐτοῖ ἐμπιπλάμενοι μαίνεσθε οὕτω, ὥστε κατιόντος τοῦ οἴνου  
ἐς τὸ σῶμα ἐπαναπλώειν ὑμῖν ἔπεα κακὰ, τοιούτῳ φαρμάκῳ  
δολώσας, ἐκράτησας παιδὸς τοῦ ἐμοῦ, ἀλλ' οὐ μάχη κατὰ  
τὸ καρτερόν. νῦν ὦν μευ εὖ παραινέουσιν ὑπόλαβε τὸν 3  
λόγον· ἀποδοὺς μοι τὸν παῖδα ἄπιθι ἐκ τῆσδε τῆς χώρας  
ἄζήμιος, Μασσαγετέων τριτημορίδι τοῦ στρατοῦ κατυβρίσας.  
εἰ δὲ μὴ ταῦτα σὺ ποιήσεις, ἥλιον ἐπόμενυμί τοι τὸν Μασσα- 4  
γετέων δεσπότην, ἧ μὲν σὲ ἐγὼ καὶ ἄπληστον ἔοντα αἵματος  
213 κορέσω.” Κῦρος μὲν νυν τῶν ἐπέων οὐδένα τούτων ἀνενη- 1  
χθέντων ἐποιέετο λόγον. ὁ δὲ τῆς βασιλείης Τομύριος παῖς 2

ἀλεξομένους] ‘Notwithstanding their resistance.’

ιδόντες] agrees by a *constructio ad sensum* with τριτημορίς (cf. ἔοντας, 151. 2).

φορβῆς] 202. 2, n.

§ 3. Σπαργαπίσης] Apparently the same name as that of the Scythian king, Σπαργαπίθης, mentioned at IV. 76. 6. Cf. I. 201. 2; 215. 1.

CH. 212. § 2. τῷ περ αὐτοῖ κ.τ.λ.] ‘Wherewith ye yourselves are surfeited to madness, so that as the wine sweeps down your throats, evil words bubble up on your tongues.’ The metaphor is prob. taken from the foam-bubbles on a rapid stream. Stein compares νῆσος πλωτή, πλέουσα, II. 156. 1, 2. Krüg. takes ἐπ’ in the sense of ‘against other people,’ like ἐπ’ ἀνέπλων ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους, VIII. 9. 3,

but more prob. it merely strengthens ἀνα-. Cf. ἐπανατέλλω, ἀνατέλλω, e.g. III. 84. 4, compared with III. 85. 2.

κατιόντος] Like ποταμὸς πεδίονδε κάτεισιν [χειμάρρους, Hom. II. XI. 492.

τοιούτῳ φ. δ.] repeats ἀμπελίνῳ κ.τ.λ.

§ 3. τριτημορίδι] The accus. or gen. would be more common. But ‘verbs which denote an affection of the mind *at* and *because* of something (sometimes) take this object in the dative.’ Madv. So πολλὰ τῷ ἀγάλλματι κατεγέλασε, III. 37. 2.

§ 4. μὴ] ‘Ita scripsimus libris iubentibus.’ Bähr. Krüg. and Stein however retain the old reading οὐ, which can be justified if the negative be taken as forming one notion with the verb.

ἧ μὲν] II. 118. 3, n.

Σπαργαπίσης, ὥς μιν ὅ τε οἶνος ἀνῆκε καὶ ἔμαθε ἵνα ᾗν  
κακοῦ, δεηθεὶς Κύρου ἐκ τῶν δεσμῶν λυθῆναι, ἔτυχεν ὥς δὲ  
ἐλύθη τε τάχιστα καὶ τῶν χειρῶν ἐκράτησε, διεργάζεται ἐωυ-  
214 τόν. καὶ δὴ οὗτος μὲν τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ τελευτᾷ. Τόμυρις δέ, 1  
ὥς οἱ ὁ Κῦρος οὐκ ἐσήκουσε, συλλέξασα πᾶσαν τὴν ἐωυτῆς  
δύναμιν συνέβαλε Κῦρῳ. ταύτην τὴν μάχην, ἔσαι δὲ βαρ- 2  
βάρων ἀνδρῶν μάχαι ἐγένοντο, κρίνω ἰσχυροτάτην γενέσθαι,  
καὶ δὴ καὶ πυνθανομαι οὕτω τοῦτο γενόμενον. πρῶτα μὲν 3  
γὰρ λέγεται αὐτοὺς διαστάντας ἐς ἀλλήλους τοξεύειν· μετὰ  
δὲ, ὥς σφι τὰ βέλεια ἐξετετόξευτο, συμπεσόντας τῇσι αἰχμῇσι  
τε καὶ τοῖσι ἐγχειριδίοισι συνέχεσθαι· χρόνον τε δὴ ἐπὶ  
πολλὸν συνεστάναι μαχομένους, καὶ οὐδετέρους ἐθέλειν φεύ-  
γειν· τέλος δὲ οἱ Μασσαγέται περιεγενέατο. ἥ τε δὴ πολλή 4  
τῆς Περσικῆς στρατιῆς αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ διεφθάρη, καὶ δὴ καὶ  
αὐτὸς Κῦρος τελευτᾷ, βασιλεύσας τὰ πάντα ἐνὸς δέοντα  
τριήκοντα ἔτεα. ἄσκον δὲ πλήσασα αἵματος ἀνθρωπηίου 5  
Τόμυρις ἐδίζητο ἐν τοῖσι τεθνεῶσι τῶν Περσέων τὸν Κύρου  
νέκυν. ὥς δὲ εἶρε, ἐναπῆκε αὐτοῦ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐς τὸν ἄσκον· 6  
λυμαιιομένη δὲ τῷ νεκρῷ ἐπέλεγε τάδε· “Σὺ μὲν ἐμὲ ζώουσάν  
τε καὶ νικῶσάν σε μάχῃ ἀπώλεσας, παῖδα τὸν ἐμὸν ἐλὼν  
δόλω· σὲ δ’ ἐγὼ, κατὰπερ ἠπείλησα, αἵματος κορέσω.” Τὰ 7  
μὲν δὴ κατὰ τὴν Κύρου τελευτὴν τοῦ βίου πολλῶν λόγων  
λεγομένων ὅδε μοι ὁ πιθανώτατος εἴρηται.

CH. 213. § 2. ὥς μιν κ.τ.λ.]  
Instead of ὥς δ τε οἶνός μιν ἀνῆκε.  
Compare the position of the per-  
sonal pronouns at 108. 4; 115. 3;  
204. 2.

ἀνῆκε] ‘Set him free.’ So of  
waking from sleep: καὶ με γλυκὺς  
ὑπνος ἀνῆκεν, Hom. Od. VII. 289.

CH. 214. § 1. οἱ] prob. does not  
directly depend on ἐσήκουσε, but is  
the *dativus ethicus*: ‘when she found  
that Cyrus did not hearken.’

§ 2. βαρβάρων ἀνδρ.] sc. πρὸς  
βαρβάρους. So ναυμαχία αὕτη Ἑλ-  
λησι πρὸς Ἕλληνας μεγίστη, Thuc.  
I. 50. 2.

οὕτω] = in the following way (101,  
n.).

τοῦτο] = τὴν μάχην.

§ 3. συνέχεσθαι] συμπλέκεσθαι  
Hesych. (Bähr). ‘They closed and  
fell on one another with spear and  
dagger.’

§ 4. ἡ... πολλή τῆς] Cf. 24. 1.  
αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ] i. e. without giving  
ground.

τὰ πάντα] ‘In all’ (163. 2, n.).  
ἐνὸς δέοντα τ.] B. C. 559—529,  
acc. to Clinton.

§ 6. ἀπώλεσας] Cf. ἀπολωλε-  
κώς, 45. 1.

§ 7. τὰ μὲν δὴ] As if ταῦτά (or  
οὕτω) μοι πιθανώτατα εἴρηται were  
to follow.

πολλῶν] Cf. 95. 2. Xenophon  
(Cyr. VII. 7) says that Cyrus died



- 215 Μασσαγέται δὲ ἐσθῆτά τε ὁμοίην τῇ Σκυθικῇ φορέουσι <sup>1</sup>  
καὶ δίαιταν ἔχουσι. ἵππύται δέ εἰσι καὶ ἄνιπποι (ἀμφοτέρων  
γὰρ μετέχουσι) καὶ τοξόται τε καὶ αἰχμοφόροι, σαγάρεις  
νομίζοντες ἔχειν. χρυσῷ δὲ καὶ χαλκῷ τὰ πάντα χρέωνται· <sup>2</sup>  
ὅσα μὲν γὰρ ἐς αἰχμὰς καὶ ἄρδεις καὶ σαγάρεις, χαλκῷ τὰ  
πάντα χρέωνται· ὅσα δὲ περὶ κεφαλὴν καὶ ζωστήρας καὶ  
μασχαλιστήρας χρυσῷ κοσμέονται. ὡς δ' αὐτως τῶν ἵππων <sup>3</sup>  
τὰ μὲν περὶ τὰ στέρνα χαλκέους θώρηκας περιβάλλουσι,  
τὰ δὲ περὶ τοὺς χαλινούς καὶ στόμια καὶ φάλαρα, χρυσῷ.  
σιδήρῳ δὲ οὐδ' ἀργύρῳ χρέωνται οὐδέν· οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδέ σφί· <sup>4</sup>  
216 ἐστι ἐν τῇ χώρῃ· ὁ δὲ χαλκὸς καὶ ὁ χρυσὸς ἄπλετος. Νό- <sup>1</sup>  
μοισι δὲ χρέωνται τοιοῖσδε· γυναῖκα μὲν γαμέει ἕκαστος,  
ταύτησι δὲ ἐπίκοινα χρέωνται. ὁ γὰρ Σκύθας φασὶ Ἕλληνες <sup>2</sup>  
ποιεῖν, οὐ Σκύθαι εἰσὶ οἱ ποιέοντες, ἀλλὰ Μασσαγέται· τῆς

in his bed of old age: Ctesias (*Pers.* 6—8) that he died in camp of a wound received in a battle with the Derbices. Both these accounts are less marvellous than that of Hdt. But by *πιθανώτατος* Hdt. seems to mean that which most deserves belief on moral grounds as illustrating the action of divine Nemesis. The tomb of Cyrus which was to be seen at Pasargadae (125. 5) in Alexander's time (B.C. 330), and was described by Arrian (about A.D. 140), has been identified with a building which still stands among the ruins of the modern *Murgháb*. See *Dict. Geogr., Pasargadae*.

CH. 215. § 1. ἀμφοτέρων] Blakesley renders: 'for of both are there tribes occupying parts (of the great waste).' It seems more natural to take ἀμφ. after μετέχουσι, = 'they share both kinds of life.' Hdt. often refers to a preceding statement in a vague way, without anything having been expressed to which the word of reference can grammatically refer. See 9. 1, n.

σαγάρεις] Prob. 'bills' or 'battle-axes.' The precise form of the weapon is uncertain. The emphatic word of the clause seems to be νομί-

ζοντες, the σαγάρεις being the *national* weapon (IV. 5. 4), while the use of horses, bows, and lances seems to have varied in different tribes.

§ 2. τὰ πάντα] 'For them all,' i.e. in the case of all the aforesaid weapons (99. 2; II. 95. 3).

ὅσα δὲ περὶ κεφ.] simply = 'head-gear.' The Scythian head-dress was peculiar (VII. 64. 2).

§ 3. χρυσῷ] Sc. κοσμέονται.

§ 4. σιδ. δὲ οὐδ' ἀργ.] = οὔτε σιδ. οὔτε ἀργ. Cf. II. 52. 1. Owing to the addition of οὐδέν, οὐδενί, neither of these instances is as strong as ἐκ δὲ οἱ ταύτης οὐδ' ἐξ ἄλλης παῖδες ἐγίνοντο, V. 92. 7; ὡς αἱ Φοίνισσαι νῆες οὐδὲ ὁ Τισσαφέρνης ἦκον, Thuc. VIII. 99. 1.

οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδέ] An emphatic negation. Originally no doubt the first οὐδέ belonged to the whole sentence, connecting it with what had preceded, while the second οὐδέ emphasized some particular notion. Thus οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδέ κεναὐτὸς ὑπέκφυγε κῆρα μέλαιναν (II. V. 22) = οὐδέ κεν ὑπέκφυγε οὐδέ αὐτός. But the phrase cannot always be broken up in this way. Cf. οὐ γὰρ ὦν οὐδέ, I. 49; οὐ μὲν οὐδέ, II. 120. 5; οὐδὲ ὦν οὐδέ, 134. 2.



γὰρ ἐπιθυμήσει γυναικὸς Μασσαγέτης ἀνὴρ, τὸν φαρετρεῶνα ἀποκρεμάσας πρὸ τῆς ἀμάξης, μίσγεται ἀδεῶς. Οὐρὸς δὲ 3 ἡλικίης σφί προκέεται ἄλλος μὲν οὐδεὶς· ἐπεὰν δὲ γέρων γένηται κάρτα, οἱ προσήκοντές οἱ πάντες συνελθόντες θύουσιν καὶ ἄλλα πρόβατα ἅμα αὐτῷ· ἐψήσαντες δὲ τὰ κρέα κατευωχέονται. ταῦτα μὲν τὰ ὀλβιώτατά σφί νενόμισται. τὸν δὲ νούσῳ τελευτήσαντα οὐ κατασιτέονται, ἀλλὰ γῇ κρύ- 4 πτουσι, συμφορὴν ποιούμενοι, ὅτι οὐκ ἴκετο ἐς τὸ τυθῆναι. Σπείρουσι δὲ οὐδὲν, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ κτηνέων ζώουσι καὶ ἰχθύων· οἱ 5 δὲ ἄφθονοί σφί ἐκ τοῦ Ἀράξεω ποταμοῦ παραγίνονται· γαλακτοπόται δέ εἰσι. Θεῶν δὲ μῦνον ἥλιον σέβονται, τῷ θύουσι 6 ἵππους. νόμος δὲ οὗτος τῆς θυσίης· τῶν θεῶν τῷ ταχίστῳ πάντων τῶν θνητῶν τὸ τάχιστον δατέονται.

CH. 216. § 3. ἄλλος μὲν οὐδεὶς] Answered by ἐπεὰν δέ. Hdt. regards 70 years as the average limit of human life (32. 3): a life of 80 years is exceptionally long (III. 22. 7). The Massagetae did not take this or any other definite number of years as the basis of their calculations on the proper time for a man to die: but they adopted instead the more arbitrary and variable limit of extreme old age. The phrase οὐρὸς ἡλικίης is not quite the same thing as οὐρὸς ζόης (32. 3), since ἡλικίη (= prime of life) excludes infancy and old age. Translate 'as a limit after which a man ceases to live they lay down none other than this: when he becomes exceeding old' &c.

γένηται] Sc. Μασσαγέτης τις. See 132. 2, n.

οἱ προσήκ. οἱ] The second οἱ is the dative: 'his kinsfolk.'

θύουσι] Cf. 126. 3.

ἄλλα] See 193. 4, n.

ταῦτα] either means 'these cases of sacrifice,' or more prob. stands instead of οὗτοι (cf. τοῦτο, 214. 2).

§ 6. ἥλιον] Cf. 212. 4. Krüg. reads νόος for νόμος. Cf. οὗτος δὲ ὁ νόος τοῦδε τοῦ ῥήματος, τὸ ἐθέλει λέγειν, VII. 162. 2. But νόμος may fairly stand in the sense of 'fashion,' or 'common view.' Cf. οὐ λήγουσα εἰ μὴ νόμῳ, 'not ending actually, only in thought,' i.e. 'commonly viewed as ending,' IV. 39. 2.

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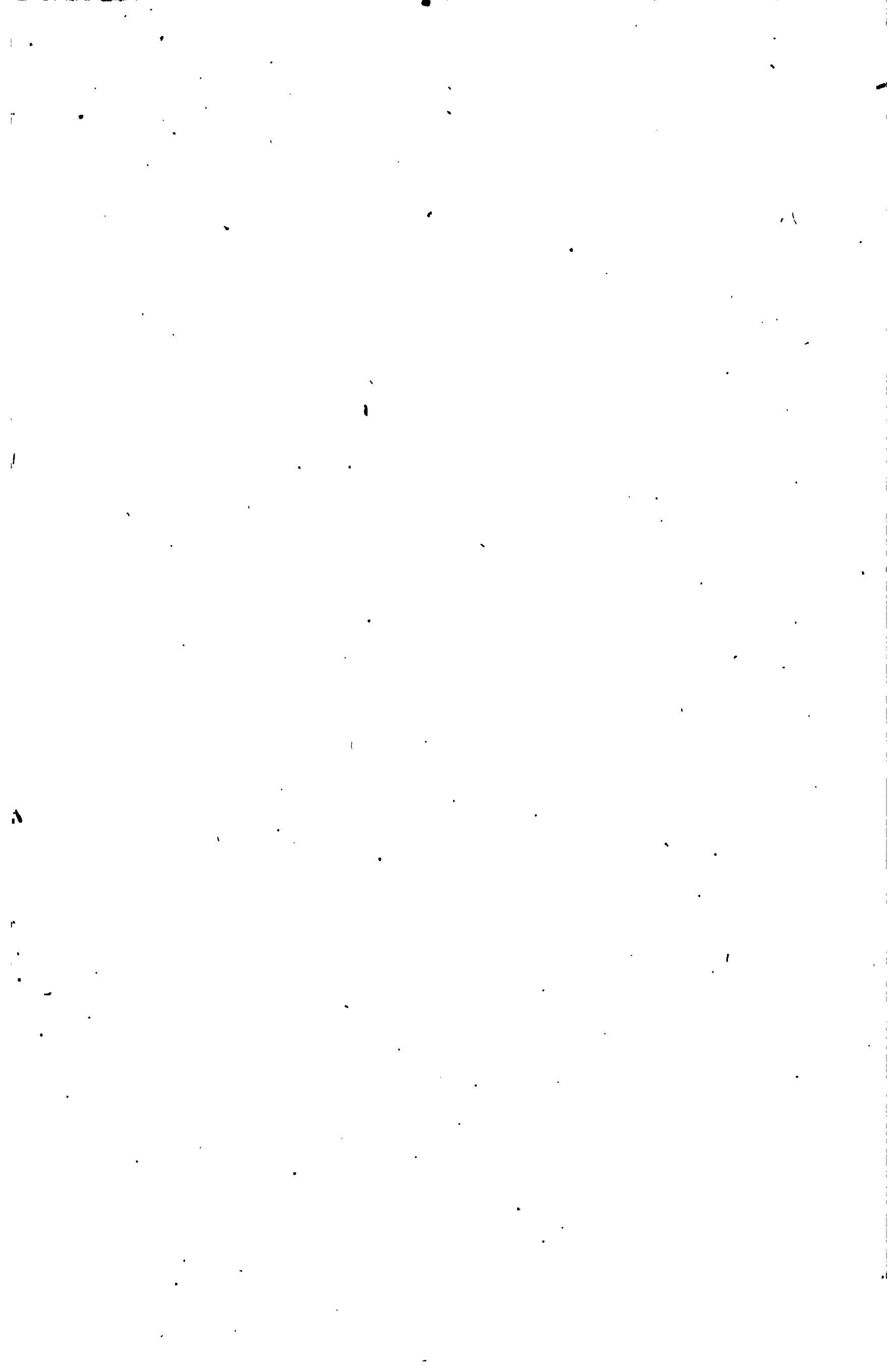
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